

Cuk-H06008-3-174902



THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN
ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c. &c.,

EDITED BY
JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,
AND
RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
MAJOR, BENGAL STAFF CORPS.

3

VOL. XIX.—1890.

Swati Publications

**Delhi
1985**

913.34
In 39
v. 19

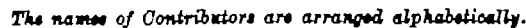
AHe. 2650
dte. 12.6.86



H/4902✓

Published by Swati Publications, 34 Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-052 Ph. 7113395

and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.



	PAGE
A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS:—	
No. 5. The Daughter-in-Law of Channavva of Kittur	418
The Bhattari Seal of Kumāragupta II.	234
A Doubtful Chalukya Grant	253
Nandikēśvara, Lañjigēśara	317
Calculations of Hindu Dates:—	
No. 32. The Dates of the completion of Utpala's Commentaries on the Brihaj-Jātaka and the Brihat-Saṁhitā	40
No. 33. Bilvaṅkṭhēśvara temple inscription of the Chōla king Kō-Bājāktēśvarīvarman	70
No. 34. The Coronation of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II.	103
No. 35. The Coronation of the Eastern Chalukya king Rājartja I.	129
No. 36. Gadag inscription of the time of the Hoysala king Ballāla II. ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1121...	155
No. 37. Dāvagere inscription of the Mahā- mapālāśēśvara Vijayapādyaśāstra ; Śaka- Saṁvat 1091	156
No. 38. Kōlār inscription of the Dēvagiri- Yādava king Siṅghapa II. ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1145...	157
No. 39. Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya	197
No. 40. Miraj inscription ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1065...	317
No. 41. Khēdrapur inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Siṅghapa II. ; Śaka- Saṁvat 1136	440
No. 42. Munōḷi inscription of the same king ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1145	440
No. 43. Ohika-Bāgiwadi grant of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Kṛishṇa ; Śaka- Saṁvat 1171	441
No. 44. Munōḷi inscription of the same king ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1174	441
No. 45. Bēhātī grant of the same king ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1175	442
No. 46. Patthan grant of the same king ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1183	442
REV. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.B.A.S., F.R.G.S. :—	
BUDDHAGHOSA	108
F. A. GRIMESON, B.C.S. :—	
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI, THE EMPEROR OF MAURIA AND JAUGADA, FROM THE PERSIAN OF M. N. SAKART	

	PAGE		PAGE
Progress of European Scholarship :—		V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L. :—	
No. 19. Miscellaneous Essays by European		TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS; THE KALINGATTU	
Scholars : (a) J. Grosset on Hindu Music; (b)		PARANI	329
Prof. Weber on old Iranian Star-names; (c)		H. G. PRENDERGAST :—	
Prof. Sachau on Albertini's transliteration of		Social Customs: Opprobrious Names	365
Indian Words; (d) M. Winternitz on Snake-		OHAS. J. RODGERS :—	
Worship	72	RARE COPPER COINS OF ANBAR	219
Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne, par M. E. Senart ...	43	Chitor	390
The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindu-		G. H. B. :—	
stan	103	Luck and Ill-Luck in Oudh	326
Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana	286	E. REHATSEK :—	
Die Hymnen des Rig-Vêda, herausgegeben von		A NOTICE OF THE GULABNAMA	289
Hermann Oldenburg	286	HARIDAS SASTRI :—	
PROF. A. F. BUDOLF HOERNLE, Ph.D. :—		A Note on Vimala	378
THE PATTAYALI OR LIST OF PONTIFFS OF THE		PANDIT S. M. NATESHA SASTRI, M.F.L.S. :—	
UPAKERA-GACHOHHA	233	FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA :—	
A NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF GOVINDA-		No. 82. The Four Good Maxims. (Second	
CHANDRADEVA OF KANAUJ	249	Variant)	126
E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; BANGALORE :—		No. 83. The Six Good Maxims	275
EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMBHI :—		No. 84. The Shower of Gold and Scorpions ...	311
No. 3. Extracts from the Second Taranga ...	261	Elves in Madras	76
PROF. F. KIELHORN, C.L.E., GÖTTINGEN :—		Charms and Spells in Madras	103
THE EPOCH OF THE LAKSHMANARAJA ERA ...	1	Omens in Madras	254
EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH		E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE :—	
THE VIKRAMA ERA	20, 163, 354	THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI :—	
KANAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGANGA ;		CHAPTER III. The Detached Rock Edicts. The	
THE MALAYA YEAR 795 EXPIRED	55	Edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada	82
DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF VISALA-		B. L. D'SILVA :—	
DEVA ; THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1230	215	The Virgin Mary and her Sisters	443
THREE UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE		DR. H. W. SMYTH, PENNSYLVANIA :—	
RULERS OF MALAYA	345	SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS, TRANSLATED	
The Sâyan-Pañchāṅg for the Śaka Year 1811 ...	256	FROM THE GERMAN OF PROF. WEBER	62
The Mâlava Era	316	TAW SEIN KO, RANGOON :—	
MAJOR J. S. KING, B.O.S.C. :—		FOLKLORE IN BURMA :—	
THE ABORIGINES OF SOMOTRA, AN ETHNOLOGICAL,		No. 2. The two Blind Princes	437
RELIGIOUS AND PHILOLOGICAL REVIEW ...	189	MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.B.A.S. :—	
J. P. LEWIS :—		Selection from the Records of the Hlutdaw, by	
Slang of Tamil Castes	160	Taw Sein Ko	75
W. R. MOREHILL :—		PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA :—	
Progress of European Scholarship :—		FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA :—	
No. 20, 21. Transactions of the Eastern		No. 15. The Wonderful Tree	169
Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeolo-		Parsi and Gujarati Hindu Nuptial Songs ...	374
gical Society	157, 318	PROF. E. WEBER, BERLIN :—	
GEO. F. D'PENHA :—		THE SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS ...	62
FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE :—			
No. 4. The Snake and the Girl	314		
The Virgin Mary and Her Sisters	283		
MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.			
A Note on Harshavardhana's conquest of Népâl, by		A Doubtful Chaulukya Grant, by J. F. Fleet ...	253
G. Buhlen	40	The Rômaka Siddhântas, by J. Burgess ...	284
Calculations of Hindu Dates, Nos. 32 to 43, by		The Mâlava Era, by F. Kielhorn	316
J. F. Fleet. 41, 70, 102, 120, 153, 156, 157, 187, 317, 440		The Pûlisa-Siddhânta, by J. Burgess	310
Progress of European Scholarship, No. 19, by G. A.		Nandikāvāra, Laṣṭigāra, by J. F. Fleet ...	317
Grierson	72	A Note on Vimala, by Haridas Sastri	378
Progress of European Scholarship, Nos. 20, 21, by		Chitor, by C. J. Rodgers	380
W. R. Morehill	157, 318	The Panchasiddhântikā, by Shankar Balkrishna	
The Bhitarî Soul of Kumāragupta II., by J. F.		Dikshit	439
Fleet	324	The Virgin Mary and Her Sisters, by B. L. D'Silva ...	443

CONTENTS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

	PAGE		PAGE
Elves in Madras, by S. M. Natesa Sastri ...	75	The Onko Reckoning of Oriass ...	365
Charms and Spells in the North-West Provinces, by William Crooke, and in Madras, by S. M. Natesa Sastri ...	103	The Date of Kālidāsa ...	386
Omens in Bihār, by Sayyid Khairayat Ahmad ...	130	The Winds of Āshādha ...	388
Shang of Tamil Castles, by J. P. Lewis ...	160	The Virgin Mary and Her Sisters, by Geo. Fr. D'Penha ...	388
Omens in Madras, by S. M. Natesa Sastri, and in the North-West Provinces, by William Crooke ...	254	Wrong Predictions of Eclipses ...	393
Social Customs, Opprobrious Names, by H. G. Prendergast ...	255	Luck and Ill-Luck, in Oudh, by G. H. R. ...	325
		Corruptions of Portuguese Proper Names in Salsette and Basseln, by C. E. G. Crawford....	443

BOOK-NOTICES.

Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne, par M. E. Senart ...	43	The Hymns of the Rig-Vêda, translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith ...	325
Bengal, its Chiefs, Agents and Governors, by F. C. Lauvers ...	44	South-Indian Chronological Tables, by the late W. S. Krishnaswami Naidu, edited by B. Sewell ...	326
Selections from the Records of the Hlutdaw, by Law Sein Ko ...	75	Albérûnî's India; an English Edition with Notes and Indices, by Dr. Edward C. Sachau ...	381
The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, by G. A. Grierson ...	103	Vier Erzählungen aus der Sukasaptati, von Dr. Richard Schmidt ...	410
The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Sir Henry Yule ...	181	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. X., No. 35, 1887 ...	410
Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XIII., 1890 ...	238	Proceedings of the Canadian Institute ...	411
Catalogue of Hindustani Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum, by J. F. Bumhardt ...	256	Tractatus de Globis et Eorum Usu, by Robert Hues ...	411
The Sāyana-Pañchāṅg for the Śaka Year 1811 ...	256	The Hindu Home Life, by Kacoco Mal Manuchee ...	444
Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana ...	256	Comparative Notes to the Mabinogion, by Prof. H. Gaidos ...	414
Die Hymnen des Rig-Vêda, herausgegeben von Hermann Oldenberg ...	256	The Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. VII., No. 1 ...	441
Proceedings of the American Oriental Society ...	325	The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, Lucknow ...	444

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Mahārāja Pillar Inscription of Maṅgalāśa ...	18	The Allahābād Pillar; A., the Edict of the Queens of Dēvānashpiya; B., the Kōsambi Edict of Dēvānashpiya ...	125
Kapāśwa Inscription of Śivagana; the Mālava Year 785 expired ...	58	Balagāṇve Inscription of the time of Vinayāditya ...	144
Inscription at the bottom of an image of Buddha from Gayā; and Coins of Chālukya-Chandra or Saktivarman, and of Rājārāja I. ...	78	Delhi Śivālik Pillar Inscriptions of Viśalādēva; Vikrama-Samvat 1220 ...	218
Aśoka Inscriptions:—		Bare Copper-coins of Akbar, Plates I. and II. ...	222, 223
The Delhi Mirat Pillar, North side Edicts I., II., and III. ...	122	Sāṭvāt Plates of Viśhpuvardhana I. ...	310, 311
" " " " , West side, Edict IV. ...	123	A Selection of Kanarese Ballads; the Daughter-in-law of Channavva of Kittār; Air of the Chorus ...	410
" " " " , South side, Edict V. ...	124		

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XIX.—1890.

THE EPOCH OF THE LAKSHMANASENA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIEHLHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

MR. H. BEVERIDGE'S valuable paper on 'the Era of Lachhman Sen,' in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVII. Part I. pp. 1-7, which I regret to say has only very recently attracted my attention, induces me to discuss now, what I had intended to write on when I should be in a position to treat of a larger number of dates of the Lakshmanasena era than I have been able to collect hitherto. I indeed believe that I shall be able to fix the epoch of the era, even with the somewhat scanty materials which I have at my disposal at present; but I should have preferred presenting to the reader, and strengthening my case by, a longer series of dates, from the earliest to the most modern times. Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* show that in Bengal there are numerous MSS. which are fully dated in the Lakshmanasena era, but the dates actually given by him with sufficient data for verification are few; and in Europe there seem to exist only two or three MSS., the dates of which can be made use of for the present enquiry.

Up to the time when Mr. Beveridge wrote the paper mentioned above, all that had been published about the epoch of the Lakshmanasena era tended to show that that era commenced about A.D. 1106-1107; and the conclusion at which Sir A. Cunningham in his *Book of Indian Eras* arrived, was, that the year 1 of the era corresponded (approximately) to one of the five years from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1109. Among the materials which furnished this rather vague result, the most valuable, in my opinion, was the date of a copper-plate inscription of king Sivasimha, in which the Lakshmanasena year 293, expressed in words and figures, is coupled with the Saka year 1321, and the details of which undoubtedly work out satisfactorily for the expired Saka year mentioned.¹ For, this date appeared to prove that between a year of the Lakshmanasena era and the corresponding Saka year, or at any rate between certain identical months of two such years, there is a difference of 1028 years, and that consequently the Lakshmanasena era began somewhere about Saka 1028 or A.D. 1106-1107.

Mr. Beveridge now has drawn attention to a passage in the *Akbarnāma* of Abu-l-Fazl, which says that "in the country of Bang (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lachhman Sen," and that "from that period till now there have been 465 years;" and which moreover contains the important statement that, at the point of time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Sālivāhana (or Saka) era and 1641

¹ See ante, Vol. IV. p. 300; Vol. XIV. p. 290; Vol. XVIII. p. 80; *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XV. p. 160; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 77.

years of the era of Vikramāditya.² That Abu-l-Fazl here was speaking of the Lakshmapasēna era, there can be no doubt; and if what he reports is correct, the difference between a Lakshmapasēna year and the corresponding Saka year (or between certain months of two such years) is, not 1028, but 1041 years, and the Lakshmapasēna era must have commenced about Saka 1041 or A.D. 1119-20, and not about A.D. 1106-1107.

That there might be a difference of 1041 years between a year of the Lakshmapasēna era and the corresponding Saka year, was not altogether unknown to me, even before I had seen Mr. Beveridge's article. For, in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 18, Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra reports that a MS. of the *Smṛiti-tattvāmṛita* bears the date "La-saṁ (i.e. Lakshmapasāmvat) 505 | Śakā 1546." And in the same *Notices*, Vol. III. p. 141, ll. 23-24, there occurs another passage, which indeed is corrupt, but regarding which this much may be considered to be certain, that in it the Saka year 1127 was coupled with a Lakshmapasēna year the unit of which was 6, expressed by the word *rasa*, — pointing again to a difference of [104]1, not of [102]8, years between the Saka and the Lakshmapasēna eras.

However this may be, it is clear that according to Abu-l-Fazl, whose statement is supported by at least one MS. date, the Lakshmapasēna era commenced about the Saka year 1041; while, by the copper-plate grant of Sivasimha and according to certain modern almanacs of Tirhut, the epoch of the same era would fall about Saka 1028. And since the era cannot have begun both in or about Saka 1028 and also in or about Saka 1041, one at least of the two epochs indicated by these figures must be wrong; and a decision as to which of the two is right, or whether either of them is correct, must be arrived at by an examination and calculation of a number of trustworthy dates, from which the date of the copper-plate of Sivasimha itself must of course be excluded.

At present, I have to offer six such dates; and I shall now in the first instance show what would be their European equivalents, if the Lakshmapasēna era had commenced about Saka 1028, or, to put the case as suggested by Sir A. Cunningham, if the first year of the era had corresponded (approximately) to one of the five years from A.D. 1105 to A.D. 1109.

1. — An inscription from Buddha-Gayā, first published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. V. p. 659, and afterwards republished, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 346, is dated —

Śrīmaṭ-Lakshmapasēnadēvapādānām-atīta-rājyē saṁ 74 Vaiśākha-vadi 12 Gurau, — i.e. 'on the 12th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year 74 since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) passed,' of the illustrious Lakshmapasēnadēva, on a Thursday.'

The corresponding European dates would be :—

(a) for 74 + 1026 = Saka 1100 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 1178.

amānta : Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1178.

(b) for 74 + 1027 = Saka 1101 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 April, A.D. 1179; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 5 May, A.D. 1179.

² In order that there might be no mistake about the above figures, they have been kindly verified for me by Dr. Fleming in the old MS. of the *Abharadva* presented by me to the University Library of Göttingen, and they have all three been found correct.

³ The phrase *atīta-rājyē* has been variously translated, "after the conclusion of the reign," "in the expired reign" (which conveys no meaning to me), "the reign — having passed," "after the expiration of the reign," etc.; but I believe its true and original sense is given above. During the reign of Lakshmapasēna the years of his reign would be described as *śrīmaṭ-Lakshmapasēnadēvapādānām rājyē* (or *prasaṁdhanasā-vijayārājyē*) *sastat*; after his death the phrase would be retained, but *atīta* prefixed to the word *rājyē*, to show that, although the years were still counted from the commencement of the reign of Lakshmapasēna, that reign itself was a thing of the past. In the course of time *atīta-rājyē* is apt to become a meaningless phrase, as may be seen from the *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-tīrthapādānām-atīta-rājyē* *saṁ* 1503 in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddh. Skr. MSS.*, p. 70.

- (b) for 74 + 1028 = Saka 1102 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Monday, 24 March, A.D. 1180.
 amānta : Wednesday, 23 April, A.D. 1180; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.
- (c) for 74 + 1029 = Saka 1103 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 12 April, A.D. 1181.
 amānta : Tuesday, 12 May, A.D. 1181.
- (d) for 74 + 1030 = Saka 1104 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Friday, 2 April, A.D. 1182; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Saturday, 1 May, A.D. 1182.

2. — According to Mr. Bendall in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. XX. p. 552, a British Museum MS. of Śrīdhara's Commentary on Bk. X. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is dated —

"in the 317th year of Lakshmana era, Chaitra-sudi pratipad Gurau dinḥ," —
 i.e. 'on the first day of the bright half of Chaitra of the Lakshmanasena year 317, on a Thursday.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 317 + 1026 = Saka 1343 expired, —
 Tuesday,⁴ 4 March, A.D. 1421.
- (b) for 317 + 1027 = Saka 1344 expired, —
 Monday,⁵ 23 March, A.D. 1422.
- (c) for 317 + 1028 = Saka 1345 expired, —
 Saturday, 13 March, A.D. 1423.
- (d) for 317 + 1029 = Saka 1346 expired, —
 Thursday, 2 March, A.D. 1424; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise.
- (e) for 317 + 1030 = Saka 1347 expired, —
 Wednesday, 21 March, A.D. 1425; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — According to Mr. Bendall, *ib.* p. 554, a British Museum MS. of the *Gāṅḍa-kṛīya-vivṛka* is dated —

La-saṁ 376 Pausa-badi 13 Budhḥ, —

i.e. 'on the 13th of the dark half of Pausa of the Lakshmanasena year 376, on a Wednesday.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 376 + 1026 = Saka 1402 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, 29 November, A.D. 1480.
 amānta : Friday, 29 December, A.D. 1480.
- (b) for 376 + 1027 = Saka 1403 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1481; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta : Thursday, 17 January, A.D. 1482; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.
- (c) for 376 + 1028 = Saka 1404 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 8 December, A.D. 1482.
 amānta : Tuesday, 7 January, A.D. 1483; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

^{4, 5} The initial day for the luni-solar year, given in the *Book of Indian Eras*, is wrong.

- (d) for 876 + 1029 = Saka 1405 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Friday, 28 November, A.D. 1483.
 amānta: Saturday, 27 December, A.D. 1483.
- (e) for 876 + 1030 = Saka 1406 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Thursday, 16 December, A.D. 1484; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended
 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta: Friday, 14 January, A.D. 1485.

4. — A MS. of the *Mitāksharā*, of the last page of which a photolithograph is given in Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. Plate iii., bears the date, —

Le-sam 399 Vaiśākha-kṛishṇa-pakṣe caturthyāṁ Chandra, —
 i.e. 'on the fourth (lunar day) in the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Lakṣmaṇasāna year 399, on a Monday.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 399 + 1026 = Saka 1425 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Saturday, 15 April, A.D. 1503.
 amānta: Monday, 15 May, A.D. 1503; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.
- (b) for 399 + 1027 = Saka 1426 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Wednesday, 3 April, A.D. 1504.
 amānta: Friday, 3 May, A.D. 1504.
- (c) for 399 + 1028 = Saka 1427 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Sunday, 23 March, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta: Tuesday, 22 April, A.D. 1505; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
- (d) for 399 + 1029 = Saka 1428 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Saturday, 11 April, A.D. 1506.
 amānta: Monday, 11 May, A.D. 1506; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.
- (e) for 399 + 1030 = Saka 1429 expired, —
 pûrṇimānta: Thursday, 1 April, A.D. 1507.
 amānta: Friday, 30 April, A.D. 1507.

5. — According to Mr. Bendall in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XX. p. 551, a Cambridge MS. of Bk. X. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* is dated —

Lakṣmaṇasāna-samvat 424 Pauṣa-śudī daśamī Śukrā, —
 i.e. 'the tenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Pauṣa of the Lakṣmaṇasāna year 424, on a Friday.'

The corresponding European dates would be : —

- (a) for 424 + 1026 = Saka 1450 expired, —
 Sunday, 20 December, A.D. 1528.
- (b) for 424 + 1027 = Saka 1451 expired, —
 Friday, 10 December, A.D. 1529; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.
- (c) for 424 + 1028 = Saka 1452 expired, —
 Thursday, 29 December, A.D. 1530; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.
- (d) for 424 + 1029 = Saka 1453 expired, —
 Tuesday, 19 December, A.D. 1531.
- (e) for 424 + 1030 = Saka 1454 expired, —
 Monday, 6 January, A.D. 1532.

6.—According to Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. V. p. 170, a MS. of the *Āchārachintāmaṇi* is dated —

Lakshmaṇa-bhūpa-sambandhi-trayastrimśad-adhika-tātachatushtay-ābdā Kārttika-kṛishṇa-saptamyāṁ Sukrā, —

i.e. 'on the seventh (lunar day) of the dark half of Kārttika in the year four hundred and thirty-three of the prince Lakshmaṇa, on a Friday.'

And here the corresponding European dates would be :—

(a) for $433 + 1026 =$ Saka 1459 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 25 September, A.D. 1587.

amānta: Thursday, 25 October, A.D. 1587; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

(b) for $433 + 1027 =$ Saka 1460 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 14 October, A.D. 1588.

amānta: Wednesday, 13 November, A.D. 1588.

(c) for $433 + 1028 =$ Saka 1461 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 4 October, A.D. 1589; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 2 November, A.D. 1589.

(d) for $433 + 1029 =$ Saka 1462 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 22 September, A.D. 1540.

amānta: Friday, 22 October, A.D. 1540; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

(e) for $433 + 1030 =$ Saka 1463 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1541.

amānta: Thursday, 10 November, A.D. 1541; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

The result of my calculations of the above six dates, with assumed epochs ranging from Saka 1026 expired = A.D. 1104(-5) to Saka 1030 expired = A.D. 1108(-9) is then as follows:—

The dates 1 (the year 74, Vaiśākha), 3 (the year 376, Pausa), and 5 (the year 424, Pausa), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1027 expired.

The dates 2 (the year 317, Chaitra), 4 (the year 399, Vaiśākha), and 6 (the year 433, Kārttika), would work out satisfactorily with the epoch Saka 1029 expired.

The five dates from 2 to 6 would work out satisfactorily, if we were to assume that the Lakshmanasēna year had commenced with the month Mārgaśīra, and that the era had begun on Mārgaśīra-sudi 1 of Saka 1029 expired, = the 29th October, A.D. 1108. For, with these assumptions we might explain the five dates thus:—

(a) Date 3; the year 376, Pausa-vadi 13 Budhā. The year 376 is a current year, and, with the pūrṇimānta scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date accordingly is Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1481.

(b) Date 5; the year 424, Pausa-sudi 10 Sukrā. The year 424 also is a current year, and the corresponding date is Friday, 10 December A.D. 1529.

(c) Date 2; the year 317, Chaitra-sudi 1 Gurau. The year 317 is an expired year, and the corresponding date accordingly is Thursday, 2 March, A.D. 1424.

(d) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśākha-vadi 4 Chandrā. The year 399 also is an expired year, and, with the amānta scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date is Monday, 11 May, A.D. 1506.

(e) Date 6; the year 433, Kārttika-vadi 7 Sukrā. The year 433 again is an expired year, and the corresponding date, also with the amānta scheme of the lunar fortnights, is Friday, 22 October, A.D. 1540.

And it may be added that, with the assumed epoch and a year commencing with Mārgaśīra, the date of the copper-plate grant of king Sivasimha (the year 298, Śrāvapa-sudi 7

Gurau) also would work out satisfactorily (Thursday, 10 July, A.D. 1899), if namely we were to take the year 293 as a current year. But in no way would it be possible to explain with the assumed epoch the first of our dates (the year 74, Vaiśākha-vadi 12 Gurau); for, with that epoch, the date should fall either in A.D. 1180 or in A.D. 1181, according as the year 74 might be considered a current or expired year, and we have seen that Vaiśākha-vadi 12 was a Thursday neither in A.D. 1180 nor in A.D. 1181. And besides, it may well be urged that a year commencing with Mārgaśīra, though not altogether unknown,⁶ would certainly be something very unusual, the actual existence of which in more modern times should be assumed only when thereby all independent dates are duly accounted for, and when no simpler course, that *would* account for all such dates, is open to us; that with the assumed epoch we are obliged to regard the dates in dark fortnights partly as *pūrṇimānta* and partly as *amānta* dates; and that the percentage of dates which with the above epoch we have to regard as dates in current years (3 out of 8), is larger than that we are accustomed to in this respect in the case of other eras. The main objection to the assumed epoch, however, would of course always be this, that it does *not* account for the week-day of the oldest date of the era which hitherto has become known to us.

If we now turn to the epoch suggested to us by Abu-l-Fazl, according to whose account the difference between a Lakshmanasēna year and the corresponding Saka year would be 1041 years, and the correctness of whose figures would appear to be corroborated by the M.S. date *La-sam* 505 = *Sakā* 1546, we shall find that with that epoch *all* the six dates which have been examined above, work out in the simplest manner possible. And judging from these six dates, I feel no hesitation in saying that the Lakshmanasēna year was an ordinary southern (Kārttikādi) year, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights; and that the first day of the first current year of the era was Kārttika-sudi 1 of the expired Saka year 1041, = the 7th October A.D. 1119,⁷ = the day of the Julian period 2,130,052. On the basis of these *data*, the results of my calculations are as follows:—

(a) Date 6; the year 433, Kārttika-vadi 7 Sukrē. The year 433 is a current year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 433 + 1040 = *Saka* 1473 expired) is Friday, 20 November A.D. 1551, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

(b) Date 5; the year 424, Pausa-sudi 10 Sukrē. The year 424 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 424 + 1041 = *Saka* 1465 expired) is Friday, 4 January, A.D. 1544, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

(c) Date 3; the year 376, Pausa-vadi 13 Budhē. The year 376 is an expired year, and with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 376 + 1041 = *Saka* 1417 expired) is Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 1496, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

(d) Date 2; the year 317, Chaitra-sudi 1 Gurau. The year 317 is an expired year, and the corresponding date (for 317 + 1042 = *Saka* 1359 expired) is Thursday, 7 March A.D. 1437. By Professor Jacobi's Tables, the first *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0 h. 43 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 7 March, and ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 8 March; but calculated by the *Brahma-Siddhānta* the *tithi* ended about one hour before mean sunrise of the Friday.

⁶ See *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. p. 8.

⁷ To convert a year of the Lakshmanasēna era into an expired Saka year, we accordingly have to add —
 1040 to a current *La.* year, when the date falls in Kārttika — Phālguna;
 1041 to a current *La.* year, when the date falls in Chaitra — Āśvina;
 1041 to an expired *La.* year, when the date falls in Kārttika — Phālguna;
 1042 to an expired *La.* year, when the date falls in Chaitra — Āśvina.

(e) Date 4; the year 399, Vaiśākha-vadi 4 Chandrô. The year 399 is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 399 + 1042 = 'Saka 1441 expired) is Monday, 18 April, A.D. 1519, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

(f) Date 1; the year 74, Vaiśākha-vadi 12 Gurau. The year 74 is an expired year, and, with the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the corresponding date (for 74 + 1042 = 'Saka 1116 expired) is Thursday, 19 May, A.D. 1194, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

These results may well speak for themselves; and all that I need say in regard to them is that, when, with the epoch A.D. 1118-19, we are obliged to take the year of one out of the six dates exceptionally as a current year, years must be *exceptionally* treated as current also in the case of other eras the dates of which are ordinarily recorded in expired years, and the epochs of which are settled beyond dispute.

Time will show whether I am right or wrong; but I put more faith in the way in which my dates work out with the epoch A.D. 1118-19, than in the modern almanacs of Tirhut, disagreeing as they do among themselves. And, with the statement of Abu-l-Fazl, supported by the MS. date La-sam 505 = Sākā 1546 and by the results of my calculations, I would maintain that the equation (La-sam 293 = Sākā 1321) furnished by the copper-plate grant of king Sivasimha is wrong; and that that inscription itself, suspicious as it would seem to be also on other grounds,⁹ has either been tampered with or is a forgery, got up at a time when the true epoch of the Lakshmapasēna era had been forgotten, as in my opinion it has been forgotten by the almanac-makers of Tirhut.

At present I have neither the time nor the means of writing on the history of the Sēna kings. But I would ask: When we are told that, at the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyār, which by Mr. Blochmann¹⁰ is placed about A.D. 1198-99, the last Hindu king Lakshmanīya had been reigning for 80 years,¹¹ does not this really mean that that conquest took place in the year 80 of the Lakshmapasēna era, — Śrīmad-Lakshmapasēna-dēvapādānam-atīta-rājyē sam 80?

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 185.—MAHAKUTA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MANGALESA.

This inscription was first brought to notice by me in 1881, in this Journal, Vol. X. p. 102; at a time when I was without the means of obtaining a reading of the text of it. Subsequently, in 1882, an ink-impression of it was sent to me by Mr. H. Cousens, of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, from which I was able to quote some of the contents of it in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 21 f. I now edit it in full, with a photo-lithograph, from the same materials.

Mahākūṭa is the current name of a group of temples, about three miles away over the hills to the east of Bādāmi, the chief town of the Bādāmi Talukā in the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency. This is the form of the name that was given to me when I visited the place itself. And it is the form which, on fresh inquiries at Bijāpur, has again been certified to me; coupled now, however, with the remark that the place is called **Mākūṭa** and **Makūṭa**, and occasionally **Māgaṭa**, by uneducated people who cannot pronounce the proper word correctly! But there is no doubt that the real original name is **Makūṭa**. It actually occurs in line 9-10 of the inscription of the *Mahāsāmānta* Bappavarasa inside one of the temples (*ante*, Vol. X.

⁹ See *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 346.

¹⁰ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIV. Part I. p. 277.

¹¹ Sir H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 207.

p. 104), where the words *magudake vandu*, plainly mean "having come to Maguda, i.e. Makuta." And, in line 13-14 of the present inscription, the name of the god distinctly occurs as *Makutaśvaranātha*; not in the now current form of *Mahakūṭśvara*. The temples are in a courtyard, the chief entrance to which is a gateway at the north-east corner of it. About ten yards to the east of this gateway there lay, at the time of my visit, a close-grained red-sandstone monolith pillar, which is called in the inscription itself, and in one of the additions below it, a *dharma-jayastambha* or 'pillar of victory of religion,' measuring about 14' 6" in height, exclusive of the *kalāśa* or capital, and about 1' 9½" in diameter, with sixteen sides or faces; the *kalāśa*, which lay close by, is about 1' 7" high, and of a circular shape, about 2' 8½" in diameter, with thirty-six deep flutes running down it, and with a square top. The inscription is on the lower part of this pillar.

The writing, including the extra two lines at the bottom, covers a space of about 5' 8" broad by 3' 2" high; each of the full lines running entirely round the pillar. It is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; very few letters being actually destroyed. But it has suffered somewhat from the weather; and for this reason, and because of the colour of the material in which it is engraved, it is very difficult to read on the original stone. The inscription itself consists of sixteen lines; and the first line is the lowest. Line 1 runs round the pillar on the same level; the other lines wind upward, with, in some instances, considerable irregularity in the directions along which they run; and, partly to shew the way in which the end of one line runs into the beginning of the next, and partly because in a few instances an *akshara* lies, not entirely on either the first or the last face of the stone, but on the dividing edge between them, the lithograph has been so arranged as to repeat an *akshara* or two at the beginning and end of each line.¹ Below the inscription proper, there is a line of writing, beginning on the fourteenth face and continuing nearly all round, in well-formed characters of exactly the same type with those used in the body of the record, which runs—*Āryyapura-vāsakaḥ Pubesasya sutaḥ sthāpitā idaṁ dharmma-jayastambha vyāpārakūś-cha tau*; the language is inaccurate, but the meaning is, "the two sons of Pubesa, residents of the town of Āryapura, set up this pillar of victory of religion; and they are traders."² And below this, in characters not quite so well formed, there are, on the first four faces, the words—*Dāṭa Āna kaṭ[?]idapu* (or perhaps *kūṭidapu*) *kam[bh]a*, which either specify the maker or makers of the pillar, or possibly give the names of the two sons of Pubesa; and, on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh faces, there are some seven or eight letters as to the meaning of which I cannot satisfy myself. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is between ⅓" and 1"; but the *dh* of *yathāvidhi*, line 1, is 1½" high; and there are some other instances of a perceptible excess over the average size. The engraving is bold and good throughout. Palaeographically we may note that in *adhirūdhē*, line 8, the *dh* is expressed, not by a separate sign of its own, but by the sign which stands for *d* and *ḍ*. Also, that in *manḡalēśa*, line 8, the vowel *e* is expressed, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* which induces much confusion between *li*, *lī*, *le*, and *lē*, but by a distinct sign attached to the lower proper right side of the *l*, which leaves no doubt whatever that the vowel *e* was intended here; the same vowel-mark, but placed somewhat higher, is used in the *le* of *polekēśi*, in line 8 of the Nerūr grant of Pulikēśin II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 44, and Plate). — The language is Sanskrit; and the style is good throughout, except for three peculiar mistakes of gender in lines 12 and 13. With the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in line 15 f., the whole record is

¹ Another instance of a pillar inscription commencing at the bottom and running upwards, is the Amarāvati inscription of the Pallava king Sindhavarman II., published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1886-87. In that case, however, the inscription is on only three out of eight faces; and the lines do not run round and mount in the manner in which they do here.

² I take it that *dharma-jayastambha* was intended to be in the accusative case, in apposition with *idaṁ*, which is then a mistake for *istambha*. Otherwise, taking it as part of a compound, we might translate—"set up this; and they are dealers in pillars of victory of religion."

practically in prose. There are undoubtedly two half *Ślōkas* in lines 10 and 11, and also some seemingly metrical syllables in lines 2 and 3-4; whether these are quotations, or to what they are to be attributed, is not apparent; but, except in line 3-4, where, moreover, the syllables are not necessarily in metre, the metrical or apparently metrical passages, are complete in themselves, and do not lay the record open to any such remarks as I have had to make in the case of the Kōmaralingam grant of Ravidatta (*ante*, Vol. XVIII.)—In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *riḍhyā*, line 2, *riddhi*,² line 3, and *krīta*, lines 5, 7, 11, and 13; though there are plenty of cases in which the subscript *ṛi* is employed in this record; and though even the initial *ṛi* was known at this time (see, for instance, *ṛishabhāya*, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 23, line 12, and *Plate*); (2) the omission of the *visarga* before an initial *śr*, in *śambhāta*, line 2, and *jyāśhā*, line 6; this may possibly have been suggested by the Vārttika on Pāṇini, viii, 3, 36, which, however, authorises the omission of the *visarga* only when the initial sibilant is followed by a mute letter; (3) the use of the *upadhāntya* in *ṇripātīh-priya*, line 4, and *īaktiḥ-prathamatarā*, line 12; (4) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before the palatal sibilant, in *vaśī-śmbara*, line 8; (5) considerable irregularity in using the *anusvāra* for the proper nasal; contrast, for instance, especially *śambhāta*, line 2, with *śambhātaḥ*, line 5, and the components of *vaśī-śmbara*, line 7; but the tendency on the whole is in favour of the use of the proper nasals; (6) the occurrence of the Drāviḍian *ḷ* and *ḷ*, in *chāḷiḷya*, lines 2 and 8, *kaḷiṅga*, *kēraḷa*, and *ḍḷuka*, line 7, and *keṇuḷala*, line 14; and in *drāmḷa* and *chōḷiḷya*, line 7; (7) the use of *t* for *th* in *śavabhṛita*, lines 5 and 7; though the proper sign for *th* occurs in all the other instances; (8) the omission to double a consonant after *r* in *dharma*, line 2, and *bakusuvarga*, line 4, and in a few other words; though in the majority of instances the correct practice is followed; (9) the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vīkrama*, lines 3 and 4, *vīkṛanta*, line 8, *parākrāma*, line 6 (twice), and *kṛita*, for *krīta*, line 11; (10) the doubling of *g*, *t*, and *dh* (by *ḍ*, in the proper manner), before *y*, in *bhāggya*, line 13, *śattiyāraya*, line 4, *bṛihaspatty-śānaḥ*, line 11, and *anuddhyātānā*, line 1, though not in other cases; and (11) the use of *śiḷha* for *śiḥha*, in *jayasīḷha*, line 2, and *ṇripātīśiḷhaḥ*, line 10.

The inscription is one of the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalēśa. It is a Śaiva inscription; the primary object of it being to record that, with the authority of Maṅgalēśa, his father's wife, Durlabhadēvī, increased, by the grant of ten villages, a previous endowment of the god Śiva under the name of Makuṭāvaranātha.

Of the local places mentioned in this record, three of the villages granted can be identified. Kesuvola, called in other records Kisuvola and Paṭṭada-Kisuvola, is the modern Paṭṭadakal, the 'Purudkal' and 'Pututkul' of maps, on the left bank of the Malaprabhā, about eight miles east by north from Bādāmi (see *ante*, Vol. X. p. 162 f.); it ought to be shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41 or 58; but it has been omitted, perhaps because it would fall on the very edge of the map, unless it is denoted by the word 'Pag.', i. e. Pagoda, in No. 58. Kēndōramānya is evidently the modern Kēndūr, the 'Khenthoor' of the map, Sheet No. 41, four miles north by east of Bādāmi. And Nandigrāma must be the modern Nandikēśwar, the 'Nundekasur' of the map, No. 41, five miles east by north of Bādāmi. Others of the villages granted were Śriyārbhāṭaka and Vṛihimukha, which I cannot identify. And the names of one or two more are contained in the middle part of the compound, which cannot be properly divided without some clue, not obtained as yet, to the identification of them. Āryapura, which occurs in the addition below the record, is the Sanskrit name of the modern Alhoje in the Hungund Taluk, the 'Iwallee' of the map, No. 58, about fifteen miles to the north-east of Bādāmi (see *ante*, Vol. VIII. pp. 237, 237).

A point of leading interest in this inscription is its date; the more so because we have as yet only two other dated records of the Chalukyas anterior to the time of Pulikēśin II., and

² In this instance, *śourya-riddhi*, for *śourya-riddhi*, or more customarily *śourya-arddhi*, may perhaps be taken as an instance of the optional hiatus, in accordance with the commentary on Pāṇini, vi, 1, 123.

there has been a distinct difference of opinion as to the manner in which the dates given in them should be applied. The date on which the pillar was set up to record the making of the grant, is given as "in the fifth glorious year, of the constantly augmenting reign (of Maṅgalēśa), in the current Siddhārtha (*sakvatsara*), on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Vaiśākha." The text of the whole passage is perfectly clear; and the details are unmistakable. But here I should state that, when first I drafted my remarks on this date, finding that in no way could the Siddhārtha or Siddhārthin *sakvatsara*⁴ of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter be made to meet with the fifth year of Maṅgalēśa's reign according to either of the views based on the other two records referred to above, I was disposed to think that the word *siddhārthē*, in line 15, suggestive as it was of the *sakvatsara* so named, had not really that application, but was simply used as an epithet of *varshē*, and in some such meaning as 'full of success or prosperity.' Prof. Kielhorn, however, to whom I had referred several points of doubt and interest in this record, has given me the opinion that, if the names of the years of the Sixty-Year Cycle were well known and were in general use in the period in question, — (which was more or less undoubtedly the case), — the writer of the record would not be likely to use the word, in such a passage, in an altogether unusual and objectionable sense, when he must have known that it would naturally be taken as denoting the *sakvatsara*, and when he could easily have avoided all ambiguity by selecting any other adjective that would express his meaning much better; and that, if the reading *siddhārthē* is correct, — (which it certainly is), — the word can only denote the *sakvatsara*. And, on reconsideration, I have fully adopted this view of the matter. Now, no reference is made to any era. But the period of the present record is determined by the fact that Maṅgalēśa's nephew and successor, Pulikēśin II, commenced to reign in or about Saka-Saṁvat 533 current. Just before that year, the Siddhārtha *sakvatsara* occurred, or would occur, as follows: — (1) by the southern luni-solar system, if then in use, it would coincide with Saka-Saṁvat 522 current; (2) by the mean-sign system it would commence in Saka-Saṁvat 524 current, on Wednesday, 25th October, A.D. 601, and would end in Saka-Saṁvat 525 current, on Sunday, 21st October A.D. 602; and (3) by the northern luni-solar system, if then in use and applicable to that part of the country, it would coincide with Saka-Saṁvat 525 current. Of these three systems, the only one that can be applied for the period and locality to which the present record belongs (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142), is the mean-sign system, according to which the *sakvatsara* lasted from the 25th October, A.D. 601 to the 21st October, A.D. 602. During this period, the given *tithi*, Vaiśākha śukla 15, belonging to Saka-Saṁvat 525 current, ended on Thursday, 12th April, A.D. 602, at about 13 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And this is undoubtedly the day that answers to the details given in the original record for the setting up of the pillar. From this it follows that, as the full-moon of Vaiśākha, Saka-Saṁvat 525 current, fell in the fifth year of his reign, the full-moon of Vaiśākha, Saka-Saṁvat 521 current, fell in his first year; and consequently the accession of Maṅgalēśa took place, on some day still to be exactly determined, in A.D. 497 or 498; either on any day from the *pūrṇimānta* Jyēṣṭhā⁵ *krishṇa* 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 520 current, up to the end of that year; or on any day from the beginning of Saka-Saṁvat 521 current, up to Vaiśākha śukla 15 of that year.

The date thus obtained for the commencement of Maṅgalēśa's reign, differs materially from that deduced from either of the other two dated records of the same period, spoken of above; and some remarks are now necessary in connection with them. The earlier of them, and the first that came to notice, is the Badāmi cave inscription, published originally by Prof. Eggeling (*ante*, Vol. III. p. 305 f., with a lithograph) and subsequently re-edited by me (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 363, with a lithograph in Vol. X. p. 58), which records that, in the twelfth regnal

⁴ Both forms of the name occur. The present form, Siddhārtha, is the one used in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, viii. 48, 49, Kern's edition.

⁵ Or the *amāvāsya* Vaiśākha. I quote, however, the *pūrṇimānta* month, because that is the correct arrangement for the period in question; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.

year, coupled with Saka-Samvat 500 expired, Maṅgalēśa made a great cave-temple of Viṣṇu, and gave a great gift to Brāhmanas on the full-moon day of Kārttika, and performed certain other acts. Both Prof. Eggeling and myself, following the apparently natural meaning of the text, took the reign, of which the twelfth year is mentioned in this record, to be the reign of Maṅgalēśa himself. And according to that understanding of the date, as the full-moon of Kārttika, Saka-Samvat 500 expired, fell in the twelfth year of his reign, the full-moon of Kārttika, Saka-Samvat 480 expired or 490 current, fell in his first year; and consequently his reign commenced either in Saka-Samvat 480 current, on any day from the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrṣa 1 up to the end of the year, or in Saka-Samvat 490 current, on any day from the beginning of the year up to Kārttika śukla 15. The other is the Goa grant, published by Mr. K. T. Tolang (*Jour. Do. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 348 ff., with a lithograph), which records a grant made, with the permission of an unnamed paramount sovereign, by Satyāśraya Duruvārāja-Indravarman, the governor of four *viśayas* and *maṇḍalas*, stationed at Rēvat-dvīpa; the grant was made on the full-moon day of Māgha; and in a separate passage, at the end of the charter, there are given the further details of the twentieth year of some unspecified reign or governorship, coupled with Saka-Samvat 532, which is not distinctly described either as current or as expired. On the strength of this grant, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Jour. Do. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XIV. p. 24 f., and *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 38) took a totally different view of the meaning of the Bīdāmi inscription, and held that the twelfth regnal year mentioned in it belongs to the reign of Kīrtivarman I., the elder brother and predecessor of Maṅgalēśa; that Maṅgalēśa was not at that time reigning as paramount sovereign, but "was probably his brother's general or lieutenant;" and that the commencement of the reign of Maṅgalēśa himself took place in Saka-Samvat 514 current.* It is unnecessary to recapitulate either the arguments put forward by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, or my answer to them (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 57 ff.); for the sequel has shewn that each of us was partially right and partially wrong. But I shall refer further on to the only substantial argument advanced by him. And, on the other hand, while I can find no further arguments in support of his side of the question, I may as well note here two additional points in support of my own views, so far as they are limited to the point that the date in the Goa grant has nothing whatever to do with the accession of Maṅgalēśa. The first is, that I cannot give any certain instance in which the current year of the reign of a paramount sovereign is mentioned, at any rate in the period with which we are dealing, in a detached and separate sentence at the end of a record, in the manner in which the date is given in the Goa grant; whereas this is precisely the manner in which it was customary to quote the years of feudatory officials (see, for instance, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 40, line 24, p. 194, No. 41, line 27, p. 199, and No. 81, line 35 f., p. 296). And the other is, that the Haidarābād grant tells us that the new-moon day of Bhādrapada, Saka-Samvat 534 expired, was in the third year of the reign of Pulikēśin II.; on this date I have made some remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 109 ff., and Vol. XVII. p. 141; and I have here only to point out that, if we accept it as it stands, then it follows that the new-moon of Bhādrapada, Saka-Samvat 532 expired, was in the first year of Pulikēśin II., and much more so was the whole of the subsequent month Māgha of the same expired Saka year; and consequently, if the

* I quote here Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's opinion as given in the later of the two passages referred to. In the first of them, he arrived at "513 Saka, or 590 A.D.," i. e. Saka-Samvat 513 expired or 513 current, for the death of Kīrtivarman I. and the accession of Maṅgalēśa; while, in the second of them he has placed these events in "513 Saka, or A.D. 591," i. e. Saka-Samvat 513 expired or 514 current. Either year can be arrived at, according as the given year 532 of the Goa grant is applied as current or as expired; for, if the full-moon of Māgha, Saka-Samvat 532 expired, fell in the twentieth year mentioned in the grant, then the full-moon of Māgha, Saka-Samvat 513 expired or 514 current, fell in the first year, and the initial point of the twenty years fell either in Saka-Samvat 513 current, on any day from the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa 1 up to the end of the year, or in Saka-Samvat 514 current, on any day from the beginning of the year up to Māgha śukla 15; and precisely the same period, one year earlier, is to be obtained by applying the year 532 as a current year. It is plain, therefore, that, in arriving at the later date, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar applied the given year 532 as an expired year. And it will be seen that, in now quoting the later date, I give the better chance to his general views connected with it.

unspecified year, Saka-Samvat 532, of the Goa grant, coupled with the full-moon of Mûgha is to be applied as an expired year, then the grant can only belong to the reign of Pulikêśin II., and not to that of Maṅgalêśa at all.⁷ Dismissing the previous controversy with these words, I have here only to shew how both the earlier theories are disproved by the present date. With my own original date for Maṅgalêśa's accession, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his first year might fall either in Saka-Samvat 490 current or in 491 current, according to the exact day of his accession; and the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his fifth year could not fall later than in Saka-Samvat 495 current, nearly twenty years before the commencement of the Siddhârtha *samvatsara* by the mean-sign system. And with Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's initial date, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his first year might fall either in Saka-Samvat 514 current or in 515 current, according to the exact date of his accession; but the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his fifth year could not, by any possibility, fall later than in Saka-Samvat 519 current, leaving still an interval of close upon three years before the earliest possible commencement of the Siddhârtha *samvatsara*, by the inadmissible southern luni-solar system. And thus, with neither of the previous theories can the Siddhârtha *samvatsara* be made to meet with the fifth year of his reign, even for the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.⁸

The only substantial argument put forward by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar against my original views, was in connection with the age of Pulikêśin II. at certain points in his career, and was of the following nature. Both the present record and the Aihole Mûgûti inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff.) tell us plainly that Maṅgalêśa became king, or was king, on the death of Kîrtivarman I. As Pulikêśin II. had at any rate two younger brothers, he must have been not

⁷ I think, indeed, that this is the case, even if the unspecified year 532 is applied as a current year. But this depends on the results for some Eastern Chalukya dates which I have not yet completed. — And, if we attend to extreme nicety of language, the fact is perhaps indicated in the Goa grant itself. For, Satyâkṛaya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman made the grant with the permission of a *Mahârāja* who had the *birûda* of *tripṭikavallabhā*. This *birûda* belonged to Pulikêśin II. and his successors, and is also given in the present Mahākūṭa inscription to Pulikêśin I. While, in this same inscription, Maṅgalêśa's name is coupled with the higher *birûda* of *tripṭikavallabhāndra*.

⁸ I had also referred this date to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, on the chance of obtaining any other method of making it fit in with either of the previous theories. And, in endorsing Prof. Kielhorn's opinion that the word *siddhârtha* in this passage can mean nothing but the *samvatsara* of that name, he has put forward the suggestion that the syllables *pośchama-rit*, immediately before *vareṣā*, may be a mistake for *pośchatriṣṭī*, "in the thirty-fifth year of the constantly augmenting reign of Maṅgalêśa." The words *pośchama-rit-vareṣā* had struck me as a peculiar and exceptional expression, for which I cannot call to mind any analogous instance; but they are quite distinct and unmistakable; and no emendation of them had suggested itself to me. If it were necessary and desirable to amend the text at all, there would be no difficulty about accepting Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's proposal; for, the number of syllables in his suggested reading would be the same as in the original; the first two syllables, and the consonant of the last, would remain unchanged; and the only radical alterations would be in the entire third syllable, and in the vowel of the fourth, in points in which the palaeography of the period might very possibly lead to such mistakes as would then have occurred. Two other emendations are, of course, possible; viz. *pośchadaśī*, "in the fifteenth year," and *pośchavimśī*, "in the twenty-fifth year;" but by neither of them can the *samvatsara* be made to fit in with Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's theory. Whereas, a correction of the text in accordance with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's suggestion, would fit in admirably with my own previous views. For, as we have seen, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in Maṅgalêśa's first year was then that of Saka-Samvat 491 current; and so, the full-moon of Vaiśākha in his thirty-fifth year would be that of Saka-Samvat 525 current; and this, as we have already found, was the full-moon of Vaiśākha in the Siddhârtha *samvatsara* by the mean-sign system, and was the actual date on which the pillar was set up. It would be a curious coincidence if ever we should obtain another record of Maṅgalêśa, unquestionable in its purport, and including the connection of a regnal year with a year of the Saka era, which will compel us to adopt this emendation of the present text. But I do not at all anticipate any such discovery. And, as it is undesirable to alter an original text in so essential a point, except for very cogent reasons, I am not prepared to accept the proposed emendation simply because of the coincidence, and on the grounds that the expression *pośchama-rit-vareṣā* is peculiar and exceptional, and that the difficulty still remains that, according to all analogous instances, the apparently obvious meaning of the Bādāmi inscription is that Maṅgalêśa was then, in Saka-Samvat 501 current, reigning as paramount sovereign in his own right. We may, I consider, safely hold it to be certainly proved by this Mahākūṭa record, that the accession of Maṅgalêśa took place in A.D. 497 or 498 (Saka-Samvat 530 or 531 current), within the limits indicated by me in a previous paragraph; and the interpretation of the Bādāmi inscription, in which there is, at any rate, no distinct statement that Kîrtivarman I. was then dead, must be suited to this fact.

much less than three years old at the time of his father's death. If that event took place in Saka-Samvat 489 or 490, according to my original opinion, then Pulikéśin II. must have been about forty-six years old at the time of his accession, in Saka-Samvat 533; seventy years old at the time of the Aihole inscription, in Saka-Samvat 557; and seventy-four years old when Hiuen Tsiang wrote his contemporaneous account of him, in or about A.D. 639 (Saka-Samvat 561 or 562). If, however, the death of Kirtivarman I. took place in Saka-Samvat 514, according to Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's theory, then the age of Pulikéśin II. at each of the above points, would be reduced to the reasonable figures of twenty-two, forty-six, and fifty years, respectively. The result for the present Mahākūṭa inscription would still further reduce his age at each point, and, if we keep to the same assumption that his age was about three years at the time of his father's death, would in fact carry the matter rather too far in the other direction; for, he would then be only about fifteen years old at the time of his accession; and this seems to be too young to be ordinary admissible for a reigning king, even in India. Now the Miraj grant (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 13 f.) tells us that, on the death of Kirtivarman I., Maṅgaléśa assumed the sovereignty because Pulikéśin II. was unable to bear the burden of it on account of his childhood, and restored it to him when he became a young man, — i.e. when he attained a suitable age. This, however, is a tradition of later times. And a plainly more reliable version of the facts is given in the contemporaneous Aihole inscription, from which we learn that towards the end of Maṅgaléśa's reign there were differences between him and Pulikéśin II.; that Maṅgaléśa attempted to secure the succession for his own son; and that this attempt was defeated in a struggle, in which Maṅgaléśa lost his life, brought on by the faculties of counsel and energy that had been accumulated by Pulikéśin II. From this we can only assume that, at the time of his accession, Pulikéśin II. had attained a fairly ripe age, say about twenty-three years, sufficient at any rate for him to secure a powerful and influential following. And this would place his birth in or about Saka-Samvat 510; and would make him about ten years of age at the time of his father's death in Saka-Samvat 520 or 521.

This inscription contains a good deal of historical information. In the first place, we may note that, like many of the other records of this dynasty, it mentions the members of it as belonging to the Mānavya gōtra, and as being Hāritiputras or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hārita gōtra. In the second place, that it speaks of Pulikéśin I. as descended from the god Hiranyagarbha or Brahman; just as we find that the Purāṇic genealogy given in some of the later grants of the eastern branch of the family (e. g., *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50) takes the descent through the Moon up to Brahman, and through him to Viṣṇu, as he was born from the water-lily that grew from Viṣṇu's navel. And in the third place, that in lines 2 and 8 it gives the dynastic name as Chalikya. This form of the name occurs in a few other records; except that in them it is mostly written with the Sanskrit *l*, instead of with the Dravidian *ḷ*. Another form is Chalkya, which occurs in the Bādāmi cave inscription referred to in a preceding paragraph. But the most usual form is Chalukya. I have elsewhere (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41) pointed out the obvious difference in meaning between this form and that of Chālukya, with the long vowel *ā* in the first syllable; this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty, commencing with Taila II.; and, though it has been used throughout by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Deccan*, it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions.

The record then takes up the genealogy, commencing with Jayasīṃha I., "the lion of victory," who is here called Jayasīṃha, and to whose name there is attached the epithet of "lord of favourites (*vallabh-śāstra*). The only other early inscription that takes the genealogy back so far, is the Aihole inscription of Pulikéśin II., dated Saka-Samvat 556 expired. The Miraj grant of Jayasīṃha III., and a few other precisely similar records, do the same; but they belong to much later times, and are confessedly only based on earlier documents. And the same starting-point was selected in the British Museum grant of Pulikéśin I., purporting to be dated Saka-Samvat 411 expired (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 211 ff.); but this is a spurious grant, not

earlier than the tenth century A.D. On previous occasions (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 247, and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 18), I have practically identified with this person the Jayasimharāja who is mentioned in the Kaira grant of Vijayavarman. But I expressed myself at the time as not able to ascertain the identification with absolute conviction; and I subsequently withdrew it (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 292, note 10). When I rewrite and enlarge my chapters on the Early and Western Chalukyas, including the Gujarāt branch, the genealogical table will probably stand much more in accordance with the list as given by Dr Bühler, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 199.

The son of Jayasimha I. is mentioned by his usual name of Raṇarāja, "he who delights in war," which here, as in some similar passages, is explained by "his fondness for war (*raṇasya rāja*), which elicited the affection of his own people, and caused vexation of mind to his enemies."

His son, who is best known by the name of Pulikēśin I.,⁹ is here mentioned only by the *birudas* or secondary names of Satyārāya, "the asylum of truth," and Raṇavikrama, "the valorous in war," coupled with the epithet of "favourite of fortune and of the earth (*śrī-prītiśālaka*)." The same two *birudas* are used to mention him in the Sātarā grant of Vishnuvardhana I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 1 ff.), which I shall shortly publish in this Journal; and it is now plain that the *biruda* of Satyārāya was not invented for Pulikēśin II., but was held at least by his grandfather. From a further passage in this record we learn that the wife of Pulikēśin I. was Durishbadēvi, of the Raṭpūra family, which, though there is a slight difference of spelling in the second syllable, is evidently identical with, or at least a branch of, the Ādi-Mahā-Raṭpūra lineage to which, as we learn from the Goa grant referred to above, Satyārāya-Dhruvārāja-Indravarman belonged.

The sons of Pulikēśin I. are here, as usual, spoken of as two in number. The elder of them, best known by his proper name of Kirtivarman I., "he whose armour is his fame," is here mentioned only by the *biruda* of Puru-Raṇaparākrama, "puissant in war as Puru." The same *biruda*, Raṇaparākrama, only without the prefix, occurs as the name of a *Mahārāja* in one of the Lakshmiśahwar inscriptions (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 110); but there, though a Chalukya prince is indicated by the preceding words, it is doubtful who is intended; for, if it may be trusted, that record makes Raṇaparākrama the father of Hreyappa, a name which does not occur in any other Chalukya record, and then proceeds to mention a *Mahārāja*, named Satyārāya, who may be either Pulikēśin I. or Pulikēśin II., and who is not necessarily to be identified with, or to be taken as a son of, Hreyappa. Also, the same word occurs in connection with Kirtivarman I. in line 5 of the Aihole Māguṣi inscription referred to above; there, however, it is used, not as a *biruda*, but as part of a compound meaning that he acquired the goddess of victory by his puissance in war (*raṇa-parākrama*). In the present inscription we are told that the victories of Kirtivarman I. included the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaśīgā, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kēraja, Gaṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷiya, Āṇka, and Vaijayanṭi. Most of these names are names of countries, and are already well-known. The form Chōḷiya, as a variant of Ohōja or Ohōja, is of some interest. The Mūshaka country seems to be the part of the Malabar Coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin (see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, s.v. *mūshaka*). Āṇka is a new name; but, as Monier-Williams gives it as an epithet of Śāha, the chief of the serpent race, it may possibly denote the Nāgas, who in early times were powerful in

⁹ I do not feel sure about the meaning of this name. In the Miraṇ grant, in which it is written Pulakēśin, with the vowel *e* in the second syllable, there is a play on it (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 18):—"His son was king Pulakēśin, equal to (Kṛishṇa) the destroyer of (the demon) Kāśin; we, while describing king Pulakēśin, have our bodies experiencing the sensation of having the hair standing erect through pleasure (*pulaka-kāśin-dhātā*)."¹⁰ But this depends entirely on the spelling used there, which is a corruption of the older form Pulikēśin, with the vowel *i* in the second syllable. I think it is a hybrid word, Old-Kanarese and Sanskrit, meaning 'tiger-haired,' i. e. perhaps 'having a coat of short, thick, and close hair, like that of a tiger.' But the still older form is Pulakēśin; and I do not know whether pole is an older form of pul, = *hul*, 'a tiger.'

the more western parts of the country that became included in the Chalukya dominions. Vattūra also is a new name, and is plainly a Drāviḍian word; like Vaijayanti, it denotes a town or city, not a country.

Kirtivarman I. was succeeded by his younger brother, who is here mentioned by the name of Maṅgalāśa, "the auspicious lord, or the lord of prosperity," coupled with the *biruda* of Uru-Raṇavikrānta, "valorous in war as Uru," and with the epithet of "chief of favourites of fortune and of the earth (*trīpīṭhivallabhādra*)."¹⁰ It would seem that he was a half-brother of Kirtivarman I.; for, in line 18, the text refers to Durlobhadēvi, not as his own mother (*samāhāra*), but as the wife of his own father (*sas-guru-patnīm*). And a hint to the same effect is perhaps given in line 5, where the father is compared with Vasudēva, and the two sons with Balabhadra and Vāsuhadra. One part of the comparison may very well be taken to rest on the facts that Vasudēva (= Pulikēśin I.) had two wives, Rōhini and Dēvaki; that Balabhadra or Balarāma (= Kirtivarman I.) was begotten on Dēvaki, but was transferred to the womb of Rōhini, and was actually born from her; and that his younger brother, Vāsuhadra, Vāsudēva, or Kṛishṇa, was born from Dēvaki. Possibly also another similar hint is contained in the *birudas* Puru-Raṇaparākrama and Uru-Raṇavikrānta. Maṅgalāśa's *biruda* appears, without the prefix, in the simple form of Raṇavikrānta, in the Bādāmi cave inscription. Here, in the two *birudas*, the prefixes are evidently employed for some special object of contrast and comparison. And, drawing my attention to the fact that, according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary, the Vēdic word *puru*, 'much, many,' occurs in the epic and later literature only at the commencement of some proper names, and, appearing again in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, which affects rare and archaic words, is found there also only at the commencement of compounds, Prof. Kielhorn has suggested that possibly the two brothers are here compared with Puru or Pūru and Uru or Ūru, two of the sons of Ohāṅkashuṣa-Manu (*Vishnu-Purāṇa*, Translation, Vol. I. p. 177, and Vol. III. pp. 12, 18). As it would thus seem that the word *puru* at least could not be properly used in this period as an adjective, but should be understood as a proper name, and as the evident contrast suggests that we ought to understand the word *uru* here in just the same way, this or some similar comparison, appears extremely probable. But, whether Pūru and Ūru were half-brothers, and which of them was the elder, I am not able to say. The other forms of Maṅgalāśa's proper name, in early records, are, Maṅgalarāja, in his own grant obtained at Nerūr (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 161); Maṅgalāśa, in the Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II., referred to above,¹⁰ and in his own Bādāmi rock inscription (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 59);¹¹ and Maṅgalāśvara, in the Bādāmi cave inscription.¹² I had occasion to make some remarks about his name in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 298; and, as pointed out there, it must be borne in mind that there is sometimes considerable similarity between the *li* or *lī* and the *le* or *lē* of the period with which we are dealing. Also, we should naturally expect to have only the forms, Maṅgalāśa and Maṅgalāśvara (*maṅgala* + *śa* or *śvara*); since the other forms, Maṅgalāśa and Maṅgalāśvara, entail the use of a word, *maṅgalāśa*, for which I cannot find any authority in the dictionaries. But the present record is the only one which undoubtedly gives the vowel *ē* in the third syllable; which it does very distinctly. And, that the forms Maṅgalāśa and Maṅgalāśvara were of real occurrence, and, whatever may be the explanation of them, are not to be taken as actual mistakes, is shown by the Miraj grant and the Yēwtr inscription, in which (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 18) his name occurs as Maṅgalāśa, in a metrical passage, and in respectively Nāgarī and Old-Kanarese characters, in both of which no confusion at all is possible between *lī* and *lē*; the writer of the draft from which these records were prepared, must be credited with the power of reading correctly the original charters that

¹⁰ The actual reading, lines 5 and 7, is *maṅgalāśa*, with the short vowel *ē* in the third syllable; but the metre shows that the long vowel *ī* was intended.

¹¹ Here, again, the short vowel *ē* is used in the third syllable; in prose, this time.

¹² Curiously enough, here again, and again in prose, the short vowel *ē* is used in the third syllable; but it is undoubtedly a mistake for the long vowel *ī*.

he consulted. Like the Aihole inscription, the present record tells us that Maṅgalēśa succeeded on the death of his elder brother. It then proceeds to state that, having set himself to subjugate the northern region, he conquered a king named Buddha, and took away from him all his wealth. This event is mentioned also in the Nerūr grant, which adds the information that Buddharāja, "who possessed the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure," was the son of Saṅkaragana. After this victory, Maṅgalēśa was desirous of setting up a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgirathī or Ganges. But, considering that it was proper first to set up a pillar of victory of religion to commemorate some noteworthy act of piety, and finding that the property of the Kalatūri had been already expended in religious ceremonies, he invested his father's wife, Durlabhadēvi, with authority to augment, with the grant of ten villages, a previous endowment of the god Makutēśvaranātha by his father and elder brother, and caused this pillar to be set up in commemoration of the deed. The word Kalatūri which we have in this passage, is plainly a Sanskritised form of the name Kalachuri or Kalachuri, which is of frequent occurrence in later times, and which appears in the Aihole inscription in the form of Kālachchuri, and in the Mirāj grant in the form of Kālachchuri; in both records, in connection with Maṅgalēśa, and in metrical passages which account for the double *ch*. The present passage is interesting in shewing the existence of the Kalachuri dynasty and dynastic name in this period. And I think it also proves a point which was originally suggested by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. IX. p. 77); viz. that Saṅkaragana and Buddharāja were Kalachuris. We find that the victory over Buddharāja took place when Maṅgalēśa had determined upon conquering the northern region, and that, after it, Maṅgalēśa was minded to set up a pillar of victory on the Ganges; both of which statements indicate, whether Maṅgalēśa actually reached the Ganges or not, a campaign to the north, precisely the direction in which the dominions of the Kalachuris of Central India lay, as compared with those of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The use of the name Kalatūri at all in this record, after the mention of the victory over king Buddha, is in itself almost sufficient to prove the point. But I think it is also clear that it does so explicitly. Though, in the compound in which it stands, it might have a plural sense, yet it seems to me that the reference in two records to the treasure and wealth of king Buddha, closely followed here by the mention of the expenditure of certain wealth, is significant, and shews plainly that the word is used here to avoid a repetition of the name of Buddha; and consequently, that it is to be rendered in the singular, and that it distinctly stamps king Buddha as a Kalachuri.

TEXT.¹³

- 1 Om¹⁴ Svasti || Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāritiputrāṇāṁ apratihāt-ōtāha-bala-mati-pratāpa-śauryya-dhairyya-vīryyāṇāṁ mātāpitṛi-pād-ānuddhyā[ī¹⁵]nām yathā-vi¹⁶dhī-hut-āgni(gn)-
- 2 nām yathākām-ārochhit-ārtthinām anāka-dharma-karma-punya-prasavānām Chajī-kyānām-anvayō sambhūta[h¹⁷] śrī-Jayasīṅgha¹⁸-vallabhēndrō nṛipaḥ Maghavān-iva guṇa-sampannah ridhyā¹⁷ Vai-
- 3 śravaṇ-ōpamah [ī¹⁸] Tasyā¹⁹-ānurūpa-guṇa-śau¹⁹ryya-riddhi²⁰-tāj-ōtāha²¹-vikrama-smpitī-mati-pratāpa-naya-vinay-ādhānabhūtāt-samutpannah sugṛihīta-nāmadhēyāt Rapaṇāg-ākhyā-nṛipaḥ yēna²² ra-

¹³ From the ink-impression.¹⁴ Represented by a symbol.¹⁵ These two syllables, *īhāi*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.¹⁶ This *gha* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.¹⁷ Read *riddhyā*. With the following word, this reads like the last eight syllables of a *śloka*.¹⁸ From here, as far as *samutpannah*, the construction seems at first sight a little mixed. First we have the genitive *tasya*; then a nominative, ending with *riddhi*, which, because of the first component of it, *śau*, is certainly to be retained as the nominative, qualifying *Rapaṇāg*, and is not to be altered into a genitive in apposition with *tasya*; and then an ablative ending with *ādhānabhūtāt*, followed by *samutpannah*. It might perhaps be thought desirable either to alter *tasya* into the ablative (*śauśādhānabhūtāt*), in apposition with *ādhānabhūtāt*.

- 4 pāya rāgēna(na) janitah sva-jan-ānurgō durhṛida(n)-manah-santāpaś=[oh]a [11*]
Tasya sadṛiṣa-guṇasya nripatēh-priya-tantjās-Sattyaśaraya-śrīprithivīvallabhā-
Rānavikkrām-śhka-nripah agniśtōm-āgnichayana-vājapēya-bahusuvarṇa-pau-
- 5 pḍarik-āsvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)snāna-puṇya-pavitrikri(kṛi)ta-śa[r]irah Hiranyagarbha-
sambhātah vridh-ōpadēsa-grāhī brahmanyas-satya-vāg-avisamvādakah [11*]
Tasya³⁵ dha[rma]-rata-buddhōr-Vasudēva-pratima-prabhāvasya Bala-Vāsu-
bhadr-ōpama-guṇau sutaṇ samu-
- 6 tpannau [11*] Jyēṣṭha[h*] āśhṭha-guṇa-samuday-ōdita-Puru³⁴-Rānaparākkram-śhka-
priyah sva-bāhu-bala-parākkram-ōpārijita-rājya-sampān[n]ah paratā-maṇi-
makuta-parighṛiṣṭ-āmpīṣṭa-viśiṣṭa-oharāṇah bahusuvarṇa-āgnīśtō-
- 7 m-āvabhṛita(tha)snāna-puṇya-pavitrikri(kṛi)ta-śarirah [11*] Vahg-Ānga-Kālīnga-
Vatūra³⁶-Magadha³⁶-Madraka-Kēraja-Gaṅga-Mūshaka-Pāṇḍya-Dramiḷa-
Chōḷiy-Āṇka-Vaijayantya-prabhṛitir-anōka³⁷-paranripati-sam t h-āva mardda-
labdha-vijayē d[i]-
- 8 vām-ādhirāḍā(ḥh) kanyān-Uru-Rānavikkrānta-Mahāgalēsa³⁸-śrīprithivīvallabhēndr-
ākhyā-nripō babhūva dēva-dvija-guru-oharā-ānudyātah Chōḷikya-vāh-
āmbara-pūṇṣachandraḥ naya-vinaya-vijñā[na]-dāna-dayā-dākaḥiṇya-sampānnah
bhāṭa-śakuna-ga-
- 9 p-ābhilāṣita-yuvati-madhukari(rf)-kula-kalita-lalita-guṇa-kusum-ākula-puṇyavara-sūryya-
kirāpa-vibōdhita-vibha[va]-Śrī-nishṭha-nripati-kamalavānah(m) kamalavāna-
samya[h] ripujana-mukha-kula-bhaya-jāta-sambāha-tatpara-oharā³⁹-sēvar(k)-
āmala-nayana-sūryyō-
- 10 grahastā-pratāpa-vīryya-vēg-ōddhṛita-nripatisinghah mantra-chāra-dāta-sandhi-vig[r]ahā-
sthāna-pra³⁹yāna-pārshnigrahāga-maṇḍalayātrā-durgavidhāna-jāna⁴¹pada-paura-
mānyavibhāga-kūśalah [1*] kim-bahunā [1*] Mahēndra⁴² iva durddharśah
Rāma iv-ā-parājitaḥ Śibir-Ausṭnara iva pra-
- 11 dātārah⁴³ Yudhiṣṭhira iva satya-sandhah Vāsudēva-śrīmantaḥ⁴⁴ Māndhātāra iva⁴⁵
kīrti-sampānnah dhiyā Brihaspatty-Uśana[h*]-samah samudra⁴⁶ iva gam-
bhārah kshamayā prithivī-samah ku-tilaka-dō(bhō)taḥ [11*] Sag-uttarādig.⁴⁷
vijaya-kkri(kṛi)ta-buddhir-Buddha-nripam-avaḥjitya ta-

śāstī, and in construction with *samutpannāḥ*; or to alter *dādhābāḥātī* into the genitive, in apposition with *tasya*, wrongly used for the ablative in construction with *samutpannāḥ*, in support of which we have apparently a similar wrong use of the genitive in line 5; or even to alter *dādhābāḥātī* into the nominative, as a second adjective qualifying Rāparāga. But on the whole I think we may take it that the genitive *tasya* is correct, and is governed by *samutpana*, and that the ablative which *samutpannāḥ* requires is provided by *dādhābāḥātī*; and this construction, which entails no alteration of the text at all, is the one that I have followed in my translation.

³⁹ This *śa* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

⁴⁰ Read *riddhi*; or, according to the more usual custom, *śūryy-arddhī*.

⁴¹ Read *tēja-utadha*, which is the proper *sandhi* of *tējas + utadha*; see Kielhorn's Sanskrit Grammar, § 543 (a), combined with § 85 (c). ⁴² Here we seem to have the first eight or eleven syllables of a Śiḥka.

⁴³ Here the genitive *tasya* seems to be certainly used in construction with *samutpannāḥ*; but it may have been suggested by the *upama* in one of the intervening words.

⁴⁴ In the first syllable, the *p* is rather imperfect; the upward stroke not having been fully formed. But there is enough of it to show that *p* was certainly intended.

⁴⁵ The second syllable is a little damaged, and may be taken as somewhat doubtful. But I can only read it as *śāḥ*; and I think that this is what it really is.

⁴⁶ This *śa* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

⁴⁷ Read *prabhīty-omka*.

⁴⁸ It should be noted how distinctly the vowel is *ē* in the third syllable.

⁴⁹ These two syllables, *ohara*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

⁵⁰ These two syllables, *sopra*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.

⁵¹ These two syllables, *jāna*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line; the *jā* is below the line of *vidhāna*, and is rather damaged. ⁵² Here we have plainly half of a Śiḥka.

⁵³ Read *pradīdā*.

⁵⁴ Read *vāsudēva-śa śrīmanta*.

⁵⁵ Read *sandhātī-śa*.

⁵⁶ Here, again, we have plainly half of a Śiḥka.

⁵⁷ Read as *ōḥ-uttarādig*, or as *uttarādig*, or *samag-uttarādig*.

- 12 *sya vasum=asāham³⁸=upegrīhya Bhāgrathi-kālā śakti-jayastambha-nirōpaṇ-antsu-kyēna manasā dharmma-jayastambha-śaktiḥ-prathamatarām=ēva nirōpayita-vy-ōty=avadhṛitya tad-anukarāṇa-yōgya-bhūtām Madayantim³⁹=iva mahā-pativratām Batpūra⁴⁰-kula-ja-*
- 13 *lāma-bhūtām naikavidha-dharmma-phala-bhāgya-pevitrikri(kṛi)ta-śarīrām sva-guru-patnīm Durl[ī]abha-nāmadhēy(yā)n-dēvim-āhūya ida(ma)m=adhi[kā]raṁ sambōdhayati [i*] Kālatūri-gana-saṁ dēvagrīha⁴¹-dēvadrōṇy[ā*]m gatam=ima(da)ñ=cha dravyam sva-dēvadrōṇyām Makuṣṭh[ā*]v[ā]-*
- 14 *ra-nāthasy-āsmākaṁ pitrā jyēsthēna ch-ōpadatta[m] Śriyambāṭaka-Tirmari-dvenasavedve-Vrihimukhagrāma-Kesuvoḷala-Kendōramānya-Na n d i g r ā m a -prabhṛiti-dāsa-grāma-paribhōgēna(pā) samarppayadhvam=iti [i*] Tad=uttarōttara-pravarddhamāna-rājya-paśocha-*
- 15 *ma-śri-varshē pravarttamānē Siddhārthē Vaiśākha-pūrnāmāsyām=imañ⁴² pratishṭhāpitavān [i*] Uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrāhu [i*] Bahubhir= vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya [yasya*]- yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [i*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ āchōhhē-*
- 16 *tā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [i*]*

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! In the lineage of the Chalikyas, — who are of the Mānavya gōtra; who are Hārīti-putras; who are possessed of unrepulsed energy, strength, intellect, splendour, heroism, firmness, and vigour; who meditate on the feet of (*their*) parents; who have kindled the sacrificial fire according to due rite; who gratify supplicants according to (*their*) desires; (*and*) who generate the religious merit of many pious actions, — there was born a king, the illustrious Jayastīnga, the chief of favourites, who, like (the god) Maghavan (Indra), was possessed of virtuous qualities, (*and*) who in affluence resembled (the god) Vaiśravaṇa (Kubēra).

(Line 8). — Resembling him in virtuous qualities and heroism and affluence, from (*him who was*) a very receptacle of brilliance, energy, valour, memory, intellect, splendour, polity, and refinement, there was born one who was possessed of an auspicious name, the king called Rāparāga, who by (*his*) fondness for war elicited the affection of his own people, and caused vexation of mind to (*his*) enemies.

(L. 4). — Of that king, possessed of virtuous qualities resembling (*those of his father*), the dear son (*was*) the king who had the names⁴⁴ of Satyākṛaya, the favourite of fortune and of

³⁸ Read *vasu-asāham*. *Vas* has been improperly used in the masculine, instead of the neuter. There are somewhat similar mistakes in *idam-adhikāram*, line 13, and in *śvañ-cha dravyam*, in the same line.

³⁹ Read *damayantim*. *Madayanti* is a real word; being the name of the wife of Baudhā, otherwise called Mitrāsaka and Kalmāshapāda. But she does not seem to have been of any special note. And the real reference clearly seems to be to *Damayanti*, the well-known wife of Nala.

⁴⁰ In this word, the *h* commences on the edge of the face of the column, and is not very well formed there, at the proper right side. Also, from the horizontal top-stroke there are two slight projections, like short horns, as if a superscript *i* was commenced and abandoned. But I feel no doubt that the syllable was intended to be simply *ba*.

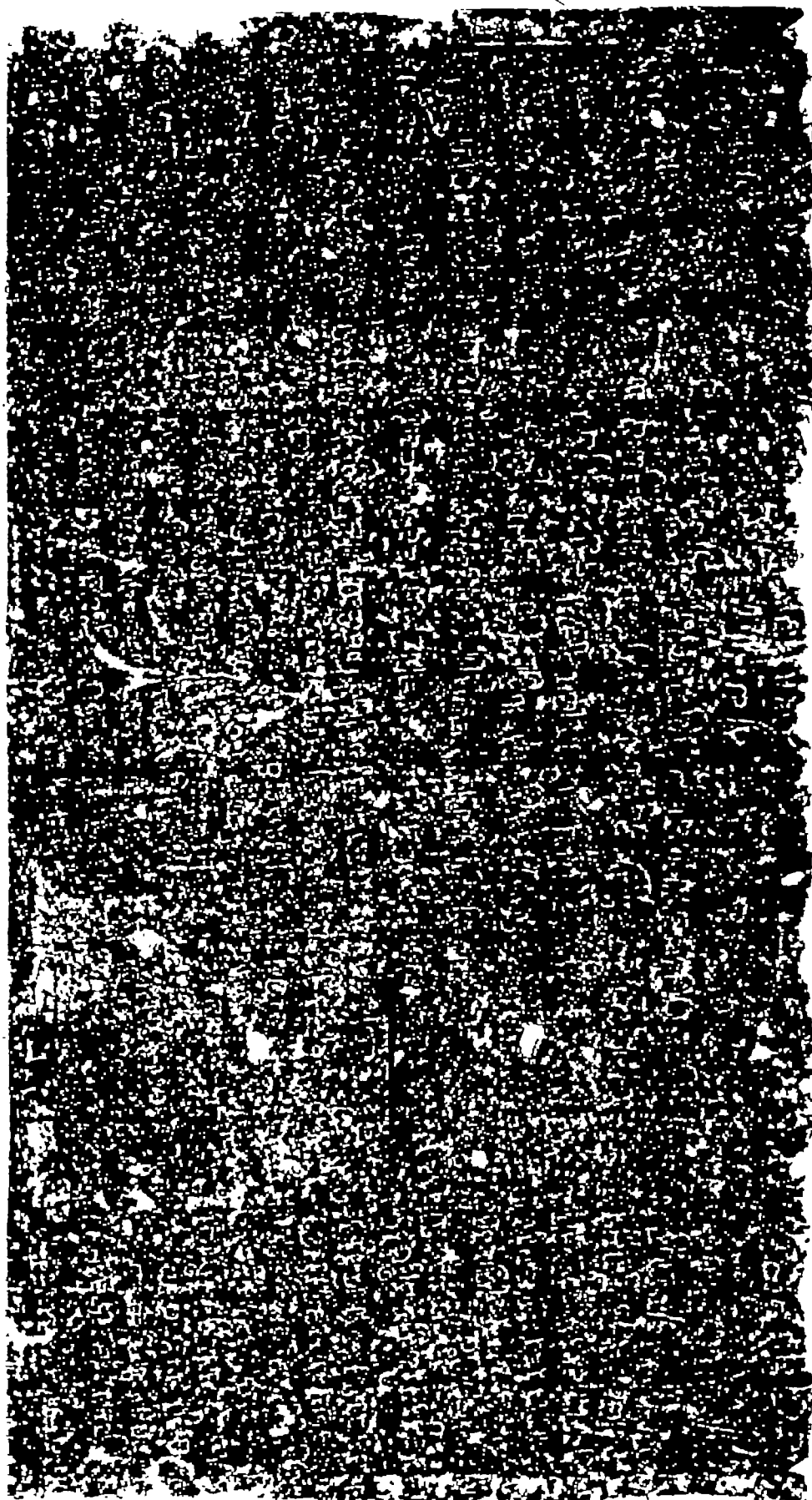
⁴¹ Read, probably, *kālatūri-dhoma sva-dēvagrīha*.

⁴² Supply *dharmma-jayastambham*.

⁴³ Metre, *Ślōka*, (Anuṣṭubh); and in the following verse.

⁴⁴ There are certain words in which *akā* is undoubtedly an inherent part; e.g. the village-name Chārmāka, as proved by the modern form Chāmmak (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 235, 241), and probably Barvāka, in which we have the feminine *akā* (in the Kāpaswa inscription of Śivagaya, of which a revised version, by Prof. Kielhorn, will be issued shortly). But I think, especially from the analysis of the Bahuvrīhi compound in line 6, where it occurs again, that in cases like the present it is not an inherent part of the name, but is used as a substitute for, and in precisely the same sense as, *nāman*, 'a name,' or *dhya*, 'an appellation,' or *virada*, 'a secondary name or title.' In the Lakṣmīnāthar inscription (see the introductory remarks), the text is *rasopādānam-ākā-mahādēvā*, similar to what we have here; but in the Śāstā grant, the text is *rasopādānam-āripak*, without *akā*.

Melanota Pillar Inscription of Macgregor



J. P. FLEET, NO. 64.

SCALE 1/2

FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

W. G. S. S. PHOTO-LITH.

the earth, and *Ranavikrama*; whose body was purified by the religious merit of ablutions performed after celebrating the *agnishîṭma*, *agnichayana*, *vājapēya*, *bahusuvārṇa*, *pañṣḍarīka*, and *atvamśāha*-sacrifices; who was descended from (the god) *Hiranyagarbha* (*Brahman*); who accepted the admonitions of the elders; who was good to *Brāhmaṇas*; who was a speaker of the truth; (and) who never broke (*his*) promises.

(L. 5). — Of him, whose mind delighted in religion, (and) whose majesty resembled that of *Vasudēva*, there were born two sons, whose virtuous qualities resembled those of *Balabhadra* and *Vasubhadra*. The elder (was) he who was fond of (*his*) name of *Puru-Ranaparākrama*, which was rendered illustrious by a multitude of most excellent virtues; who was endowed with sovereignty acquired by the strength and prowess of his own arm; whose choice feet were rubbed and scrubbed by the jewelled diadems of hostile kings (*bowing down before him*); (and) whose body was purified by the religious merit of ablutions performed after celebrating the *bahusuvārṇa* and *agnishîṭma* sacrifices.

(L. 7). — When he, having acquired victory by crushing the array of many hostile kings commencing with those of *Vaṅga*, *Aṅga*, *Kāṣṭhā*, *Vaṭṭura*, *Magadha*, *Madraka*, *Kōraja*, *Gaṅga*, *Māshaka*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Dramiḷa*, *Ohōṭiya*, *Āḷuka*, and *Vaijayanti*, had ascended to the skies, there was (*his*) younger brother, the king who has the appellations of *Uru-Ranavikrānta*, and *Mahāgalēsa*, and chief of favourites of fortune and of the earth; who meditates on the feet of gods, *Brāhmaṇas*, and spiritual preceptors; who is the full-moon of the sky which is the race of the *Chakṛīyas*; who is endowed with polity, refinement, knowledge, liberality, kindness, and civility; who is a king resembling a group of water-lilies, being an object of desire to crowds of warriors, being surrounded by young damsels, being full of charming qualities, being enlightened by (*his*) excellent religious merit, and being the abode of majesty, just as the group of water-lilies is an object of desire to crowds of birds, is surrounded by female bees, is full of blossoms, is caused to expand by the rays of the sun, and is the abode of (the goddess) *Srī*; who is as pleasing as a group of water-lilies; whose heroism has for (*its*) faultless eye (*his*) servants the spies who are intent upon scorching up the whole aggregate of the fear (*that displays itself*) in the multitude of the faces of (*his*) enemies: who has exterminated (*other*) lion-like kings with the majesty and vigour and speed of (*his*) fore-arm; (and) who is well skilled in counsel, in (*the selection of*) spies and messengers, in (*arranging*) peace and war, in encamping and in moving forward, in attacking in the rear, in the invasion of territories, in the construction of fortresses, and in the apportioning of honours among country-people and townsfolk. What need is there to say much more? He is as difficult of assault as (the god) *Mahēndra*; like *Rāma*, he has never been conquered; he is as liberal as *Sibi*, the son of *Uśīnara*; ⁴⁶ like *Yudhishtīra*, he is faithful to his promises; he is possessed of fortune, just as (the god) *Vāsudēva* (*Kṛishṇa*) is possessed of (his wife, the goddess) *Srī*; like *Māndhātṛi*, he is possessed of fame; in intellect he is equal to *Bṛihaspati* and *Uśanas*; he is as profound as the ocean; in endurance he is equal to the earth; (and) he is the ornament of the earth.

(L. 11). — And he, — having set (*his*) heart upon the conquest of the northern region, (and) having conquered king *Buddha*, (and) having taken possession of all his substance, (and), with an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory of (*his*) prowess on the bank of (the river) *Bhāgirathi*, having determined in (*his*) mind that in the first place indeed there should be set up the prowess ⁴⁵ of a pillar of victory of religion, — calls (*to his presence*) the royal lady ⁴⁷ named *Durlabha(dēvi)*, his own father's wife, — who is fit and worthy to follow (*his*) lead in the matter; who, like *Damayanti*, ⁴⁸ was a most devoted wife; who was the ornament of the *Batpūra* family; (and) whose body has been purified by participating

⁴⁵ *Sibi* rescued *Agni* in the form of a pigeon, from *Indra* in the form of a hawk, by offering an equal portion of his own flesh, weighed in a balance (see *Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v. *Sibi*.)

⁴⁶ Unless some other meaning can be found for it, the use of the word *śakti* here does not seem very appropriate.

⁴⁷ *dēvi*.

⁴⁸ See note 39 abc re.

⁴⁹ See note 40 above.

in the rewards of a variety of religious actions, — and informs (*her*) of this (*assignment of*) authority :—

(L. 18). — “The wealth of the Kalatsūri has been expended in the idol-procession of the temple of (*Our*) own god. And (*therefore*) this property, which at (*their*) own idol-procession was assigned by our father and elder brother to (the god) Makuṭṭēvaranātha, — supplement it, by (*bestowing the*) enjoyment of the ten villages headed by Śrīyaṁbātaka, ... , Vṛihimukhagrāma, Kesuvajala, Kendōramānya, and Nandigrāma.”⁸⁰

(L. 14). — Accordingly, in the fifth glorious year of (*his*) constantly augmenting reign, in the current Siddhārtha (*sahvatsara*),⁸¹ on the full-moon day of (the month) Vāṣāḥka, (*in commemoration of the grant of the villages in question*) he has set up this (*column of victory of religion*).

(L. 15). — And it has been said in the writings of religion :— The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs at that time the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator of a grant, and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, O.L.B., GÖTTINGEN.

Since the time when I first turned my attention to the study of Indian inscriptions, there have presented themselves to me a number of questions regarding the dates of these documents, to some of which I have not been able to obtain satisfactory answers from other workers, or on which I have found different scholars to hold conflicting opinions. And this has been especially the case in regard to dates recorded in the Vikrama era; probably because the inscriptions with which I have been chiefly concerned, were from parts of India in which, and belonged to times when, that particular era was used in preference to other eras. Did the Hindus always record their dates in *expired* years? In what parts of India and at what period was the southern year used; and where and when the northern year? Must the northern year be necessarily connected with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, and the southern year with the *amānta* scheme? When may a civil day be coupled with a *running tithi*? Must an eclipse have been visible at the spot where the date which mentions it happens to be recorded? What was the exact practice with respect to *Sankranti*? What rules were observed in different parts of India and at different periods in regard to the years of the Brihaspati or Jovian cycle? What references are there in the dates to the origin of the era, or in what terms is its reputed founder spoken of? What are the earliest dates, hitherto met with, which contain sufficient *data* for verification? Such are some of the questions that have arisen. And, in order to arrive, if possible, at a settlement of one or other of them, I have from time to time collected and calculated such Vikrama dates as were within my reach; and, relying on the opinion of the Editors of this Journal, that what I have primarily done for myself, may be of some use or save trouble to others, I now begin to publish my list of dates together with the results of my calculations, reserving any remarks of a general nature which may be suggested by the practice of the dates themselves, for a subsequent part of these notes.

⁸⁰ The meaning of this passage is not quite certain. But it seems to be that Maṅgalāśa was desirous of increasing the previous endowment of the god Makuṭṭēvaranātha; that he found that the wealth of the Kalatsūri-king, acquired by the victory over him, had already been expended, or mostly so, by himself, on another religious object; and that he accomplished his purpose by directing the assignment of the ten villages in question.

⁸¹ With the present text, compare *pravarāntarāśa Samskṛta-sahvatsara*; *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 304, line 20f. On the analogy, however, of such passages as *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 88, line 26, and Vol. VII. p. 303, line 24, *pravarāntarāśa* might have been construed with *varaśa*, and not with *siddhārthaśa*.

In this list I have tried to include all trustworthy Vikrama dates of the inscriptions published in this Journal and in the Journals of the Bengal Asiatic, American Oriental, and German Oriental Societies, as well as of those in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India which are accompanied by photo-lithographs, and of some found in the various publications of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, and elsewhere. And for a fair number of these dates I have been able to use impressions and photo-lithographs, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Fleet and by Dr. Burgess. As regards dates occurring in MSS., I have used the Catalogues of Professors Aufrecht, Bendall, Bhāṇḍārkar, Eggeling, Peterson, and Weber, and of Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra and myself, and have from them selected chiefly such dates as are given in words, or contain one or more points of special interest; and I have also taken some dates from MSS. of my own. I have not included in my list every one of the dates from MSS. for which I have made the necessary calculations; but, since I have not intentionally suppressed any date the calculation of which has proved to be unsatisfactory, I trust that, for the Vikrama era, my list will, in a fairly complete manner, show the actual practice of dating, from the earliest to the most modern times. Should I have overlooked any dates of importance, I shall be glad to have this pointed out to me, in order that I may be able to complete or improve my list as soon as possible.

In calculating the *tithis*, *nakshatras* and *yogas*, I have used Professor Jacobi's Tables, with such (slight) modifications as have been suggested by the author himself;¹ and for ascertaining the exact beginnings and ends of the solar months, chiefly required for determining the occurrence of intercalary months, I have used the Tables for the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, published *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 207. The results for new and full-moons I have mostly checked by Dr. Schram's Tables for the phases of the moon. For eclipses I have consulted von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*; and the duration of the *Bṛihaspati* years has been ascertained in the manner described by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 193 ff. In every case I have calculated all the possible European equivalents, and in the printed list those equivalents which satisfy the special requirements of the Indian dates will be distinguished from the rest by being printed in antique type.

All that I have taken for granted for the purposes of my calculations is that (disregarding for the present the *Aśvadhādi* year about which as yet we do not know very much) there is one Vikrama year commencing with the month Chaitra, commonly called the northern Vikrama year, and another Vikrama year commencing seven months later, with the month Kārttika, commonly called the southern Vikrama year; and that the scheme of the two lunar fortnights may be either the *pūrṇimānta* scheme or the *amānta* scheme. But I have not regarded as proved that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme is necessarily always connected with the northern year, and the *amānta* scheme with the southern year. Accordingly, the five

¹ See *Errata*, *ante*, Vol. XVII.—Professor Jacobi's Tables can be applied so as to yield, not infrequently, two results for the ending-time of a *tithi*; (1) the ordinary approximate result (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 148 b, paras. 1 to 4); and (2) a closer result, to be worked out when the ordinary approximate result is not considered sufficient (*ib.*, last para.). The first process is sufficient for all ordinary purposes, and is the one usually applied by me. I generally apply the second process only when, by the first process, the *tithi* ends within about three hours before or after mean sunrise, because experience has shown me that this allows an ample margin for any possible corrections. In applying the second process, it often happens that A. finally comes out larger than the index of the *tithi* pointed out by the first process; in such cases, the difference of time (Table II) deduced from the difference between A. as thus finally determined and the index of the *tithi*, is to be subtracted from the ending-time determined by the first process; with the result that, by this refinement, the *tithi* really ended earlier than the time arrived at by the first process. In other cases, i.e. when A., as finally determined by the second process, still remains smaller than the index of the *tithi* pointed out by the first process, the difference of time is always additive, as in the example given by Prof. Jacobi; with the result that, by this refinement, the *tithi* really did end later than the time arrived at by the first process. When, by the second process, A. eventually comes out exactly the same with the index of the *tithi*, then of course there is no difference, additive or subtractive, from the ending-time determined by the first process.—My own experience is that, when by the first process the *tithi* ends late in the day (say, from 21 to 22 hours after mean sunrise), the second process will generally make the real ending-time earlier.

H 4902

months from Kārttika to Phālguna being common to the northern and southern years, I have had to ascertain, for dates in bright fortnights of these months, merely the possible European equivalents for the current and expired Indian years, and for dates in dark fortnights, the equivalents for the current and expired years, according to both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes. In the case of the seven months from Chaitra to Āśvina, on the other hand, it was necessary to calculate, for dates in bright fortnights, the possible equivalents for the northern current, the northern expired (or southern current), and the southern expired years, and for dates in dark fortnights, the equivalents for the same three years, again according to both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes. In arranging the dates for my list, I have considered it best to begin with the dates in bright fortnights, and to place the dates of the months Kārttika to Phālguna before those of the months Chaitra to Āśvina, and generally to group together the dates according to the manner in which the results of my calculations have furnished European equivalents which satisfy the requirements of the Hindu dates.

All those dates for which calculations by the ordinary rules and Tables have yielded no satisfactory equivalents, I shall give separately, as irregular dates; but in using the expression "irregular," I merely wish to say that these dates require each of them a separate examination, and I would not be misunderstood to maintain that we have to do here, in every case, with errors or inaccuracies of the writers who have recorded the dates, or of the scholars who have copied them.

1.—REGULAR DATES.

A.—DATES IN BRIGHT FORTNIGHTS.

1.—Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

(a).—Dates in Current Years.

1.—V. 1304.—Dr. Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.* (1884-86), App. p. 239.

Date of the composition of Udayasagara's *Saṁskṛitapāñchāṅgikā* :—

Varshē s bāhi-kh-āgn-īndu-mitē su-ramyē

śrī-Pauṣa-māsē cha valakṣa-pakṣē |

śrī-pūrṇimāyām Śani-vāsarē cha

śrī-Pādālipt-ākhyā-purē Surāshtrē ||

V. 1304 current: Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1246; the full-moon *tithi* ended 2 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1304 expired: Friday, 13 December, A.D. 1247.

2.—V. 1397.—*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 143, and Plate xxix. B.—D.

Inscriptions on pillars at 'Kovati-Kund':—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1397 samayē [or, in D, varshē] Māgha-sudi 4 Soma-dinē || tasmin
kāle varitamañḍe saṁvatsarē || Lūknsthān mahārājā(ja)-sri(śrī)-Hamīradēva-rājyē ||

V. 1397 current: Monday, 3 January, A.D. 1340; the 4th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1397 expired: Sunday, 21 January, A.D. 1341; the 4th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, takes the corresponding date to be Monday, 22 January, A.D. 1341).

(b).—Dates in Expired Years.

3.—V. 1016.—*Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 162, and *Kāvyamālā*, No. 38. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājāḥkirāja Mathanadēva, from Rājōrgaḥ near Alvar :—
... -śrī-Vijayapālādēva-pādānām-abbhipravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē saṁvatsara-
śatēṣu dāśasu śhōḍaś-ottarakōṣhu Māghamāsa-sitapakṣa-trayōdaśyām Śani-yuktāyām-
ēvañ sam 1016 Māgha-sudi 13 Śanāv-adya śrī-Rājyapur-āvasthitō mahārājādhirāja-paramādēva-
śrī-Mathanadēvō . . .

V. 1016 current: Tuesday, 25 January, A.D. 959.

V. 1016 expired: Saturday, 14 January, A.D. 960; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

4. — V. 1036. — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 160. Copper-plate inscription of Vākpatirāja of Dhārā:—

(Line 11) . . . *shattri(tri)mśa-sahasrika-samvatsarō-smin Kārttika-suddha-paurṇamāsyām sōma-grahana-parvvanī*.

V. 1036 current: 18 October, A.D. 978; no eclipse.

V. 1036 expired: 6 November, A.D. 979; a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 21 h. 33 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

(The corresponding date, given by me, *loc. cit.* p. 159, 'the 26th October, A.D. 980,' being for the year V. 1037 expired, is wrong).

5. — V. 1055. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 203. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Dhaṅgadhēva:—

(Line 7) . . . *samvatsara-sahasrē pañchapañchāśad-adhikē Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām Ravī-dinē ōvam samvat 1055 K[ā*]rtti[ka]-sudi 15 Ravau ady-āhe[ai]va Kāśikāyām Sañhikēya-graha-grāsa-pravētikṛita-maṇḍalē | Rōhini-hṛiday-ananda-kanda-hariṇalāñchhanē ||*

V. 1055 current: Monday, 18 October, A.D. 997; no eclipse.

V. 1055 expired: Sunday, 6 November, A.D. 998; a total lunar eclipse, visible in India, 19 h. 43 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — V. 1188. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 35, and Plate x. C; (and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, Part I. p. 321, No. 4); and rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Rock inscription at Kālāñjar, of the reign of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadhēva:—

(Line 9) . . . *Samvat 1188 Kārttika-sudi 8 Sa(sa)n[au] ||*

V. 1188 current: Sunday, 12 October, A. D. 1180; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1188 expired: Saturday, 31 October, A. D. 1181; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — V. 1199. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 21. 'Gagahā' copper-plate inscription of Gōvinda-chandradhēva and Rājyapāladhēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 18) . . . *samvatsarēshv-ēkādaśa-sa(sa)tēhu navaṇavaty-adhikēśahu Phālgunā māsi [śu]kla-pakṣhē ōkā[da]śyāyām³ tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē tath-āḥkē-pi samvat 1199 Phālguna-sudi 11 Sa(sa)nanu ||*

V. 1199 current: Sunday, 8 February, A.D. 1142; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. after mean sunrise.

V. 1199 expired: Saturday, 27 February, A. D. 1143; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. after mean sunrise.

8. — V. 1251. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 77. Date of a MS. of Hēma-chandra's *Yōgādstra*, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhīmadhēva II.:—

Svasti śrī-Vikrama-nripatēḥ samvat 1251 varṣhē Kārttika-sudi 12 Sukrē Rēvati-nakṣatrē Siddha-yōgē mahārāja-śrī-Bhīmadhēva-vijayarājyē . . .

V. 1251 current: Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1193.

V. 1251 expired: Friday, 28 October, A.D. 1194; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 3 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati up to 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise; the *yōga* was Vajra up to 2 h. 30 m., when it was followed by Siddhi (No. 16, not Siddha, No. 21).

The result of the calculation shows that the reading *Siddha-yōgē* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddhi-yōgē*.

³ Read *śikṣāyām*.

9. — V. 1266. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 112; also, Vol. XII. p. 294. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. :—

(Line 1) . . . Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-śatēṣhu dvādaśasu śhaṭa(ḍ)-śaṣṭy-adhikēṣhu laukika° Mārgga-māsasya śukla-pakṣa-chaṭurdaśyām Guru-dinē atra āṁkatōḥ=pi³ śrī-Vikrama-saṁvat 1266 varṣhē śrī-Sinhha-saṁvat 96 varṣhē lauki° Mārgga-śudi 14 Gurāṁ-asyām saṁvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-dina-vāra-pūrvāyām tithāv=adyeḥa śrīmad-Aṇahillapātākē . . .

V. 1266 current : Sunday, 23 November, A.D. 1208.

V. 1266 expired : Thursday, 12 November, A.D. 1209; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

10. — V. 1267. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 379. Pipliānagar copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarma-dēva :—

In the body of the inscription : . . . saptashashty-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarē Phālgunē 1267⁴ śukla-daśamyām-abhishēka-parvāni . . . ;

and at the end : — Saṁvat 1267⁴ Phālguna-buddha 10 Gurau.

V. 1267 current : Friday, 5 February, A.D. 1210; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1267 expired : Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1211; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

11. — V. 1275. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 2; and *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 10, p. 111, with photoincograph. Harasandā (or Chârwa) stone inscription of the reign of Dēvapāladēva of Dhâtî :—

(Line 4). — Saṁvat pañchasaṁvatsaty-adhika-dvādaśa-śatē-mkē 1275 Mārgga-sudi 5 Sa(ba)nanu.

(Line 7). — Adhikē pañchasaṁvatsatyā dvādaś-āvda(bda)-śatē śakē [1*]
vatsarē Chitrabhānu tu Mārggaśirṣhē śi(śi)tē dalē || 4 ||
Pañchamy-aṁtaka-[saṁ]yōgē nakṣatrē Viṣṇu-daivatē |
yōgē Harṣhapa-saṁjñē tu tithy-arddhē Dhâtî-daivatē || 5 ||

V. 1275 current : Sunday, 5 November, A.D. 1217; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1275 expired : Saturday, 24 November, A.D. 1218; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karṇa* Bālava, presided over by Dhâtî = Brahman, ended 15 h. 25 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Śravaṇa, presided over by Viṣṇu, up to 7 h. 53 m., and the *yōga* was Harṣhapa from about 11 h. after mean sunrise.

The year Chitrabhānu, No. 16, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *btja*, from 12 August, A.D. 1217, to 8 August, A.D. 1218, and with *btja*, from 16 September, A.D. 1217, to 12 September, A.D. 1218; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 25 July, A.D. 1217, to 21 July, A.D. 1218. Accordingly, Chitrabhānu was not actually current on the day of the date (24 November, A.D. 1218), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (25 March, A.D. 1218). By the so-called Tēlinga rule, the date would fall in the year Bahudhānya, No. 12.

(Dr. Hall, misled by the word *śakē* in line 7, has referred this date to the Saka era, both when editing the inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVIII., and subsequently, *ib.* Vol. XXXI. p. 126, note, and in *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 24. But, as intimated by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 21, the date in no way works out satisfactorily as a Saka date.⁵ And there is abundant proof to show that both *śaka* and *śūka* are not

* Read *śikṣatō-pi*.

⁴ The published version has, both times, 1267; but this is clearly a printer's error for 1267, and is shown to be so by the editor's reference to the inscription, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 736.

⁵ The corresponding date, for Saka 1275 current, would be Monday, 12 November, A.D. 1352; and for Saka 1275 expired, Sunday, 1 December, A.D. 1353; and in no way could either of these dates be connected with the year Chitrabhānu.

infrequently employed in the sense of *varsha*, 'a year.' Compare, *e.g.*, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193, line 6 from the bottom, *Vaikramē śakē* 'in the Vikrama year' (No 56 below); line 5, *tuminn-eu śakē* 'in the same year,' &c.; Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the I. O.*, p. 23, *Samarat 1650 śakē* = *Samvat 1650 varshē* (No. 51 below); Rājendralāl Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. IV. p. 277, *śakē Vikrama-pārthivasya*; and similar expressions.)

12. — V. 1280. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197. Kadī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Jayantasiṃha : —

(Line 20). . . Asyām tithau saṃvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-vāra-yuktāyām gata-saṃvatsara-dvādaśa-varsha-śatēṣu aśīty-uttarēṣu Pausa-māsē śakla-pakṣē tṛtīyāyām tithau Bhauma-vārē samjāta uttarāgata-sūrya-samkrāma-parvāni amkatō spi samvat 1280 varshē Pausa-śudi 3 Bhaumē śdy-ēha samjāta [utta]rāyana-parvāni . . .

V. 1280 current : Wednesday, 7 December, A.D. 1222.

V. 1280 expired : Tuesday, 26 December, A.D. 1223; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 2 m., and the Uttarāyana-Samkrānti took place 2 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

13. — V. 1283. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 199. Kadī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 16). . . Śrīmad-Vikramādī[ty-ō]tpādita-saṃvatsara-śatēṣu dvādaśasu tri-[a]śīti-uttarēṣu lauki[ka-Kārttika-pūrṇi]māyām Guru-vārē str-āmkatō spi samvat 1283 varshē lauki° Kārttika-śudi 15 Gurāva[dy-ēha] Śrīmad-Aṇabīlapātākē sayām saṃvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-pūrvvikāyām tithau . . .

V. 1283 current : Friday, 17 October, A.D. 1225; the full-moon *tithi* ended 20 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1283 expired : Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1226; the full-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

14. — V. 1288. — *Archaeol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 170, and *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 293. Gīrṇār stone inscription of Jayantasiṃha, the son of Vastupāla : —

(Line 1) . . . Svasti śrī-Vikrama-samvat 1288 varshē Phāguṇa-śudi 10 Budhē . . .

V. 1288 current : Thursday, 13 February, A.D. 1231; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1288 expired : Wednesday, 3 March, A.D. 1232; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

15. — V. 1292. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 23. Date of a MS. of a *Yōgaśāstra-śrīti* : —

Samvat 1292 varshē Kārttika-śudi 8 Bavau Dhanishṭhā-nakṣatrē.

V. 1292 current : Tuesday, 31 October, A.D. 1234.

V. 1292 expired : Sunday, 21 October, A.D. 1235; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Dhanishṭhā up to 18 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

16. — V. 1337. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 52, and Plate xiv. G. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the reign of the Chandēlla Viravarmadēva (P) : —

(Line 19) . . . Śāgar-ānala-vēd-ēndu-yukt[ē] saṃvatsarē vā[rē] . . .

Māghē māsi śi(śi)tē-pakṣē trayōdaśyām Vīdhō[r]-dinē || 14 ||

Samvat 1337 Māgha-śudi 13 Sōmē ||

V. 1337 current : Tuesday, 16 January, A.D. 1280; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1337 expired : Monday, 3 February, A.D. 1281; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

(*Śāgara* generally denotes 4; but *saptē śāgarāḥ* is a well-known expression, and the figures 1337 are perfectly clear in the lithograph; and the Prākṛit word *śāgara* is similarly used for

7 in Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS*, Vol. II. p. 178. The use of the word *śāḍa* for 3 in the above may also be drawn attention to.)

17. — V. 1365. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 88 Date of the composition of Jinaprabha's *Lhayaḥarastava-vṛitti*: —

Saṁvāt-Vikrama-bhūpatēḥ śara-ṛit-ādarchir-mṛigāmkaiṁ-mitā

Paṇḍasy-ājvala-pakṣi(kaha)-bhūji Raviṇa yuktē navamyām tithau |

śiṣyaḥ śrī-Jinasimhaśrī-sugurōsh-ākāṁ-akāśīm(d)-imām

śrī-Sākētapurē Jinaprabha iti khyātō muninām prabhuḥ ||

V. 1365 current: Tuesday, 2 January, A.D. 1368.

V. 1365 expired: Sunday, 22 December, A.D. 1368; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

18. — V. 1384. — *Proceedings Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLII. p. 163; *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 57; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 93; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of Mahāmūda 'Sih: 7—

(Line 15) . . . Vēda-vasv-agni-chaṇḍr-āṁka-saṁkhyē-vde(bdē) *Vikramārkkataḥ |*

*pañchamyām Phālguna-sitē hkhitaṁ Bhauma-vāsarē || 15 ||**

Indraprastha-pratigauḥ gṛhṇē Śaravālē-tṛa tu |

*ohiraṁ tishṭhātu kṛpō-yaṁ kārakaś-cha sa-vā(bā)mdhavaḥ || 16 ||**

Saṁvāt 1384 Phālguna-śudi 5 Bhauma-dinē ||

V. 1384 current: Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1327.

V. 1384 expired: Tuesday, 16 February, A.D. 1328; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

19. — V. 1445. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres. (Archaeol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 11), p. 179. Stone inscription at Vanthall in Junāgaḥ:—

Śara-yuga-manu-saṁvatsara-1445-varṣē Phālguna-śudi-pañchamī-Sōmē.

V. 1445 current: Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1388; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1445 expired: Monday, 1 February, A.D. 1389; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

20. — V. 1458. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. See also *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 77. Rāypur stone inscription of Brahmadēva, now in the Nāgpur Museum:—

(Line 9) . . . Svasti śrī sa[m]vat 1458 varṣē sū(śū)kē 1322 samayē Sarvajita(n)-nāma-saṁvatsarē Phālguna-sū(su)dhā(ddha)-aṣṭami(mt)-Sū(su)krō ady-ēha śrī Rāyapurē mahārāj[ā*]dhīrāja-śrīmad-rāja-[Vra(bra)]hmadēva-rājyē.

V. 1458 current: Monday, 21 February, A.D. 1401.

V. 1458 expired: Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1402; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Sarvajit, No. 21, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 22 June, A.D. 1400, to 18 June, A.D. 1401, and with *bija*, from 28 July, A.D. 1400, to 24 July, A.D. 1401; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 2 June, A.D. 1400, to 29 May, A.D. 1401. Accordingly, Sarvajit was not actually current on the day of the date (10 February, A.D. 1402), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1401). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Bhṛīśya, No. 15.

(It may be noted that the Saka year corresponding to V. 1458 expired, was Saka 1328 expired, not, as stated wrongly in the inscription, Saka 1322).

21. — V. 1490. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 167. Date of the composition of Rāmachandra's *Pāścādayādītapachchattrabandha*:—

* Muhammad bin Tughlak, A.D. 1324-1351; Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 202.

Vikrama-kālāch-cha 1490 sham(kha)-nidhi-ratna-samshya(khya)kaiḥ(kā) |

varshē Māgha-sitē pakshē śukla-chaturdaśī-dinē || 34 ||

Pushyē Ravau Stambhatrithē . . .

V. 1490 current: Tuesday, 3 February, A.D. 1433.

V. 1490 expired: Sunday, 24 January, A.D. 1434; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

22. — V. 1531. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 55. Date of a MS. of the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*: —

Saṁvat 1531 śākā 1396 pravarttamānē Subhakarita(n)-nāmni saṁvatsarē dakṣiṇāyana-gatē śrī-sūryē śarada piteu Kārttika-śudi 9 Budha-vāsarē Dhanishṭhā-nakshatrē Vṛddhi-yōgē Kaulava-karapē kumbharāśī-sthitē chaṁdrē ady-ēha Rājapura-vāstavyam . . .

V. 1531 current: Friday, 29 October, A.D. 1473.

V. 1531 expired: Wednesday, 19 October, A.D. 1474; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karāṇa* Kaulava ended 13 h. 15 m., and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā up to 12 h. 29 m., and the *yōga* Vṛddhi up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Subhakarit, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *btja*, from 10 August, A.D. 1474, to 6 August, A.D. 1475, and with *btja*, from 16 September, A.D. 1474, to 12 September, A.D. 1475; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 22 July, A.D. 1474, to 18 July, A.D. 1475. Accordingly, Subhakarit was actually current on the day of the date (19 October, A.D. 1474), but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (27 March, A.D. 1474). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Jaya, No. 28.

(Here it may be noted that *saṁvat* 1531 and *śākā* 1396 are *expired* years, notwithstanding the word *pravarttamānē* by which they are qualified).

23. — V. 1555. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 265. Stone inscription at Aḍḍālij well near Ahmaḍābād, of the time of the Pātasāha Mahamūda.* This date having been fully given by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251, I here repeat only a portion of it: —

(Line 21) . . . Svasti kṛman-nṛipa-Vikrama-samay-āttā (sic) Aśhādī-mādi-saṁvat 1555 varshē śāk[ā]* 1420 pravarttamānē uttarāyana(pa)-gatē śrī-sūry[ā]* śīkaruteu* Māgha-māsē śukla-pakshē pañchamīyām tithau Budha-vāsarē Uttarābhadrapad[ā]*-nakshatrē Siddhi-nāmni yōgē Bava-karapē mīna-rāṇau sthitē chaṁdrē pātasāha-śrī-Mahamūda-vijayarājyam . . .

V. 1555 current: Saturday, 27 January, A.D. 1498.

V. 1555 expired: Wednesday, 16 January, A.D. 1499; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 13 m., and the *karāṇa* Bava about 6 h., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarā-Bhadrapadā up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yōga* Siddha (!) up to 17 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise.

(The calculation shows that the reading *Siddhi-nāmni* in the date is erroneous, and should be *Siddha-nāmni*. Compare No. 8 above. As in the preceding date No. 22, the word *pravarttamānē* is here also used in reference to an *expired* year.)

24. — V. 1681. — Rājendralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI. p. 72. Date of the composition of Śivarakṣiṣa's *Pañyachandrōdaya-purāṇa*: —

Indv-ashta-śaṣṭi-chaṁdra-mitē S-ṭha varshē (1681)

śrī-Kārttik-ākhyē dhavalē cha pakshē |

Jivē trayōdaśy-aparāhpa-yāmē

Kṛishṇa saukhyāya vinirmmitō Syam ||

V. 1681 current: Sunday, 26 October, A.D. 1623

V. 1681 expired: Thursday, 14 October, A.D. 1624; the 18th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

25. — V. 1707. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 176. Date of a MS. of Saṁkara's *Śāstrakamandakāśikāśāstra*: —

* Sultan Mahmūd Elgarha, A.D. 1459-1511; Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 161-227.

* Read *śīkaruteu*.

Samvat 1707 samayê sakê 1572 Vikâri-samvatsarê dakshinâyanê Kârttika-âuddha 3 Gurau Viśvēśvara-râjadhânyâm (or, as stated in another part of the MS., Kâśyâm).

V. 1707 current : Sunday, 28 October, A.D. 1649.

V. 1707 expired : Thursday, 17 October, A.D. 1650 ; the third *tîthi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Vikârin, No. 33, lasted, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule, without *bîja*, from 24 July, A.D. 1649, to 20 July, A.D. 1650, and with *bîja*, from 31 August, A.D. 1649, to 27 August, A.D. 1650 ; and according to the Jyôtiṣatattva rule, from 3 July, A.D. 1649, to 29 June, A.D. 1650. Accordingly, Vikârin was not actually current on the day of the date (17 October, A.D. 1650), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1650). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vikrita, No. 24.

26. — V. 1729. — Date of my MS. of Chandrakîrti's *Sârasvata-dîpikâ* : —

Samvat 1729 varshê Mârggaśîra-âudi 9 Sôma-vâsarê.

V. 1729 current : Thursday, 30 November, A.D. 1671.

V. 1729 expired : Monday, 18 November, A.D. 1672 ; the 9th *tîthi* of the bright half ended 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in the months Chaitra to Âsvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

27. — V. 1811. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 32. Stone inscription from Dabhoi in the Bârôda territory, of the time of the Chaulukya Visaladêva : —

(Line 59) . . . Samvat 1811 varshê Jyêṣṭha-âudi 15 Vu(bu)ḍha-dinê.

Northern V. 1811 current : Wednesday, 14 May, A.D. 1253 ; the 15th *tîthi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1811 expired : Tuesday, 2 June, A.D. 1254 ; the 15th *tîthi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1811 expired : Saturday, 22 May, A.D. 1255.

28. — V. 1380. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwâlior : —

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1380 varshê Bhâdra[mva(vâ) P]-âudi 3 Sôma | Hastu(sta)-nakshatr[ê] [Uda P]pura-nagarê râja-êri-Vachohhaudêvasya sâdhanika . . .

Northern V. 1380 current : Monday, 16 August, A.D. 1322 ; the third *tîthi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 8 m., and the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1380 expired : Friday, 5 August, A.D. 1323.

Southern V. 1380 expired : Thursday, 23 August, A.D. 1324.

29. — V. 1587. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, p. 16. Date of a MS. of the *Âranya-gâna* : —

Samvat 1587 samayê Vaiśāṣa(kha)-âudi-pratipadâ-Sukrê.

Northern V. 1587 current : Friday, 9 April, A.D. 1529 ; the first *tîthi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1587 expired : Wednesday, 30 March, A.D. 1530.

Southern V. 1587 expired : Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1531.

(b). — Dates in Northern Expired (or Southern Current) Years.

30. — V. 919. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 101, and Plate xxxiii. 2 ; ante, Vol. XVII. p. 23 ; and a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Dêḡgaḍh stone inscription of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj : —

(Line 6) . . . Samvat 919 Asva(śva)yuja-suklapakṣa-chaturdaśyâm Vri(bri)haspati-dinêna Uttarabhâdrapada-nakshatrê . . .

[Line 10). — Sakakāḷābda-saptasatāni chaturāṣṭy-adhikāni 784.

Northern V. 919 current: Sunday, 21 September, A.D. 861.

Northern V. 919 expired: Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 862; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakṣatra* was Uttarā-Bhādrapadā, according to the general table from 21 h. 1 m., according to Brahma-S. from 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga-S. from 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 919 expired: Wednesday, 29 September, A.D. 863; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

The expired northern Vikrama year 919 corresponds to the expired Śaka year 784).

31. — V. 1042. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 9. Date of the composition of Pāṇinīya's *Ātmavādaśāstra* :—

Dvyargala¹⁰-chatvāriṃśat-samadhika-vatsara-sahasra-saṁkhyāyām |

Bhādrapada-paurnimīyām Budh-Ōttarā-Bhādrapadikāyām ||

Northern V. 1042 current: Thursday, 14 August, A.D. 984; the full-moon *tithi* ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1042 expired: Wednesday, 2 September, A.D. 985; the full-moon *tithi* ended 1 h. 38 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttarā-Bhādrapadā up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1042 expired: Sunday, 22 August, A.D. 986.

32. — V. 1215. — *Archaeol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 167. Gīrnār stone inscription:—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1215 varṣā Chaitra-sudi 8 Bavau ady-ēha śrīmad-Ūrjīyanta-tīrthā . . .

Northern V. 1215 current: Wednesday, 20 March, A.D. 1157.

Northern V. 1215 expired: Sunday, 9 March, A.D. 1158; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1215 expired: Saturday, 28 March, A.D. 1159; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

33. — V. 1216. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii.; and *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 214. Alha-ghāt stone inscription of the time of the Kalachuri Narasimhadēva:—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipadā-Bavau || Pāhāḷīya-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Narasimhadēva-vijayarājyē ||

Northern V. 1216 current: Tuesday, 26 August, A.D. 1158.

Northern V. 1216 expired: Sunday, 16 August, A.D. 1159; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1216 expired: Thursday, 4 August, A.D. 1160.

34. — V. 1218. — My *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10. Date of a MS. of the *Kalpachūḍrā*, of the time of the Chaulukya Kumārapāladēva:—

Saṁvat 1218 varṣā dvīṣṭāśāḍha-sudi 5 Gurāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Apāhila-pātakā samasta-rājāvalī-virājita-samalahkṛita-mahārājādhirāja-paramādēvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Umāpāti-vara-labdha-prasāda-mahābhava-saṁgrāma-nirv[ya*]śāḍha-pratijñā-praṇḍha-nijabhujarapāṁḡga-pavinirjita-Śākambhari-bhūpāla-śrīmat-Kumārapāladēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

Āśāḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1218 expired (or southern V. 1218 current); for in that year the solar Āśāḍha lasted from 5 h. 58 m. before mean sunrise of 26 May to 8 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of 26 June, A.D. 1161, and there were new-moons on 26 May, 17 h. 57 m., and on 25 June, 3 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise. The 5th of the bright half of the first Āśāḍha was Wednesday, 31 May, A.D. 1161, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Āśāḍha, Thursday, 29 June, A.D. 1161, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

¹⁰ In dates, I have hitherto met this word *argala* only here and in line 14 of the Kapaswa inscription, (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 164, and see the next number of the Journal.)

35. — V. 1218. — *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10. (Tod's 'Nadole' inscription), lithograph received from Mr. Fleet. Nadôl copper-plate grant of the Châhumâna Âlhanadêva.

(Line 18) . . . Sam 1218 varshô | Brâvaṇa-sudi 14 Ravan | asminn-êva mshâ-
chaturddak-parvvani ||

Northern V. 1218 current: Tuesday, 19 July, A.D. 1160.

Northern V. 1218 expired: Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1161; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1218 expired: Thursday, 26 July, A.D. 1162.

36. — V. 1232. — Professor Bhândârkar's *Second Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* (1882-83), p. 220; (compare also p. 35). Date of the composition of Narapati's *Narapati-ayacharyâ*, of the time of the Chaulukya Ajayapâla:—

Vikramârka-gatê kalê paksh-âgni-bhân-1232-vatsarê |

mâtê Chaitrê sitê pakshê pratipad-Bhauma-vâsarê || 5 ||

Śrîmaty-Aṇahilanagarê khyâtê Śrî-Ajayapâla-nripa-râjyê |

Śrîman-Narapati-kavinâ rachitam-idam Śâkunam Śâstram || 6 ||

Northern V. 1232 current: Wednesday, 6 March, A.D. 1174; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise (and it commenced 2 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise of the preceding day).

In northern V. 1232 expired Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 22 February, 16 h. 57 m., to 25 March, 1 h. 5 m., and there were new-moons on 22 February, 20 h. 16 m., and 24 March, 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1175. The first of the bright half of the first Chaitra was Sunday, 23 February, A.D. 1175; and of the second Chaitra, Tuesday, 25 March, A.D. 1175, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired: Saturday, 13 March, A.D. 1176.

(It may be noted that the initial days of the expired Vikrama years 1231 and 1232 are given wrongly in the *Book of Indian Eras*).

37. — V. 1232. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 181. Benares College copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradêva of Kanauj:—

(Line 23) . . . dvâtrimśad-adhika-dvâdaśa-tata-samvatsarê Bhâdrê mîni śukla-pakshê
trayôdaśyân-tithau Ravi-dinê ankatô-pi samvat 1232 Bhâdra-sudi 18 Ravan ady-êha śrîmad-
vijaya-Vârâṇasî . . .

Northern V. 1232 current: Monday, 12 August, A.D. 1174; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1232 expired: Sunday, 31 August, A.D. 1175; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired: Friday, 20 August, A.D. 1176.

38. — V. 1252. — *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 54; and *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 215, from impressions supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Baṭṭavar stone inscription of the Chandôlla Paramardidêva, now in the Lucknow Museum:—

(Line 24) . . . Paksha-[trya]kshamukh-âditya-saṁkhyê Vikrama-va[tsa*]rê |

Âsvina-śukla-paṭchamyâm vâsarê Vâsar-êrituh ||

Northern V. 1252 current: Wednesday, 21 September, A.D. 1194.

Northern V. 1252 expired: Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1195; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1252 expired: Saturday, 28 September, A.D. 1196; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

(Dr. Hultzsch, when editing the inscription, took the year to be 'Vikrama-samvat 11[8]2').

39. — V. 1263. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 194. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva II.:—

(Line 13) . . . śrīmad-Vikramāditya-otpādita-samvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu tri(tri)-
shaśhī-uttarēshu lau° Śrāvapa-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-dvitiyāyām Ravi-varē str-āṁkatō-pi samvat
[12]68 Śrāvapa-śudi 2 Ravāv-asyām samvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-vāra-pūrvvikāyām tithāv-ady-ēha
śrīmad-A[ṇahilapāṭa]kē śdy-aiṇva Vyatipāta-pā(pa)rvvaṇi . . .

Northern V. 1263 current: Tuesday, 19 July, A.D. 1205.

Northern V. 1263 expired: Sunday, 9 July, A.D. 1206; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 57 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Āślēshā up to 4 h. 36 m., and the *yōga* was Vyatipāta up to 14 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1263 expired: Saturday, 28 July, A.D. 1207; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

4C. — V. 1272. — *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 29. Bhōpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarmadēva: —

. . . śrīmad-Amarēśvaratīrth-Avasthita-asmābhir-dvisaptaty-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvat-
sarē Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām Chandroparāga-parvaṇi Rāvā-Kapilayōḥ saṅgamē snātva . . .
. . . samvat 1272 Bhādrapada-śudi 15 Budhā.

Northern V. 1272 current: Thursday, 21 August, A.D. 1214; no eclipse.

Northern V. 1272 expired: Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1215; a total lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 24 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1272 expired: Sunday, 28 August, A.D. 1216; a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 21 h. 41 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

4I. — V. 1340. — From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription at Kālañjar: —

(Line 3) . . . Chaitra-śudi 3 Vu(bu)dhē sam 1340.

Northern V. 1340 current: Saturday, 14 March, A.D. 1282.

Northern V. 1340 expired: Wednesday, 8 March, A.D. 1283; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1340 expired: Tuesday, 21 March, A.D. 1284; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

4E. — V. 1353. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 118, and Plate xxxvii. 3. Stone inscription at Jaunpur: —

(Line 8) . . . Jyēṣṭhē māse sitē pakṣe dvādaśyā(śyā)ma-Vu(bu)dhā-vāsarē [1*]

likhit-āyām sadā bhāti prastatīḥ Plava-vāsarē || Samvat 13[5]3 [11*]

Northern V. 1353 current: Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1295.

Northern V. 1353 expired: Wednesday, 16 May, A.D. 1296; the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1353 expired: Monday, 3 June, A.D. 1297.

The year Plava, No. 35, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 13 September, A.D. 1295, to 8 September, A.D. 1296; and with *bija*, from 18 October A.D. 1295, to 13 October, A.D. 1296; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 26 August, A.D. 1295, to 21 August, A.D. 1296. Accordingly, Plava was current on the actual day of the date (16 May, A.D. 1296) and also at the commencement of the solar year (25 March, A.D. 1296). By the Tōlinga rule the date would fall in the year Durmukha, No. 30.

4H. — V. 1439. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 79, and Plate xi. Māchāṇī (near Alvar) stone inscription of the time of the Sultan Pēroja Śāhī¹¹: —

(Line 6) . . . Samvatsarē-min śrī-Vikramāditya-rājyē(?) samvat 1439 sā(śā)kē 1304
varshē | Vaisā(śā)sha(kha)-śudi 6 Ravi-dinē | Pūshya-nakṣatrē | śrī-surat[r*]āpa-Pēroja-
śāhī rājyē . . .

Northern V. 1439 current: Tuesday, 30 April, A.D. 1381.

¹¹ Firūz Shāh bin Rajab, A.D. 1351-1386; Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 239.

Northern V. 1439 expired: Sunday, 20 April, A.D. 1882; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was Pushya from about sunrise to about sunrise of the next day.

Southern V. 1439 expired: Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1883.

44. — V. 1445. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XVII. p. 41, and Plate xxii. Satī-pillar inscription at 'Boram-Deo' in the Central Provinces: —

(Line 1). — Samvat 1445 Bhāva-nāma-samva[ta]-re Āsvi(śvi)na-sudi 13 Sōmā.

Northern V. 1445 current: Thursday, 26 September, A.D. 1887.

Northern V. 1445 expired: Monday, 14 September, A.D. 1888; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1445 expired: Sunday, 3 October, A.D. 1889; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Bhāva, No. 8, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 17 August, A.D. 1887, to 12 August, A.D. 1888, and with *bija*, from 22 September, A.D. 1887, to 17 September, A.D. 1888; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 29 July, A.D. 1887, to 24 July, A.D. 1888. Accordingly, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, with *bija*, Bhāva was actually current on the day of the date (14 September, A.D. 1888), and by all the rules it was current at the commencement of the solar year (26 March, A.D. 1888). By the Tōlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vibhava, No. 2.

(In the *Book of Indian Eras*, Preface, p. ix., the date is given wrongly as 'Anvina badi 13 Some').

45. — V. 1481. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LII. Part I. p. 71, and a rough rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Dēḡgaḡh stone inscription: —

(Line 14) . . . samvatsarē=emin-nripa-Vikramāditya-gatāvda(bda) 1481 sakē kri-Salivahanāt 1346 Vaiśākha-māsē śukla-pakṣhē 15 pūrṇamāsyām Guru-vāsarē | Svāt-nakṣatrē | sinha-lagn-ōdayē || (and evidently repeated in a verse which I am unable to make out at present).

Northern V. 1481 current: Sunday, 25 April, A.D. 1423.

Northern V. 1481 expired: Thursday, 13 April, A.D. 1424; the full-moon *tithi* ended 22 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakshatra* was Svātī from about sunrise to about sunrise of the following day.

Southern V. 1481 expired: Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1425; the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

46. — V. 1496. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 1225. Umḡ (in Bihār) stone inscription of Bhairavēndra: —

(Verse 21): — Jātē tarkaḡ-ṇavāḡ-mbudhī-ndu-gu(ga)ṇitē sambatsarē¹³ Vaikramē

Vaiśākḡ Guru-vāsarē sitatārē pakṣhē tṛtīy[ā*]-tithau |

Rōhinyām Paruṣhōttamām Halabḡpitām Bhadrām Subbadrām-tathā

pratyashthāpayad-ōkad-aika-vidhinā śrī-Bhairavēndrō nripah ||

And further on: — aikatō-pi Vikramābdāḡ || 1496 || Vaiśākha-sudi-tṛtīyā-Gurō(ran) ||

Northern V. 1496 current: Sunday, 27 April, A.D. 1438.

Northern V. 1496 expired: Thursday, 16 April, A.D. 1439; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini up to 10 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1496 expired: Tuesday, 5 April, A.D. 1440.

(In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 141, the date is given wrongly as 'Wednesday, the 3rd of the waning moon').

47. — V. 1534. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 348; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251. Date of a MS. of the *Prabhāsaśāstra-Arthayātrānukrama*, of the time of the Pāṭasāha Mahimāda: ¹³—

¹³ Read *sambatsarē*.

¹³ Sultan Mahmūd Bigarha, A.D. 1450-1511. See note 8 above.

Saṃvat 15 Āshāḍhadi 34 varuṣhē¹⁴ Śrāvapa-śudi 5 Bhū(bha)u)mē ad[y*]=ēha śrī-Kadana-
puraḥ sthānē pātasiha-śrī(śrī)-Mahimōda-vijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1534 current : Friday, 26 July, A.D. 1476.

Northern V. 1534 expired : Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1477 ; the 5th *tithi* of the bright
half ended 7 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1534 expired Śrāvapa was intercalary ; for the solar Śrāvapa lasted from
28 June, 9 h. 19 m., to 30 July, 20 h. 35 m., and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 19 m.,
and 29 July, 12 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1478. The 5th of the bright
half of the first Śrāvapa was Saturday, 4 July, A.D. 1478 ; and of the second Śrāvapa, Monday,
8 August, A.D. 1478, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

48. — V. 1555. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 452. Date of a MS. of the
Vijāha-paṇṇatī, of the time of the Sultan Gayāśadīna¹⁵ : —

Saṃvat 1555 varuṣhē śākā 1420 Kṣhaya-kṛin-nama-saṃvatsarē Aśvini-māsī¹⁶ śukla-
pañcama-yām Vākya(kṛa)ti-varē suratrāpa-Gayāśadīna-rājyē śrī-Saukhyāśya-
(śrī) dē pattanē anna cha Māṅgalyapura-varē likhitam-idam.

Northern V. 1555 current : Saturday, 30 September, A.D. 1497.

Northern V. 1555 expired : Thursday, 20 September, A.D. 1498 ; the 5th *tithi* of the
bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1555 expired : Tuesday, 10 September, A.D. 1499.

The year Kṣhaya, No. 60, here called Kṣhaya-kṛit, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta
rule, without *bhā*, from 1 May, A.D. 1498, to 27 April, A.D. 1499, and with *bhā*, from 6 June,
A.D. 1498, to 2 June, A.D. 1499 ; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 10 April,
A.D. 1498, to 6 April, A.D. 1499. Accordingly, Kṣhaya was actually current on the day of
the date (20 September, A.D. 1498), but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the
solar year (27 March, A.D. 1498). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year
Kēlayukta, No. 52.

49. — V. 1580. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 166. Date of a MS. of the *Pratīyā-
ka-mūlī* : —

Svasti saṃvat pañchadaśa 15 aṣṭau 80 pravarttamānē uttarāyanē(pē) śrī-sūryē grīhṃa-
pītau mahāmāṅgalya-pradē Jyēṣṭha-māsē aṣṭa-pakṣhē dvādaśa-ghatikā-paryanta-paurṇamāsi
taṇantara-pratipadīyām tithau Bhṛigu-varē ady-ēha Śimhōdrajā-sthānē . . .

Northern V. 1580 current : Monday, 9 June, A.D. 1522.

Northern V. 1580 expired : Friday, 29 May, A.D. 1523 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h.
24 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1580 expired : Tuesday, 17th May, A.D. 1524.

50. — V. 1630. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 355. Date of a MS. of the
Āyāraṅgarutta : —

Saṃvat 1630 varuṣhē prathama-Āśa(śa)ḍha-śudi 3 dinē Māṅgala-varē.

Āśāḍha was intercalary in northern V. 1630 expired (or southern V. 1630 current) ;
for in that year the solar Āśāḍha lasted from 29 May, 8 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise, to 43 m.
before mean sunrise of 30 June, A.D. 1573, and there were new-moons on 30 May, 20 h. 3 m.,
and 29 June, 5 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. The third of the bright half of the first Āśāḍha
was Tuesday, 2 June, A.D. 1573, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 4 m. after
mean sunrise ; and of the second Āśāḍha, Thursday, 2 July, A.D. 1573.

51. — V. 1650. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 23. Date of a MS. of the
Kāpādanukramanīkā-vivaraṇa (written at Benares) : —

Saṃvat 1650 śākā 1 Subhā-kṛit-saṃvatsarē Bhādrapada-śudi-paurṇamāsyām Bhṛigu-
vatsarē Kāśyām . . .

¹⁴ Read *varuṣhē*.

¹⁵ Sultan Ghīṣr'ūd-dīn, son of Maḥmūd Khiljī, ruler of Mālwa, A.D. 1432-1500. Thomas, *loc. cit.* p. 346
Bailey, *loc. cit.*, Index.

¹⁶ Read *Āśvina-māsī*.

Northern V. 1650 current : Monday, 11 September, A.D. 1592.

Northern V. 1650 expired : Friday, 31 August, A.D. 1593; the full-moon *tithi* ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1650 expired : Tuesday, 20 August, A.D. 1594.

The year Subhakt, No. 36, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 21 March, A.D. 1593, to 17 March, A.D. 1594, and with *bija*, from 28 April, A.D. 1593, to 24 April, A.D. 1594; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 4 March, A.D. 1593, to 28 February, A.D. 1594. Accordingly, Subhakt was actually current on the day of the date (31 August, A.D. 1593); and by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule without *bija* and the Jyōtistattva rule it was also current at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1593). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Vijaya, No. 27.

52. — V. 1664. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 337. Date of the composition of Rāmarāshi's *Nalādaya-īktā*, of the time of Sultan Sāhi Salāma¹⁷ : —

Vēd-āṅga-rasa-candra-ādhya varshē māśē tu Mādhavē |

śukla-pakṣhē tu sapta-myām Gurau Puṣhyē tath-ōḍuni || 13 [11*].

Suratrāṇē tathā Sāhi-Salāmē āsati kṣatim |

Pattan-ākhyē mahā-durgē Rājāsalyē cha rājani || 14 [11*] Yuvarājē Bhōjarājē . . .

Northern V. 1664 current : Sunday, 4 May, A.D. 1606.

Northern V. 1664 expired : Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1607; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 7 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Puṣya up to 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1664 expired : Monday, 11 April, A.D. 1608.

53. — V. 1686. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 82. Date of a MS. of an *Agnishātm-paddhati* (written at Benares) : —

Saṁvat 1686 Bahudhānya-nāma-saṁvatsarē Śrīvapa-śukla-saptamyām Guru-vāsarē tad-dinē Kāśyām . . .

Northern V. 1686 current : Sunday, 27 July, A.D. 1628.

Northern V. 1686 expired : Thursday, 16 July, A.D. 1629; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1686 expired : Wednesday, 4 August, A.D. 1630; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Bahudhānya, No. 12, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bija*, from 20 October, A.D. 1628, to 16 October, A.D. 1629, and with *bija*, from 27 November, A.D. 1628, to 23 November, A.D. 1629; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 1 October, A.D. 1628, to 27 September, A.D. 1629. Accordingly, Bahudhānya was current on the actual day of the date (16 July, A.D. 1629) and also at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1629). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Śukla, No. 3.

54. — V. 1779. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p. 94. Date of the composition of Bhīmasēna's *Sukhōdadhi* : —

Saṁvad-grah-āśva-muni-bhū-jñātē māśē Madhau sudi |

trayōdaśyām Sōma-vārē samāptō-yaṁ Sukhōdadhiḥ ||

Northern V. 1779 current : Thursday, 30 March, A.D. 1721.

Northern V. 1779 expired : Monday, 19 March, A.D. 1722; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1779 expired : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1723; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

55. — V. 1785. — Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VII. p. 57. Date of the composition of Bhāskaraśāstra's *Saubhāgya-bhāskara* (composed at Benares) : —

Mōdashchhāyā-mitāyām śaradi śarad-ritāv-āśvinē Kālayuktē

śuklē Sōmē navamyām-atanuta Lalitā-nāmasāhasra-bhāṣyam ||

¹⁷ I am unable to identify this Sultan. In Professor Bhāṣkar's *Report* for 1882-86, p. 237, verse 3, we have the name Sāhi-Salāma.

Northern V. 1785 current: Tuesday, 12 September, A.D. 1727; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1785 expired: Monday, 30 September, A.D. 1728; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1785 expired: Saturday, 20 September, A.D. 1729.

The year *Kālayukta*, No. 52, lasted, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* rule, without *bija*, from 25 August, A.D. 1727, to 20 August, A.D. 1728, and with *bija*, from 3 October, A.D. 1727, to 28 September, A.D. 1728; and according to the *Jyōtistattva* rule, from 5 August, A.D. 1727, to 31 July, A.D. 1728. Accordingly, *Kālayukta* was no longer actually current on the day of the date (30 September, A.D. 1728), but it was current at the commencement of the solar year (29 March, A.D. 1728). By the *Tōlinga* rule the date would fall in the year *Kīlaka*, No. 42.

(On the way in which 1785 is denoted here, by *mādashchhdyā*, see e.g. Burnell's *Palaography*, p. 59).

56. — V. 1874. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarī: —
Vēda-sapta-gaj-ēndu-mitē 1874 Valikramē ~~śākē~~ Śuchi-śukla-navamyām Sōm-ānvitāyām.

Northern V. 1874 current: Wednesday, 3 July, A.D. 1816, new style.

Northern V. 1874 expired: Monday, 23 June, A.D. 1817, new style; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1874 expired: Sunday, 12 July, A.D. 1818, new style; the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates in Southern Expired Years.

57. — V. 898. — *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 42. Dhōlpur stone inscription of the Chauhān Chāṇḍamahāsēna: —

(Line 21) . . . Vasu nava [a*]ṣṭau varṣhā gatasya kālasya Vikram-Akhyasya [i]
Vaiśākhasya sītāyā[m*] Ravivāra-yuta-dvitiyāyām ||
Chandrē Rōhini-samyuktā¹⁸ lagnē śiṅghasya¹⁹ Sōbbhanē yōgē |
śakala-kṛita-maṅgalasya hy-abhūt[t*] pratishṭh-āsya bhavanasya ||

Northern V. 898 current: Wednesday, 7 April, A.D. 840.

Northern V. 898 expired: Monday, 28 March, A.D. 841; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; *nakṣatra* Bharanī, and *yōga* Āyushmat.

Southern V. 898 expired: Sunday, 16 April, A.D. 842; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 49 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini up to 21 h. 40 m., and the *yōga* Sōbbhana up to 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

58. — V. 962. — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 9; and Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 149. Date in a MS. of Siddharshi's *Upasambhava-prapañchā Kathā*: —

Śrī-Bhillamāla-nagarē . . .

Saṁvatsara-śata-navakē dvishasṭi-sahitē-tilamghitē ch-āsyāt |

Jyēsthā śi(ā)ta-paṇchamīyām Punarvasu Guru-dinē [saṁptir-abhūt ||]

Northern V. 962 current: Tuesday, 22 May, A.D. 904.

Northern V. 962 expired: Sunday, 12 May, A.D. 905.

Southern V. 962 expired: Thursday, 1 May, A.D. 906; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

59. — V. 1011. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXL p. 67, and Plate xvi. J; and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 186. Inscription from a Jaina temple at Khajurāhō: —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1011 samayē ||

(Line 10) . . . Vaiś(ā)śha(kha)-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē ||

Northern V. 1011 current: Saturday, 23 April, A.D. 953.

Dr. Hultsch suggests *Rōhini-yuktā*, to suit the metre, Āryā.

¹⁸ Read *śiṅghasya*.

Northern V. 1011 expired : Wednesday, 12 April, A.D. 954.

Southern V. 1011 expired : Monday, 2 April, A.D. 955 ; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham has taken the year of the date to be 1111 ; see my remarks in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 135).

60. — V. 1139. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 306. Date of the composition of Guruchandragani's *Srīśrī-chaṭra* :—

Nāṇḍa-siḥi-rudda-1139-saṁkhē vokkaṣṭhē Vikkamaṇu kalammi |

Jetṭhaṣṣa suddha-taīyā-tihimmi Sōmē samattam-imam ||

Northern V. 1139 current : Friday, 14 May, A.D. 1081.

Northern V. 1139 expired : Tuesday, 3 May, A.D. 1082 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1139 expired : Monday, 22 May, A.D. 1088 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

61. — V. 1154. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii. 3 ; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 811, and Vol. XVIII. p. 237. Dēḡgaḡh rock inscription of the time of the Chandēlla Kīrtivarmadēva :—

(Line 8) . . . Saṁvat 1154 Chaitra-[ṣu]di 2 Ravau.

Northern V. 1154 current : Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096.

Northern V. 1154 expired : Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097.

Southern V. 1154 expired : Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098 ; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

62. — V. 1220. — Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 232 and 233 ; and an impression and a photo-lithograph supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of Viśaladēva of Śākambharī :—

(Line A, 1) . . . Saṁvat 1220 Vaiśākha-ṣuti 15.

(Line C, 5). — Saṁvat śrī-Vikramādityā 1220 Vaiśākha-ṣuti 15 Gurau.

Northern V. 1220 current : Monday, 30 April, A.D. 1162.

Northern V. 1220 expired : Saturday, 20 April, A.D. 1163.

In southern V. 1220 expired, Vaiśākha was intercalary ; for the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 24 March, 4 h. 46 m., to 24 April, 2 h. 59 m., A.D. 1164, and there were new-moons on 24 March, 14 h. 57 m., and 23 April, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The 15th of the bright half of the first Vaiśākha was Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1164, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise ; and of the second Vaiśākha, Friday, 8 May, A.D. 1164, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

63. — V. 1222. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone pillar inscription from Udaypur (in Gwālior) :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1222 varṣhē Vaiśākha-ṣudi 3 Sōmē sdy-ēha Udayapurē akshaya-tṛtīyā-parvanī . . .

In northern V. 1222 current Vaiśākha was intercalary ; for the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 24 March, 4 h. 46 m., to 24 April, 2 h. 59 m., and there were new-moons on 24 March, 14 h. 57 m., and 23 April, 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1164. The third of the bright half of the first Vaiśākha was Friday, 27 March, A.D. 1164 ; and of the second Vaiśākha, Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1164, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1222 expired : Thursday, 15 April, A.D. 1165.

Southern V. 1222 expired : Monday, 4 April, A.D. 1166 ; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

64. — V. 1224. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 74, and Plate xxxiii. G. Inscription on pedestal of figure at Mahōba, of the time of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva :—

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1224 Āshāḡha-ṣudi 2 Ravau ||

Northern V. 1224 current: Wednesday, 1 June, A.D. 1166.

Northern V. 1224 expired: Tuesday, 20 June, A.D. 1167.

Southern V. 1224 expired: Sunday, 9 June, A.D. 1168; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

65. — V. 1233. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 136. Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Jayachohandradēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 24) . . . *traya[s*]trimsa(sa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē* *Vaiśākha* *māsi* *su(su)kṣa-pakṣe* *daśamyām* *tithau* *śa(śa)ni-dinē* *aṅkatō-pi* *samvat* 1233 *Vaiśākha* *sudi* 10 *śa(śa)nu* *ady-ēha* *śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyām* . . .

Northern V. 1233 current: Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1233 expired: Tuesday, 20 April, A.D. 1176.

Southern V. 1233 expired: Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half commenced about mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

66. — V. 1236. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 140. Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscription of Jayachohandradēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 21) . . . *śaṭtrimsa(sa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē* *Vaiśākha* *māsi* *śukṣa-pakṣe* *pūrṇimāyām* *tithau* *śukra-dinē* *aṅkat[0*]-pi* *sam* 1236 *Vaiśākha* *sudi* 15 *śukrē* *ady-ēha* *śrī-Raṇḍavai-samAvāśe* *Gaṅgāyām* . . .

Northern V. 1236 current: Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178.

Northern V. 1236 expired: Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179.

Southern V. 1236 expired: Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180; the full-moon *tithi* ended 19 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

67. — V. 1240. — From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Rock inscription at Kālāñjar, of the time of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva: —

(Line 1) . . . *Śrīmat-Paramarddi[dēva]-vijayarājyē* *samvat* 1240 . . . *Vaiśākha* *sudi* 14 *Gurau* . . .

Northern V. 1240 current: Monday, 19 April, A.D. 1182.

In northern V. 1240 expired *Vaiśākha* was intercalary; for the solar *Vaiśākha* lasted from 25 March, 2 h. 46 m., to 25 April, 0 h. 59 m., and there were new-moons on 25 March, 11 h. 54 m., and 23 April, 20 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise, A.D. 1183. The 14th of the bright half of the first *Vaiśākha* was Friday, 8 April, A.D. 1183, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second *Vaiśākha*, Sunday, 8 May, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired: Thursday, 26 April, A.D. 1184; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

68. — V. 1243. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 50, and Plate xii. C. Inscription on jamb of the Upper Gate of Ajaygaḍh: —

(Line 1) . . . *Samvat* 1243 *Jyēṣṭhā* *sudi* 11 *Vu(bu)dhē*.

Northern V. 1243 current: Saturday, 11 May, A.D. 1185.

Northern V. 1243 expired: Friday, 30 May, A.D. 1186.

Southern V. 1243 expired: Wednesday, 20 May, A.D. 1187; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

69. — V. 1243. — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 12. Faijābād copper-plate inscription of Jayachohandradēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 24) . . . *trichatvārimśa(sa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē* *Āṣāḍhē* *māsi* *su(su)kṣa-pakṣe* *saptamyām* *tithau* *Ravi-dinē* *aṅkatō-pi* *samvat* 1243 *Āṣāḍha* *sudi* 7 *Ravau* *ady-ēha* *śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām* . . .

Northern V. 1243 current: Thursday, 6 June, A.D. 1185.

Northern V. 1243 expired: Wednesday, 25 June, A.D. 1186.

Southern V. 1243 expired : Sunday, 14 June, A.D. 1187; the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

70. — V. 1253. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI. p. 129, and Plate xxxviii. Bālkharā stone-pillar inscription of one of the rulers of Kānauj(?) : —

(Line 4) . . . samvat 1253 Vaiśākha(kha)-sudi 11 Bhaum[ā*] . . .

Northern V. 1253 current : Saturday, 22 April, A.D. 1195.

Northern V. 1253 expired : Wednesday, 10 April, A.D. 1196; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1253 expired : Tuesday, 29 April, A.D. 1197; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

71. — V. 1256. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254. Bhōpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramā Udayavarmadēva : —

(Line 11) . . . śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātita-śaṣṭapanchāsa(śa)d-adhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)ta-samvatsar-āntaḥprā(pā)ti saṁkṣ 1256 Vaiśākha-sudi 15 paurṇamāsyām tithau Viśa(śa)khā-nakṣatrē Parigha-yōgē Ravi-dinē mahā-Vaiś(śa)khyām parvvaṇi Guvāḍā-ghaṭṭē Rāṣṭrāyām anātvā . . .

Northern V. 1256 current : Thursday, 28 April, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired : Monday, 12 April, A.D. 1199; the full-moon *tithi* ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise; *nakṣatra* Svātī, and *yōga* Siddhi.

Southern V. 1256 expired : Sunday, 30 April, A.D. 1200; the full-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 37 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Viśakhā up to 13 h. 47 m., and the *yōga* Parigha up to 20 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

72. — V. 1265. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 221. Mount Ābā stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

Line 20. — Samvat 1265 varṣā Vaiśākha śu 15 Bhaumē Chauluky-ōddharāṇa-paramabhat-tāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Bhīmadēva-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1265 current : Saturday, 14 April, A.D. 1207.

Northern V. 1265 expired : Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1208.

Southern V. 1265 expired : Tuesday, 21 April, A.D. 1209; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

73. — V. 1500. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription at Mahuva in Barōda (?) : —

(Line 1) . . . Svasti svastimati prasiddha-nripati-śrī-Vikramātikramāt
samvad-Vishṇupadadvay-ē[śhu]-jagati-saṁkhyē Prajānāthpatau !
mitrē ch-ōttara-gē prachamḍa-kiraṇē dhanyē madhau Mādhavē
śuklē pūrṇa-tithau Gurau cha Guru-bhō sadyōga-bhōga-kṣaṇē || 1 ||

(Line 16) . . . Svasti śrīman-nripa-Vikramārka-samay-ātita-samvat 1500 varṣā Prajāpati-nāmnī samvatṣarē | uttarīyaṇē | vasaṁta pītau | Vaiśākha-śukla-pachamyām Gurau |

Northern V. 1500 current : Sunday, 15 April, A.D. 1442.

Northern V. 1500 expired : Friday, 5 April, A.D. 1443; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1500 expired : Thursday, 23 April, A.D. 1444; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu up to 15 h. 46 m., when it was followed by Pushya, presided over by Guru (Bṛhaspati); *yōgas* Śūla and Gaṇḍa.

The year Prajāpati, No. 5, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bīja*, from 19 December, A.D. 1443, to 14 December, A.D. 1444, and with *bīja*, from 25 January, A.D. 1444, to 20 January, A.D. 1445; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 2 December, A.D. 1443, to 27 November, A.D. 1444. Accordingly, Prajāpati was current on the actual day of the date (28 April, A.D. 1444) and also at the commencement of the solar

year (26 March, A.D. 1444). By the Tēlinga rule the date would fall in the year Raktāksha, No. 58.

74. — V. 1516. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 131, and Plate xxxix. Inscription on jamb of temple of Gayāsurī Dēvi at Gayā : —

(Line 26) ... Varshē [śāstra]—ku-vā[pa]—cham[dra-sa]hitē Mēshah gatē bhāskarē
Chaitrē nāga-tithau sit[ē] Gurudinē ...

(Line 30) ... Saṁvat 1516 varshē Chaitra-sudi 5 Gur[u]-din[ē] ||

Northern V. 1516 current : Sunday, 19 March, A.D. 1458.

Northern V. 1516 expired : Friday, 9 March, A.D. 1459; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1516 expired : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1460; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 11 h. 3 m. before, and ended 12 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and the Mēsha-Sankrānti took place 5 h. 1 m. before mean sunrise.

75. — V. 1534. — Date of my MS. of the *Prakriyā-kāṁudī* : —

Śvasti śrī saṁvat 1534 varshē dakṣiṇyānē varshā-ṛitau prathama-Brāvaṇa-māsē śukla-pakṣhē aṣṭamīyām tithau Bhauma-vāsarē ady-ēha Munīndrapura-vāstavya-jyōtirvīj-Janārdana-Ātmajēna Iladurga-sthēna ... Viśvanāthēna ... lishī(khi)tā.

Brāvaṇa was intercalary in southern V. 1534 expired; for in that year the solar Brāvaṇa lasted from 29 June, 9 h. 19 m., to 30 July, 20 h. 35 m., A.D. 1478, and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 23 m., and on 29 July, 13 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise. The 8th of the bright half of the first Brāvaṇa was Tuesday, 7 July, A.D. 1478, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Brāvaṇa, Thursday, 6 August, A.D. 1478.

76. — V. 1645. — Rājēndralāl Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VIII. p. 321. Date of the composition of Puṇyasāgara's *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti-eritti* : —

Śrīmad-Jāsalamērudurgā(rgga)-nagarē śrī-Bhīma-bhūmipatau
rājyaṁ sātī vāpa-vāridhi-rasa-kṣauṇḍi-mitē vāsarē |

Pushy-Ārkē(rkshē) Madhu-māsa-śukla-dāśamī-sad-vāsarē Bhānu(aka)rē
tīk-āyaṁ vihitā sad-aiva jayatād-ā-chandra-sūryayā bhuvi ||

Northern V. 1645 current : Thursday, 9 March, A.D. 1587.

Northern V. 1645 expired : Wednesday, 27 March, A.D. 1588.

Southern V. 1645 expired : Sunday, 16 March, A.D. 1589; the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Pushya up to 12 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

77. — V. 1654. — Dr. Peterson's *Second Report* (1883-84), p. 128, and Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 268. Date of the composition of Jñānavimalagani's commentary on Mahāśvara's *Saddaprabhāda* : —

Śrīmad-Vikramanagarē rājāch-ohhrī-Rājasiṁha-nripa-rājyē |

śallōka-chakravāka-pramōda-sūryōdayē samyak ||

Chaturānanavādan-śūndriya-rasa-vasudhā-saṁmitē laṣad-varshē |

Śrīmad-Vikrama-nripatō stikrāntē stīva kṛita-harshē ||

Subh-ōpayōgē śubha-yōga-yuktē varē dvitīyā-divasē stisuddhē |

Āshāḍha-māsasya viśuddha-pakṣhē Pushyarkṣha-saṁyukta-Gabhastivārē || ...

Northern V. 1654 current : Tuesday, 17 June, A.D. 1596.

Northern V. 1654 expired : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1597; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1654 expired : Sunday, 25 June, A.D. 1598; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 20 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Pushya up to 7 h. 18 m., and the *yōga* Vajra up to 21 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

(The result of the calculation shows that in the expression *śubha-yōga-yuktē* of the date the word *śubha* cannot be the name of a *yōga*, for Vajra is the 15th and Subha the 23rd *yōga*).

78. — V. 1724. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 11. Date of a MS. of the *Sāikhāyana-brāhmasūtra* : —

Saṃvat 1724 varshē prathama-A(ā)śā(śhā)ḍha-śudya 7 Banau.

Āshāḍha was intercalary in southern V. 1724 expired; for in that year the solar Āshāḍha lasted from 29 May, 22 h. 25 m., to 30 June, 13 h. 14 m., A.D. 1668, and there were new-moons on 30 May, 12 h., and 29 June, 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise. The 7th of the bright half of the first Āshāḍha was Saturday, 6 June, A.D. 1668, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Āshāḍha, Monday, 6 July, A.D. 1668.

79. — V. 1746. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 195. Date of part of a MS. of Jinēndrabuddhi's *Kāśikāvicaraṇa-pañchikā* : —

Saṃvat 1746 varshē prathama-Vaiśākha-śudi 12 Guraṇ.

Vaiśākha was intercalary in southern V. 1746 expired; for in that year the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m. to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m., A.D. 1690, and there were new-moons on 30 March, 9 h., and 28 April, 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise. The 12th of the bright half of the first Vaiśākha was Thursday, 10 April, A.D. 1690, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Vaiśākha, Friday, 9 May, A.D. 1690, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(In another part of the same MS. there is the date —

Saṃvat 1746 varshē Vaiśākhasya sitē pakshē dvitīyā-Bhāuma-yāsarē, —

the month of which, though called simply *Vaiśākha*, is the *prathama-Vaiśākha* of the other date. The corresponding date here is Tuesday, 1 April, A.D. 1690, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise).

(d.)—A date mentioning a lunar eclipse which fell on the same day in the northern current, northern expired, and southern expired years.

80. — V. 1200. — *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 50, lithograph received from Mr. Fleet. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 301. Ujjain copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Lakshmi-varmadēva : —

(Line 6) . . . śrīmad-Dhārāyām mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Yaśovarmmadēvēna śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-saṃvatsar-aikānavaty-adhika-śat-aikādaśśahu Kārttika-śudi aṣṭamīyām . . . — but no details for verification.

(Line 15) . . . saṃvatsara-śata-dvādaśakāś[u] Śrāvaṇa-śudi-pañchadaśīyām śōma-grahana-parvvanī . . .

The possible equivalents of this second date are, for —

Northern V. 1200 current : 8 August, A.D. 1142; a partial lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 17 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise;

Northern V. 1200 expired : 28 July, A.D. 1143; a total lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 38 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise;

Southern V. 1200 expired : 16 July, A.D. 1144; a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 44 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

(This shows that Sir A. Cunningham's objection to Colebrooke's result in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 93, and note, was unnecessary.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON HARSHAVARDHANA'S CONQUEST OF NEPAL.

The inscriptions of Aṃśuvarman, three of which¹ are dated respectively Saṃvat 34 and 39, prove that the Śrīharsha era was introduced into

¹ Dr. Bhagvānīl's Nos. 6 and 7, *op. cit.*, vol. IX. p.

Nepāl during the lifetime of the great king of Thānēsar and Kanōj, who held the whole of Northern India from 606 to 648 A.D. If an Indian prince adopts a new foreign era, especially one founded by a contemporary, that may be 170f., and Mr. Bendall's *Journey to Nepāl*, p. 74. No. II.

considered as almost certain proof that the borrower had to submit to the *Saka-kartri* or 'establisher of the era.' For this reason, and because the Nepalese *Vamsāvalī* (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 413) has preserved a reminiscence of the conquest of Nēpāl by an Indian king just before Arṣuvarman's accession to the throne, most orientalists have accepted it as an indisputable fact that Harsha-*varidhana* extended his conquests to the eastern Himālaya. This view, it seems to me, is further confirmed by a passage in Bāṇa's *Bṛīharsa-charita*, where we read in the list of wonderful deeds ascribed to Harsha (Kāśmīr edition, p. 208, l. 6):—*atra paramāśvarāna tushdrasailabhuvā durgād grīhītāḥ karāḥ*. Like all the preceding ones, this sentence has a double sense, and describes, with the same words, both an act of a god and a feat of the king, in order to point out the resemblance or identity of the actors. It must be translated, as the commentator too states—(1) "Here the supreme lord (Śiva) took the hand of Durgā, the daughter of the snowy mountain (Himālaya),"—and (2) "Here the supreme lord (Harsha) took tribute from the land in the snowy mountains, that is difficult of access." The historical information which Bāṇa means to convey is, therefore, that his patron forced the prince of a country situated in the Himālaya to acknowledge his supremacy. Considering the facts stated above, it is not doubtful that the Himālayan district, to which he refers, is no other than Nēpāl.

26th September 1889.

G. BÜHLER.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 32.

The astronomical writer Utpala has given us his date in two of his Commentaries, on the *Bṛīhaj-Jātaka* and the *Bṛīhat-Samhitā* of Varāhamihira.

In his edition of the *Bṛīhat-Samhitā*, Preface, page 6, Dr. Kern has quoted the following verse, as giving the date of the completion of the Commentary on the *Bṛīhaj-Jātaka* :—

Chaitra-māsasya pañcama-yām

sitāyām Guror-vāsarē |

Vasv-asht-āshta-mitē Śakē

kṛit-ēyam vivṛitir mayā ||

"This commentary has been composed by me on the fifth bright *tithi* of the month Chaitra, on Thursday, in the Śaka (year) that is measured out by the Vasus (eight), (the numeral) eight, and (again the numeral) eight."

And, with the exception that the figures 888 stand between the words *Śakē* and *kṛit-ēyam*,

the reading is exactly the same in the Bombay editions of A. D. 1863, 1864, and 1874; in the Benares edition of A. D. 1861; and in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Aufrecht's Catalogue, Part I., page 329, No. 780.

Again, in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. XX. p. 372, note, Dr. Kern has quoted the following verse as giving the date of the completion of the Commentary on the *Bṛīhat-Samhitā* :—

Phālgunasya dvitīyāyām

asitāyām Guror dinē |

Vasv-asht-āshta-mitē Śakē

kṛit-ēyam vivṛitir mayā ||

"This commentary has been composed by me on the second dark *tithi* of (the month) Phālguna, on Thursday, in the Śaka (year) that is measured out by the Vasus (eight), (the numeral) eight, and (again the numeral) eight."

This latter verse has also been quoted, on the authority of "Colebrooke and others," but without any specific reference, by Dr. Bhanu Daji, in the same Journal, N. S., Vol. I. page 410.

And I hear from Mr. K. B. Pathak, through Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, that with a few minor mistakes which do not in any way affect the details, this verse occurs in two MSS of the commentary, No. 415 of 1881-82 in the Dekkan College Collection (in this instance the figures 888 stand between the syllables *asht-dasha* and *mitē*), and No. 305 of the Viśvāmbhag Collection. Also, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit tells me, it occurs in the Marāṭhi translation of the *Bṛīhat-Samhitā*, published at Ratnāgiri.

The two Commentaries, accordingly, were finished in one and the same year, 888. And, giving the word *Śaka* its most ordinary meaning, viz., 'of or belonging to the Sakas,' that was year Śaka-Samvat 888, which, in both the verses, is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired. In this year, the commentary on the *Bṛīhaj-Jātaka* was finished on the *tithi* Chaitra sukla 5, coupled with Thursday; and the commentary on the *Bṛīhat-Samhitā* was finished on Phālguna kṛishṇa 2, also coupled with Thursday. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In Śaka-Samvat 888 current, Chaitra sukla 5 began on Thursday, 8th March, A. D. 985, at about 58 *ghaṭis*, 22 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Ujjain,¹ and ended on the Friday, at about 59 *ghaṭis* 52 *p.*; the pūrṇimānta Phālguna kṛishṇa 2 ended on Thursday, 11th January, A. D. 986, at about 34 *ghaṭis* 48 *p.*, beginning on the Wednesday, at about 41 *ghaṭis* 2 *p.*; and the amānta Phālguna kṛishṇa 2 began on Friday, 9th February, A. D.

¹ The times here are for Ujjain, all through.

966, at about 6 *ghaṭṭe*, and ended on the Saturday, at about 22 *palas*.

And in *Saka-Samvat* 889 current (888 expired), *Chaitra sukla* 5 ended on Wednesday, 28th February, A. D. 966, at about 23 *gha*. 38 p.; the *pūrṇimānta* *Phālguna kṛishṇa* 2 ended on Wednesday, 30th January, A. D. 967, at about 41 *gha*. 33 p.; and the *amānta* *Phālguna kṛishṇa* 2 began on Thursday, 28th February, A.D. 967, at about 11 *gha*. 14 p., and ended on the Friday, at about 4 *gha*. 54 p.

Now, the two dates must, I think, be treated with absolute uniformity. And, on that condition, correct results can be obtained for them only if we apply the given year as a current year, and the given *tithi* as current *tithi*. Indeed, with *Saka-Samvat* 888 expired, a Thursday cannot be obtained for *Chaitra sukla* 5 at all. But in *Saka-Samvat* 888 current, *Chaitra sukla* 5 might be coupled, as a current *tithi*, with the Thursday, for a short period at the end of the Hindu week-day; and the *pūrṇimānta* *Phālguna kṛishṇa* 2 might be coupled as a current *tithi*, either with the Wednesday or with the Thursday, with which latter day alone it could be coupled as an ended *tithi*. In the case of *Chaitra sukla* 5, the result runs rather close; for, on the Hindu Thursday it was current only for about 1 *gha*. 38 p., or 40 minutes, just before mean sunrise at the end of the day. And with Prof. Jacobi's Tables the result is run even closer still; for, by his ordinary method, the *tithi* commenced at 23 hrs. 22 min. on the Thursday, and ended at 22 hrs. 58 min. on the Friday; while, by his closer method, ending at 21 hrs. 24 min. on the Friday, it commenced at or immediately after mean sunrise, — or a few minutes before apparent sunrise, which at that season would be a little later than mean sunrise, — at the end of the Thursday and the beginning of the Friday.² But the time just before sunrise is not an infrequent hour for literary work among the early-rising Hindus. And we may take it for granted that Utpala, wishing to give full details for the completion of his book, would be absolutely accurate in the matter; and, knowing whether a current or an ended *tithi* should be quoted, would carefully determine the *tithi* accordingly, however close it might lie to the end or to the beginning of a week-day.

To his quotation, in the Preface to the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, of the verse that gives the *tithi* *Chaitra sukla* 5, Dr. Kern attached the remark that both he himself and Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri had

calculated the date; and had found that the resulting week-day was a Thursday, if the date was referred to the *Saka* era, and only if it was so referred. He gave no further details as to the exact English equivalent; his object then, in connection with certain points of confusion between the *Saka* and the *Vikrama* eras, being only to apply the general result as proof that, in using the word *Saka*, Utpala did intend to quote the *Saka* era commencing A. D. 77, and not the *Vikrama* era commencing B. C. 58. But both he and Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri must, I think, have arrived at the date given above; Thursday, 9th March, A.D. 966.

And I take it that the above application of the given year as a current year, and of the given *tithi* as current *tithi*, is correct; that the Commentary on the *Bṛhat-Jātaka* was finished on Thursday, 9th March, A.D. 966; and that the Commentary on the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* was finished on Thursday, 11th January, A.D. 966.

There is, however, another possibility, which is worth noting. It is that here, as in some unquestionable instances (see p. 24 f. above, under No. 11), the word *Saka* is in reality used to denote a year of the *Vikrama* era. And on this hypothesis, the results are as follows:—

Chaitra sukla 5 ended—

In northern *Vikrama-Samvat* 888 current, at about 15 *gha*. 2 p., on Thursday, 3rd March, A.D. 830:—

In northern *Vikrama-Samvat* 889 current, (888 expired) and southern *Vikrama-Samvat* 888 current, at about 17 *gha*. 43 p. on Wednesday, 22nd March, A. D. 831:—

And in southern *Vikrama-Samvat* 889 current (888 expired), at about 41 *palas* on Monday, 11th March, A. D. 832.

And the *pūrṇimānta* *Phālguna kṛishṇa* 2 ended—

In *Vikrama-Samvat* 888 current, northern or southern, at about 48 *gha*. 11 p., on Thursday, 2nd February, A. D. 831:—

And in *Vikrama-Samvat* 889 current (888 expired), northern or southern, at about 6 *gha*. 15 p. on Tuesday, 23rd January, A. D. 832.

And the *amānta* *Phālguna kṛishṇa* 2 ended—

In *Vikrama-Samvat* 888 current, northern or southern, at about 30 *gha*. 1 p. on Saturday, 4th March, A. D. 831:—

And in *Vikrama-Samvat* 889 current (888 expired), northern or southern, at about 39 *gha*. 56 p. on Wednesday, 21st February, A. D. 832.

etc. on the Thursday, at 58 *gha*. 21 p. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain).

² Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, tells me that according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *tithi* began at almost the same time as by Prof. K. L. Ohlsson's Tables;

And thus, taking the given year as a current year, a correct result can be obtained for both the given *tikkis*, as ended *tikkis*; the only objection being the improbability of the northern reckoning of the Vikrama era having been started at that time. This reckoning must of necessity be applied in order to obtain a Thursday for Chaitra *sukla* 5. And, though it is not absolutely necessary in the case of Phālguna *kṛishna* 2, yet there also we must apply it, for the sake of uniformity.

As a matter of fact, therefore, if these dates are treated as Vikrama dates, and if we admit the use of the northern reckoning of the Vikrama era, equally good results can be obtained, — *vis.* Thursday, 3rd March, A.D. 880, and Thursday, 2nd February, A.D. 881, — as if they are treated as Śaka dates; if not, indeed, better results, since,

applying these dates to the Vikrama era, in neither of them have we to understand the *tikkis* as a current *tikkis*. And this is the more curious and interesting, because the passage thus fails in respect of the very purpose for which Dr. Kern sought to apply it; *vis.* to prove decisively that by the word *Śaka Utpala* meant the Śaka era, with the epoch of A.D. 77-78.

This date, accordingly, should perhaps not be looked upon as finally disposed of; but as still remaining for further consideration. And, as the determination of Utpala's date is of considerable importance in connection with the history of Hindu astronomy, it is to be hoped that someone else may be able to bring forward extraneous evidence to shew clearly what are to be accepted as the English equivalents of the given dates.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICES.

NOTES D'ÉPIGRAPHIE INDIENNE, par M. E. SENART, Membre de l'Institut. Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*. Paris, Leroux.

In this paper, republished from the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Senart has summed up the results of his personal inspection of the Piyadasi inscriptions at Shāhbāz-Garhi, Mansāra, and Gīrnār. Special interest will be attached to his remarks concerning the newly discovered XIIth Edict at the first place, and concerning the copies of the twelve Edicts at Mansāra.

The twelfth Edict at Shāhbāz-Garhi was discovered a short time ago by Captain Deane, on a separate piece of rock about fifty yards from the old inscription. M. Senart, during his visit to the locality, was able to take away a copy and rubbing of the new discovery, as well as a collation of the first eleven Edicts. The time at his disposal did not allow him to thoroughly collate the XIIIth and XIVth.

At Mansāra the first twelve Edicts only have been found,—inscribed on two rocks. The thirteenth and fourteenth Edicts are probably hidden somewhere in the vicinity, and still await their discoverer. M. Senart succeeded in carrying away rubbings of the first eight Edicts and of the twelfth. Fragmentary rubbings of the remaining ones, which are in a very imperfect condition, were also taken. Some very fine photo-lithographs, of former rubbings of the whole taken for Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, are appended to the paper.

At Gīrnār, where the inscriptions are much better preserved, M. Senart contented himself with comparing doubtful passages in the text, as hitherto published, with the original.

M. Senart in the present article gives the texts of the XIIth Edict at Shāhbāz-Garhi and Mansāra as now ascertained by him, and draws attention to the fact that, at both places this Edict seems to have been assigned a place of honour. At Mansāra it has one side of the rock to itself, and at Shāhbāz-Garhi it is inscribed on a special stone. At both places the characters are larger, and the engraving more accurate, than those of any other Edict. This is the more remarkable because it is this Edict which is omitted in the series of Orissa, at Dhault and Jaugada. It is the special *Asoka* Edict of Toleration. It appears as if, in the eyes of the king, counsels of religious peace were specially necessary at this extreme point of the North-West of India. We know that this region, the main route of invasions into India, must always have been the meeting-place of diverse races, divided by religious ideas; and it is also certain that its present population consists of mountain tribes who are most turbulent, and least addicted to the ways of peace. At the other end of India, in Orissa, such advice was doubtless less indispensable. If the XIIIth Edict is there omitted, it is surely because it describes the conquest of the country, and because it paints in energetic colours the violence and disorder which accompanied that conquest. Perhaps, the king also considered it not a little embarrassing for him to preach moderation where he had recently given so practical an example to the contrary; he felt himself compelled to suppress both the mention of the horrors of the invasion, and the sentiments of mercy to which he had been led, as he himself admits, by their spectacle.

M. Senart next deals with the orthography of these two variants of the XIIth Edict. Two of the most interesting points dwelt on by him may be noticed. One is the co-ordination of *pdshanda* with *pdshada* through a form *pdsharda*, which, by the way, gives another proof that the spelling at Shāhbāz-Garhi is not phonetic, but is full of graphic *tatsumas*, in which the old spelling was preserved, although the pronunciation was changed. The other point is the fixing of the character *~* as representing *wa* and not *wa* as hitherto supposed by M. Senart.

The article concludes with a fresh collation of the first eleven Edicts at Shāhbāz-Garhi, and the Edicts at Gīrnār, and transcriptions, so far as is possible, of the first eleven Edicts at Manṣārā. These collations and transcriptions are specially valuable as coming from a scholar, an expert on the subject, who has now had an opportunity of examining the original documents, instead of the copies and rubbings which had hitherto been available to him.

GEO. A. GIBBERSON.

BENGAL, ITS CHIEFS, AGENTS AND GOVERNORS, by F. O. DANVERS. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen.

It has long been well known that Mr. Danvers has been using his official position to collect and arrange in a useful and intelligent manner the older Records of the India Office, which have ever since their acquirement been allowed to remain in such a state of confusion, as to render them almost useless to anyone engaged in inquiring into the history of our rule in the East, unless he has unlimited time at his disposal. The present pamphlet is an outcome of a part of his valuable labours.

By the Governors of Bengal Mr. Danvers means those who have actually held that title at various periods, — fitfully it is true, — from 24th November 1681, to 1st May 1854, when the present Lieutenant-Governorship was established.

Hitherto, the only list available was the Government of India official list, which began with Messrs. Frecke and Cruttenden, 1733-1738. But Mr. Danvers has discovered that neither of these gentlemen had ever been Governor at all, and that the title commenced long before that with Sir William Hedges in 1681.

The history of the Governorship is a curious one, and shows, among other remarkable facts, that the Directors of the East India Companies at home were as often as not at violent loggerheads with their chief representatives in Calcutta, whom they frequently "dismissed" and "deposed." Some, like Lord Olive, resigned in consequence of

despatches from the Court of Directors, of which, in Lord Olive's words, "almost every paragraph abounded with unbecoming language." Very unpleasant gentlemen the Board of Directors appear to have been in the early days.

The Governorship of Bengal arose out of a Chief of the Factories of Balasor and Hāghli in 1650, who became an Agent and Governor in the Bay of Bengal in 1681, and President and Governor in 1683. In the same year the title was reduced to Agent and Chief in the Bay of Bengal, but the title of President and Governor of Fort William was revived in 1690. The title of Commander-in-Chief was added in 1709, and the full title of President in the Bay, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fort William, was continued down to 1774, when Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General of Fort William. The title and office of Governor-General of India in Council, was created in 1833, when the Governor-General was appointed also Governor of Fort William. This arrangement continued till 1854, when the Governor-General ceased to be Governor of Fort William, and the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was created, — in the person of Sir Frederick Halliday.

Bengal was off and on under the control of and independent of Fort St. George until 1699; the famous Agent Job Charnook being, for instance, entrusted for life with the "uncontrollable power" involved in the independence of Madras. And during the transition period, while the affairs of the English and London East India Companies were being amalgamated into those of the afterwards celebrated United East India Company, the Governorships on both sides were for a time, 1702-1709, in commission, each member of the Council preading in turn. The same plan was tried again after the "Black Hole" tragedy in 1756, but was evidently unworkable and ceased of its own accord in 1758.

The above and other valuable and interesting information is to be found in Mr. Danvers' pamphlet, the accuracy of which is beyond impeachment, as it is all taken from the original documents at first hand. We look forward to other productions of the same kind, which cannot fail to be valuable: in the first place because the information given will be of the highest authority; in the second place because the whereabouts of the original documents will be ascertained; and in the third, because those interested in research will know that the documents have been so filed that they can be consulted without any unreasonable expenditure of time.

THE ORIGINAL SURYA-SIDDHANTA.

BY SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT; DHULIA.

THE fact of the existence of an original *Sūrya-Siddhanta*, older than and different from the work that is now known to us under that name, became apparent to me from studying the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira.¹ A valuable article on the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* has been published, in 1884, by Dr. Thibaut, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. pp. 259 to 298; treating chiefly of the mean motions of the planets according to the *Sūrya*- and *Rāmaka Siddhāntas*. But, although the *ahargana* employed in it to explain the *kshēpakas*, and the results arrived at by means of it, are quite correct, yet the epoch, supposed by Dr. Thibaut to be the *amānta* Chaitra śukla pratipadā of Saka-Saṃvat 428 current (427 expired), is wrong by one lunar month; and my chief object here is to give the correct interpretation of the epoch which Varāhamihira selected for the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. Also some other points touched by me will, I hope, be useful.²

The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is a *Karapa*, not a *Siddhānta*; and therefore the revolutions of the planets in a *Mahāyuga* or in a *Kalpa* are not given in it, as is usually done in *Siddhāntas*. A *Karapa* is a practical work on astronomy; and usually the author of it gives the mean places of the planets, which are generally called *kshēpakas*, on the day of, or very near to, the epoch of that *Karapa*; also the daily mean motions of the planets; and also a method of calculating the *ahargana*, i. e. the number of days elapsed from the epoch of the *Karapa* up to any given day, for which the places of the planets, &c., are to be found. In some *Karapas*, the annual motions are given; and the mean places of the planets at the beginning of a given year are calculated by means of the annual motions, and of the *varshagana*, or number of years elapsed from the epoch of the *Karapa*; the places for a given day being found by adding the motions for the short period between the beginning of the given year and the given day. In the latter case, the *kshēpakas* are given for the beginning of the epoch-year, taken as a solar year, and supposed to commence either with the mean or with the apparent *Mēsha-Saṃkrānti* or entrance of the sun into Aries. Varāhamihira has followed the first of these two methods. In this method, the *ahargana* is to be calculated from Chaitra śukla pratipadā, i. e. from the beginning of the epoch-year taken as a luni-solar year. But the *kshēpakas* may be given either for the same day, or for a previous day near to it. For instance, the epoch of Gaṇeśa Daivajña's *Grahalāghava* is Saka-Saṃvat 1442 expired, i. e. the end of that year, taken as a current year. With that basis, Chaitra śukla pratipadā of Saka-Saṃvat 1443 current ended on Tuesday, 20th March, A.D. 1520; but it began on the previous day, though not at sunrise; and the *kshēpakas* are for the mean sunrise on that previous day, viz. the *amānta* Phālguna kṛishṇa amāvāsyā of Saka-Saṃvat 1441 expired (or 1442 current), i. e. for the mean sunrise on Monday, 19th March, A.D. 1520. The epoch of the *Rajamṛigaṇka*, a *Karapa* attributed to king Bhōja, is Saka-Saṃvat 964 expired. With that basis, Chaitra śukla pratipadā ended on Tuesday, 23rd February, A.D. 1042. It commenced on the previous day, Monday. But here the *kshēpakas* are not even for the Monday; but are for the mean sunrise on Phālguna kṛishṇa trayōdaśī, Saka-Saṃvat 963 expired, i. e. on Sunday,³ 21st February.

¹ [The present article has been recast from a longer paper, written about a year ago, in which Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, unaware of the results that had been established by Dr. Thibaut, had before him, as one of his principal points, the proof of the existence of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. In the face of what has been done by Dr. Thibaut, it was unnecessary to traverse the same ground again; and the article has been modified accordingly. One of the most interesting and leading points now dealt with, is the epoch and initial day of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*; a question which was not disposed of by Dr. Thibaut.—J. F. F.]

² There are two MSS. of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in the Dekkan College Collection; No. 87 of 1874-75, and No. 338 of 1879-80. These, however, having been lent out to someone else, I have not as yet been able to consult them in original; and my present remarks are based on a copy, made by myself, of a copy of one or other of them, made by my friend, Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak, Head Master of the Thāpā High School.

³ One *tithi* was expunged,

A.D. 1042. And the reason of this is obvious. The *ahargana* is to be calculated from the beginning of the luni-solar year, and therefore the *kshēpakas* are given generally for a certain time, — sunrise, or noon, or midnight, — on the day on which the first *pratipadā* of that year begins, that is, again, on the day on which the last *amāvāsya* or new-moon of the previous year ends; and in some instances for one day still earlier. But, as the *tithis* do not always begin or end at a fixed time, — sunrise, or noon, or midnight, — and as sometimes there is a difference of about 25 *ghaṭis* between a mean and an apparent *tithi*, there is sometimes found a discrepancy of one day in the calculated *ahargana*, as is well known to astronomers,⁴ which is to be made up by adding one to, or subtracting one from, the calculated *ahargana*. I give the details in order to account for the seeming difference of one day between the day of the *kshēpakas* and the initial day for calculating the *ahargana* which Varāhamihira selected.

In the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Varāhamihira gives more or less of the substance of five different *Jyōtiṣha Siddhāntas*, — the *Paulīśa*, *Rōmaka*, *Vāishīṣṭha*, *Saura*, and *Paitāmaha*, — which were already in existence in his time. He has not given the different detailed methods of calculating the *ahargana* according to each of the five *Siddhāntas*. Giving first such a detailed method only for the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, he has given afterwards those figures for the other *Siddhāntas* on which a detailed method can be based. The first of the verses in which the method of calculating *ahargana*, according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* is given by Varāhamihira, stands thus in my copy: —

सप्तदिवससंख्यं सककालमपास्व सौम्यदिवसाद्ये ।

अर्धोत्तमिने भानौ यवनपुरे भौमदिवसाद्यः ॥ ८ ॥ Adhyāya i.

Translation. — “Having put aside the *Saka* period that is numbered by (the numeral) seven, the *Āsvins* (two), and the *Vēdas* (four) [i.e. having come to the end of *Saka-Samvat* 427, and passing on to the next year *Saka-Samvat* 428 current], at the commencement of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*, (there was) the commencement of the week-day *Bhauma* (Tuesday),⁵ when the sun had half set at *Yavanapura*.”

There seems to be a various reading in the latter half of this verse, which is *सौम्यदिवसाद्ये*, *Saumya-divas-ādyē*, locat. sing., “on the commencement of the week-day *Saumya* (Wednesday).” My copy reads *भौमदिवसाद्यः*, *Bhauma-divas-ādyah*, nomin. sing., and gives *Saumya-divas-ādyē* in the margin, as a various reading. This verse is quoted by *Utpalā* in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*; and there my MS. of the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, with the commentary, reads *भौम*, *Bhauma*, and not *सौम्य*, *Saumya*. Also, the late Dr. *Bhau Daji* has given *भौम*, *Bhauma* (*Bhauma-divas-ādyah*; *Jour. E. As. Soc.*, N. S. Vol. I. p. 407); while Dr. *Thibaut* has given *सौम्य*, *Saumya* (*Saumya-divas-ādyē*; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 287). It is clear, from these circumstances that the majority is on the side of reading *भौम*, *Bhauma*. And, that no other reading is sustainable by calculations, will be seen below. The real epoch and the initial day of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is the *amānta* *Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā* of *Saka-Samvat* 428 current (427 expired), which ended on (भौमवार) Tuesday, 22nd March, A. D. 505. And the alteration of *भौम*, *Bhauma*, into *सौम्य*, *Saumya*, seems to be an afterthought. Seeing only this verse, and finding by calculation that the *amānta* *Chaitra śukla pratipadā*, *Saka-Samvat* 427 expired, ended, not on a Tuesday, but on a Sunday, while the *Chaitra śukla pratipadā* of *Saka-Samvat* 427 current (426 expired) ended on a Wednesday, some antiquarian of the present century seems to have altered *भौम*, *Bhauma*, into *सौम्य*, *Saumya*, to suit those results. According to Prof. *Chhatre's* Tables, the *amānta* *Chaitra śukla pratipadā*, *Saka-Samvat* 427 expired, ended on Sunday, 20th February, A. D. 505, at 58 *gh.* 55 *p.*, Bombay mean time; but I find, from the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, that the same *tithi* ended really on Monday, 21st February, at 4 *gh.*, Ujjain mean time; and accordingly it might be thought that we should

⁴ See the *Siddhānta-Bīrōmani*, *Madhyamādhikāra*, *adhikāsanirpaya*, and commentaries on it.

⁵ I think *भौमदिवसाद्यः*, *Bhauma-divas-ādyah*, to be the better reading.

change सौम, *Bhauṃa*, into सोम, *Sōma* (Monday). Taking the year 427 either as current or as expired, and even then with a margin of a year on either side, and taking into consideration all other possible interpretations in that connexion, there is no third alternative. But, when the *kshēpakas* in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, given in accordance with the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, are taken into consideration, neither of these two dates, nor any other date, stands the test. It is proved beyond all doubt, as will be seen further on, that the *kshēpakas* are for the *amānta* Chaitra *kṛishṇa* chaturdaśī of Saka-Saṃvat 428 current (427 expired), which ended on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505; some of them being for the noon of that day, and others for the next following midnight. The initial day for calculating the *ahargana* should be as near as possible to this date; and it, therefore, must be the *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā, Saka-Saṃvat 427 expired, which, as a fact, ended on a Tuesday (सौमवार, *Bhauṃavāra*). The discrepancy here of one or two days is explained above. Another apparent discrepancy, viz. why this Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā is called Chaitra śukla pratipadā by Varāhamihira, will be explained further on. First, I will prove my assertion that the *kshēpakas* are for the *amānta* Chaitra *kṛishṇa* chaturdaśī.

Special particulars for calculating the *ahargana* with regard to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* are given in the verse:—

वर्षाद्भूते धृतिज्ञे नववसुगुणरसरसाः स्मुरधिमासाः ।

सावित्री चरनवर्षेन्द्रिबापैवाद्यास्तियिप्रलजाः ॥ 14 ॥ Adhyāya i.

As Dr. Thibaut has already translated this verse and demonstrated the statement in it, I need not do so again. It is seen from the verse that the length of the year according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is 365 days, 15 *ghaṭas*, 81 *palas*, 80 *vipalas*.

With the method of finding the mean places of the sun and moon, and of the apogee of the moon, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, their *kshēpakas* are given in the following verses of the ninth* chapter of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*:—

शुगणे ऽर्को ऽष्टसप्तद्वे विपक्षदेशर्षवे ऽर्कसिद्धावे ।

स्वरसाभिरिषयमोद्धृते क्रमादिनहले ऽवस्थां ॥ 1 ॥

नवघातसहस्रगुणिते स्वरैकपक्षांवरस्वरर्तुने ।

पञ्चोर्ध्वोर्ध्वेन्द्रिबापैवविषयजिनेर्माजिते चन्द्रः ॥ 2 ॥

नवघातगुणिते दद्याद्रसविषयगुणांवरर्तुनमपक्षाम् ।

नववसुसप्ताष्टांवरनवादिमस्के शर्षाकोर्ध्वं ॥ 3 ॥

सशिविषयगुणार्धोः साकाराभिहतानि मंडलानि ऋणं ॥

स्वोर्ध्वे दिग्गानि धनं स्वरैरर्ध्वमोद्धृते विकलाः ॥ 4 ॥ Adhyāya ix.

The verses need not be translated, except the last one, the second half of which remains unexplained in Dr. Thibaut's paper. *Translation*.—“(Verse 4). The revolutions of the moon being multiplied by the moon (one), and the objects of the organs of sense (five) (i.e. by 51), and divided by the sky (nought), the suns (twelve), and the fires (three) (i.e. by 3120), [the result, which is in] seconds of arc, is to be subtracted [from the place of the moon calculated by the rule in the second verse]; [and the revolutions of] her apogee being multiplied by the directions (ten) and divided by the notes (seven), the cavities of the body (nine), and a couple, (i.e. by 297), [the result in seconds] is to be added [to the apogee calculated by the third verse].”

According to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the revolutions of the moon's apogee are found to be 488,219 in a *Mahāyuga* of 1,877,917,800 civil days. Then we find by proportion that 900 revolutions are performed in 2,908,789 — $\frac{80,901}{488,219}$ days. In the last fraction of days,

* I call it the ninth, as it stands so in my copy. But in the original MSS. there are, it seems, no indications as to where the fourth and fifth chapters end.

† My copy reads °सावित्रि°

‡ My copy reads °वर्षर्तुने°

§ My copy reads °स्वरदसय°. It is shown above that the emendation is necessary.

the motion of the apogee amounts to $\left(\frac{36,791}{1,577,917,800} \times 12 \times 30 \times 60 \times 60 = \frac{8,832,840}{294,207} = \right)$ 30.21776 &c., seconds of arc. Then, so many seconds more than 900 revolutions take place in 2,908,789 days. But in this number of days only 900 revolutions are supposed to be performed, in the rule of the third verse. Then it follows that $\left(\frac{30.21776}{600} = .0335758 \text{ &c.} = \right)$ about $\frac{10}{297}$ seconds fall short in every revolution, and must be added; and hence the rule in the second half of the fourth verse.

From the first of those verses it is seen that 800 revolutions of the sun are performed in 292,207 days; one revolution, therefore, takes 365 days, 15 gh. 31 p. 30 vip., which accordingly is the length of the solar year, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and this is also corroborated by the 14th verse of the first chapter given on page 47 above.

Taking the *ahargana* to be *nīl*, we find the *kshēpakas* of the sun, the moon, and the moon's apogee, which are given in the annexed Table. They are, as is shown by the last words in the first verse, दिग्दलेऽर्चयति, *dina-dalē=Vantiyāni*, for noon at Ujjain; presumably of a Sunday, because the *ahargana* is usually counted from Sunday. The sun's *kshēpaka* is 11 signs, 29 degrees, 27 minutes, 20 seconds. He was then short of the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* by only 32 minutes, 40 seconds. Taking the above ascertained length of the year, he would take 33 *ghaṭis*, 9 *palas*, to traverse this distance; i.e. he would enter the mean *Mēsha* at 33 gh. 9 p. after noon, i.e., again, 48 gh. 9 p. after mean sunrise at Ujjain on the day to which the *kshēpakas* belong. The time of the sun's entrance into *Mēsha* is the time of the *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. Supposing that, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Kaliyuga* commenced at the midnight of a Thursday (at the beginning of the *amānta* mean *Chaitra Śukla pratipadā* of *Kaliyuga-Samvat* 1 current, 17th-18th February, B.C. 3102, old style), that is, at that time all the planets, or at least the sun and moon, were, with regard to their mean places, in the beginning of *Mēsha*; and taking the above determined length of the year, 365 days, 15 gh. 31 p. 30 vip.; then the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti*, *Saka-Samvat* 427 expired, occurred on a Sunday, at 48 gh. 9 p. after mean sunrise at Ujjain, i.e. exactly at the time deduced from the sun's *kshēpaka*. It is thus proved that the sun's *kshēpaka* is for the noon previous to this mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti*. The moon's *kshēpaka* is also evidently for the same noon. Let us however, test it directly. From the second and the fourth of the above verses, the revolution, of the moon, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* are found to be 57,753,936 in a *Mahāyuga*; therefore her mean position at the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of *Saka-Samvat* 427 expired (428 current), which took place, as shown above, on Sunday, at 48 gh. 9 p. after mean sunrise, was 11 signs, 27 degrees, 28 minutes, 4.8 seconds. Deducting from this the moon's mean motion for 33 gh. 9 p., which is the difference between the time of the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* and the next preceding noon, we get 11 signs, 20 degrees, 11 minutes, 16 seconds, which exactly agrees with the moon's *kshēpaka*. This agreement both proves and corroborates the fact that the moon's *kshēpaka* is for the noon next preceding the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti*.¹⁰ It need hardly be proved separately that the *kshēpaka* of the moon's apogee, which is stated along with those of the sun and moon in the above verses, is for the same noon.

Now we have to ascertain the *tithi* and month of the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of *Saka-Samvat* 427 expired, which occurred on a Sunday at 48 gh. 9 p. after mean sunrise. The moon's mean longitude at that time is found above to be 11 signs, 27 degrees, 28 minutes, 4.8 seconds. Therefore the 29th mean *tithi*, i.e. *krishṇa-chaturdaśī*, was completed, and the thirtieth *tithi*, viz. the *amāvāsya*, was current at that time by the *amānta* reckoning. From calculations chiefly based on the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, I find that this *amānta* *krishṇa-chaturdaśī* ended, as a *spashṭa* or apparent *tithi*, at 35 gh. 57 p. after mean sunrise on the same Sunday on which the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred; and the following *amāvāsya*

¹⁰ By the way, it corroborates the number of the moon's revolutions in a *Mahāyuga*.

Table of the Elements of the original and the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

	Original <i>Sūrya-Siddhānta</i> .				Present <i>Sūrya-Siddhānta</i> .	
	Kāhēpakas on amānta Chaitra kṛishna chaturdaśī, Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired; which ended on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 503.				In a Mahāyuga, viz.	In a Mahāyuga, viz.
	Signs.	Degrees.	Minutes.	Seconds.	4320000 years.	4320000 years.
1	2				3	4
	At mean noon at Ujjain.				Revolutions.	Revolutions.
Sun	11	29	27	20	4,320,000	4,320,000
Moon	11	20	11	16	57,753,336	57,753,336
Moon's apogee	9	9	44	53	488,219	488,203
Moon's node	7	26	6	59	232,226	232,238
	At mean midnight at Ujjain.					
Īghra of Mercury.....	4	28	17	7	17,937,000	17,937,060
Īghra of Venus.....	8	27	30	35	7,022,388	7,022,376
Mars	2	15	35	4	2,296,824	2,296,832
Jupiter	0	8	6	20	364,220	364,220
Saturn	4	2	23	49	146,564	146,568
The Stars.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,582,237,800	1,582,237,828
					Number.	Number.
Sāvāna days .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,577,917,800	1,577,917,828
Solar months .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	51,840,000	51,840,000
Intercalated months.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,593,336	1,593,336
Lunar months .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	53,433,336	53,433,336
Tithis .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,603,000,080	1,603,000,080
Expunged tithis.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25,032,280	25,032,282

Length of the year:—

The original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.....365 days, 15 *ghaṭṭas*, 31 *palas*, 30 *vipalas*;The present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.....365 „, 15 „, 31 „, 31 „, 24 *prativipalas*;
the latter being in excess by one *vipala* and twenty-four *prativipalas*.

ended, as an apparent *tithi*, on the following Monday at 35 *gh.* 48 *p.* after mean sunrise. Therefore, at the time of the mean *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti* which occurred on Sunday at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.*, the current *tithi* was the *amāvāsyā*, apparent as well as mean. The apparent *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti* takes place, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, about 2 days, 14 *gh.* 23 *p.* earlier¹¹ than the mean *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti*; and in the present case it must have occurred on Friday, the current apparent *tithi* at that time being, — as I find by actual calculation, — the *trayōdaśī*¹² of the same fortnight and of the same *amānta* month as that of the mean *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti*. And as, according to the general rule, that *amānta* lunar month in which the *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti* occurs is to be named Chaitra, the *amānta* month in which the apparent as well as the mean *Mēsha-Saṁkrānti* of Śaka-Saṁvat 427 expired occurred, must have been named Chaitra.

¹¹ This difference varies from 2 days, 8 *gh.* 48 *p.* to 2 days, 14 *gh.*, 23 *p.*, according to the different authorities.¹² The current *tithi* at sunrise on this Friday was the *dvīdaśī*.

The *kshēpakas* of the five planets are for the midnight next following the noon for which the *kshēpakas* of the sun are given. The mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* took place on this day, as stated above, at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise, *vis.* at 3 *gh.* 9 *p.* after midnight. As the verses from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, containing the mean motions of the five planets and their *kshēpakas* according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, have been translated and demonstrated by Dr. Thibaut, I need not do it again. With the revolutions of the planets in a *Mahāyuga*, derived from these verses, and with the supposition that at the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* all the planets were, with regard to their mean places, at the beginning of *Mēsha*, I have calculated, by means of the *varshagana* and the annual motions, the mean places of the five planets for the time of the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* of *Saka-Samvat* 427 expired; and then, deducting from them the motions for 8 *gh.* 9 *p.*, I have obtained the mean places¹³ for the preceding midnight, which agree, exactly in some cases, and very nearly in others, with the *kshēpakas* given by *Varāhamihira*. The disagreement in seconds is of no practical importance.

Thus it is proved clearly that the *kshēpakas* in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, are for the *amānta* *Chaitra* *kṛishṇa* *chaturdaśī* of *Saka-Samvat* 428 current (427 expired), which ended at 85 *gh.* 57 *p.* on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505, on which day the mean *Mēsha-Samkrānti* occurred at 48 *gh.* 9 *p.* after mean sunrise at *Ujjain*; ¹⁴ some of the *kshēpakas* being for the noon of that day, and others for the next following midnight. And the nearest *śukla* *pratipadā*, *vis.* the *amānta* *Vaiśākha* *śukla* *pratipadā* of *Saka-Samvat* 428 current, — which ended, as I find from the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, on Tuesday, 22nd March, A.D. 505, at 84 *gh.* 23 *p.* after mean sunrise at *Ujjain*, — is, in fact, the initial day selected by *Varāhamihira* for calculating the *ahargana*. It is proved at the same time that, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the *Kaliyuga* commenced on the midnight of a Thursday, and that at that time the sun, the moon, and the five planets were, with regard to their mean places, at the beginning of *Mēsha*.

The *kalpādyahargana* used by Dr. Thibaut to calculate the *kshēpakas*, and the method by which he obtained that *ahargana*, lead to the same conclusion. "The sum of years (the *varshagana*) from the beginning of the *Kalpa* to the epoch of the *Karapa*," which, according to him "amounts to 1,955,883,606," allows, as in the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 17,064,000 *trundane* years for the creation of the world. And accordingly, as well as in agreement with any other *Siddhānta*, the motions of the planets, when they are to be calculated from the beginning of the *Kalpa*, must be counted from Sunday morning, or rather from Saturday midnight in the case of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. Then the *ahargana* 714,403,601,078 used by Dr. Thibaut, which gives one as remainder on being divided by seven, brings us, neither to a Wednesday (*बुधवार*), nor to a Tuesday (*मंगलवार*), but to a Sunday¹⁵ midnight; and consequently the *kshēpakas* which he explains by this *ahargana*, are for a Sunday, as is shown by me above by a different method. Again, in calculating the *ahargana*, though the *adhikmasas* amount to $721,384,203 + \frac{173,734}{180,000}$, he takes 721,384,204; that is, he counts the fraction as one. It is true that the fraction is very near to one; but he must be aware that we can count it as one, only when a *spashṭa* *adhikmasa* has actually fallen near before our given day; and, as this is not the case here, we cannot here count it as one, even on the plea of *śvalpāntara*. But he has taken it as one, only because otherwise he could not explain the *kshēpakas*; and taking one month more, brings us practically one month forward to the *amānta* *Chaitra* *śukla* *pratipadā* for which his *ahargana* is calculated, *i.e.* to the Sunday nearest to the beginning of the *amānta* *Vaiśākha*.

One point remains to be explained, which is, why *Varāhamihira* gives to this *Vaiśākha* *śukla* *pratipadā* the name of *Chaitra* *śukla* *pratipadā* (*Chaitra-śuklādi*). The reason of this

¹³ The places thus derived by me, and those arrived at by Dr. Thibaut by means of the *kalpādyahargana*, agree exactly.

¹⁴ The current *śuklā* at the time of this *amānta* was, as stated above, the *amāvāsya*.

¹⁵ I do not know how, notwithstanding this, Dr. Thibaut chooses the reading *बुधवार*, *Budhvara*, in the verse of the 11 chapter of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.

is one or other of the following two. First, the fortnight *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla was Chaitra śukla by the real *pūrṇimānta* arrangement. The general rule for naming a lunar month is this; that lunar month in which the Māsha-Saṁkrānti occurs, is to be called Chaitra, and so on. With Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, the apparent Māsha-Saṁkrānti took place on the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa dvādaśī, Friday, 18th March, A.D. 505. The *pūrṇimānta* month which was current at the time of this Māsha-Saṁkrānti, commenced on the next preceding pratipadā of the same dark fortnight (*amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa), on Sunday, 6th March, and ended with the *pūrṇimā* or full-moon of the following bright fortnight (*amānta* Vaiśākha śukla); and this *pūrṇimānta* month must be named Chaitra according to the correct application of the above rule for naming the lunar months. Consequently, the *amānta* Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā in question belonged to the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra śukla. The second reason is that, in Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired), by the rule of mean intercalation, the *amānta* month which followed the *amānta* natural Chaitra, was intercalary; and, by the rule contained in the verse मेपादित्ये खवेरि वो वो मासः प्रपूर्ति चात्रः । चैवायः स शेवः पूर्वहित्ये ऽधिमसोऽन्त्यः, it must have been named Chaitra. Therefore, the *pratipadā* in question, belonging to the bright fortnight of the month which was Vaiśākha by the rule of apparent intercalation, belonged to the bright fortnight of Chaitra which was intercalary by the rule of mean intercalation. But this second reason does not seem to apply; first, because Varāhamihira does not indicate that the Chaitra in question was intercalary; and secondly, even supposing that he did carelessly or knowingly omit the word *adhika* or any such term, still there is no reason why he should select as the initial day for calculating the *ahargana*, the pratipadā of the intercalated Chaitra, instead of the pratipadā of the preceding natural Chaitra; thus beginning the year wrongly. Therefore, the first reason is the one that is applicable; i.e. the pratipadā of the bright fortnight of the *amānta* Vaiśākha in question, belonged to the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra. There is no doubt as to the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement being in use in Varāhamihira's time in Northern India; only we have no means of ascertaining whether, in his time, the luni-solar year commenced, in practice, with the dark or with the bright fortnight of Chaitra. But, even where the *pūrṇimānta* system may be in use, astronomically it is more convenient to commence the year with the bright, instead of with the dark, fortnight of Chaitra; and so Varāhamihira adopted the pratipadā of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, as the initial day for calculating the *ahargana*. There is still another reason why Varāhamihira selected the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdaśī of Saka-Saṁvat 428 current (427 expired) for his *kshēpakas*. It is, that the mean Māsha-Saṁkrānti in that year occurred, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, on that day, at 48 gā. 9 p. after mean sunrise at Ujjain. And so, though Varāhamihira followed, as stated above, the first of the two methods of Karapa-works, that is of calculating the mean places of planets by means of the *ahargana*, — as a consequence of which, his initial day is the beginning of the luni-solar year, — still he selected for the epoch a year in which the commencement of the solar year was very near to that of the luni-solar year. This has the special advantage, that one may calculate the mean places of the planets by means of their annual motions and the *varshagana*; by which method the process is much shortened. We have such another instance in the *Khaṇḍakhādyā*¹⁶ of Brahmagupta, in which there is found the same coincidence of the commencement of both the luni-solar and the solar years with the epoch of a Karapa.

For the sake of easy reference and comparison, I give, in the accompanying Table, the revolutions of the planets,¹⁷ and the other elements in a Mahāyuga, deduced from the data in the *Pāñchasiddhāntikā*, given as belonging to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* which I have named the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; the same elements according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and the *kshēpakas*, i.e. the mean places of the sun, &c., in the *Pāñchasiddhāntikā* according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. The *kshēpakas* of the five planets are as calculated by me; some of them differ, but by not more than seven seconds, from those given by Varāhamihira.

¹⁶ Epoch, Saka-Saṁvat 587 expired.

¹⁷ As to the revolutions and the *kshēpakas* of Bāhu, or the ascending node of the moon, see remarks further on.

It will be seen from the Table that such of the elements of the two *Sūrya-Siddhāntas* as are generally given in the *Madhyamādhikāra*, or chapter on mean motions and places, of a *Siddhānta*-work, differ considerably from each other. It does not, however, follow of necessity that the two works must be different in other chapters also. It is quite possible that the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta* was constructed by changing those verses in the *Madhyamādhikāra* of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, which contained elements regarding the mean motions of the planets; and there may have been some other slight changes here and there. There is very little possibility of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* being now extant anywhere in its original form.

The elements of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* do not, I find, agree with those of the *Paulīśa-Siddhānta*¹⁸ as contained in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, but agree, not partly as Dr. Thibaut says (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 292), but wholly, with those of another *Paulīśa-Siddhānta*, as found in the verses in the *Āryā* metre quoted from it by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*.¹⁹ Again, the elements of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* agree with those of the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*, except in respect of the length of the year and other elements depending on it, and the revolutions of Mercury and Jupiter; and except that, while according to the former the *Kaliyuga* commences at midnight, according to the latter it begins at sunrise.

Albérūnī²⁰ has attributed the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* to Lāṭa. I do not know whether it can be ascertained from his writings which of the two *Sūrya-Siddhāntas*, — the original, or the present one, — he had seen. But the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is certainly not the work of Lāṭa. In the third verse of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Varāhamihira says that Lāṭa wrote commentaries on the *Paulīśa* and *Rāmaka* *Siddhāntas* (*पञ्चायती लारवेण*). Lāṭa's writings, therefore, were well known to Varāhamihira. And, if Lāṭa were really the author of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the matter would not have been a secret to Varāhamihira, and he would not have held the work in reverence as one of divine origin. The very fact that he calls it the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, shows that he did not hold it to be a work of human origin. In the following verse he calls Lāṭa an *Āchārya*, and not a *Rishi*, much less a divine being : —

द्युगणविनवापसिद्युगणो ऽपि हि देवाकालसंबंधः ।

लाटाचार्येणोक्तो यवनपुरे चास्तरो सूर्ये ॥ *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, Adhyāya xiv.

"The week-day is obtained from the *dyugana* which is connected with (the question of) country and time; and the *Āchārya* Lāṭa has declared (it to begin at) sunset at Yavanapura." This verse also shows that Lāṭa had written some work in addition to his commentaries, and the fact stated in this verse, that according to Lāṭa the day began at sunset, shows that that other work of Lāṭa differed from the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; because according to both the *Sūrya-Siddhāntas* the *dyugana* is counted from midnight. The point is still more clearly proved from Brahmagupta's writings. He says : —

अपिपविष्णुचंद्रमण्डवार्यमटलाहसिद्धानां ।

महपादिविषयावात् प्रतिदिवसं सिद्धमकृतत्वं ॥ 46 ॥ *Brahma-Siddhānta*, adhyāya xi.

"The incompleteness of Śrīṣṭhā, Viṣṇuachandra, Pradyumna, Āryabhata, Lāṭa, and Simha, is proved every day by the discordance of their eclipses and other things." Again he says : —

लाटासूर्यसंज्ञांको मन्वादिबृहच्चंद्रपातो च ।

कुजबुधशीमृहस्यतिसितशीमृगमैथरान् मन्वान् ॥ 47 ॥

अप्येतेन गृहीत्वा . . . रोमकः कृतः कथा ॥ 48 ॥ *Brahma-Siddhānta*, Adhyāya xi.

¹⁸ There seem to be three different *Paulīśa-Siddhāntas*: one contained in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*; another which is called by Utpala the *Māla-Paulīśa-Siddhānta*, and from which a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre is quoted by him, but which is certainly different from the first; and a third from which Utpala quotes about twenty-five verses in the *Āryā* metre.

¹⁹ In these verses, however, I do not find one containing the revolutions of the moon's apogee and node. Colebrook also probably did not find it, as he does not give the number of revolutions of the apogee and node in his note on the subject (*Miscellaneous Essays*, second edition, Vol. II. p. 415).

²⁰ [India, Translation, Vol. I. p. 153. — J. F. F.]

"Brishēpa has made the *Rōmaka*²¹ a tattered garment; having borrowed from Lāṭa the mean sun and moon, the moon's apogee and node, the mean Mars, the mean *śighra* of Mercury, the mean Jupiter, the mean *śighra* of Venus, and the mean Saturn." From these verses it is clear that, in addition to his commentaries on the Paulīṣa and Rōmaka Siddhāntas, Lāṭa wrote an independent work on astronomy, of the nature either of a Siddhānta or of a *Karapa*, and that it was known by his name, and not as the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. Brahmagupta also alludes to a *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; but it is beyond any doubt that only one and the same *Sūrya-Siddhānta* was known to Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta; and at any rate they do not call it a work of Lāṭa, whose writings they knew full well.

The author of the *Marīchi*, a well known commentary on the *Siddhānta-Sirōmāṇi*, quotes a verse from an unknown writer, the fourth quarter of which runs thus:²² — लट्टाचार्यः कथयति पुनर्धारणे स्वतन्त्रे; — "again Lāṭāchārya in his own book declares (*the beginning of the day*) at midnight." This shows that Lāṭa's work was known by his own name. Possibly Lāṭa's hand may have done something with the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* as now known, which, according to my present opinion, I would place as not later than A.D. 500;²³ though at that time it was probably not known by that name. The original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* must be of much earlier date.

The foregoing remarks are sufficient to convince us that not either of the *Sūrya-Siddhāntas* is a work of Varāhamihira. But there is also decisive proof of this. Having given the method of calculating the mean places of the planets according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, Varāhamihira gives a correction of his own, usually called *bija*, which is to be applied to those places. It is as follows:—

सोम्याः शरैर्विकलाः प्रतिवर्षं मध्यमभित्तये ।

वरा वरा गुरोर्विशीभ्याः शनैश्चरे सार्धसप्तमुताः ॥

पंचदश²⁴ विशीभ्याः सिते बुधे स्वाभिमंत्रमुताः ॥

सखदेवै²⁵ बुधविकलिकाः शोभ्याः सूर्यपुत्रितस्य मध्यात् स्तुः ॥॥ *Pañchariddhāntikā*, chapter xvii.

Translation.—"Every year the arrows (five) and the moon (one) (*i.e.* 15) seconds should be added to the mean Mars; ten should be subtracted from Jupiter; seven and a half should be added to Saturn; five and a couple (*i.e.* 25) should be subtracted from Venus; the sky (nought), the Āsvins (two) and the moon (one) (*i.e.* 120) should be added to Mercury; and the sky (nought), the sky (nought), the Vēdas (four), and the moon (one), (*i.e.* 1400) seconds should be subtracted from the mean (*place*) of the one adored by the gods (Jupiter)." — One might think that, if this *bija* were applied to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the results would agree with those of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and would show thereby that the latter is a work of Varāhamihira; but I find from calculations that such is not the case. If either *Sūrya-Siddhānta* were his own composition, Varāhamihira would have given the revolutions of the planets in a *Mahāyuga*, inclusive of this *bija*; and there would have been no necessity for him to give the *bija* separately.

I give here an important discovery in this connexion, which should be interesting to astronomers. It is that the length of the year and the revolution of all the planets, &c., in a *Mahāyuga*, adopted by Brahmagupta in the first part of his *Khaṇḍakhadya* (Saka-Samvat 587 expired), exactly agree with those of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. Brahmagupta is so accurate in this adoption, that he does not neglect even a second. The *akṛgaṇa* is to be counted from midnight in both.

²¹ I see clearly, from the *Pañchariddhāntikā* and the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, that the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* of Brishēpa is different from the *Rōmaka* alluded to in the *Pañchariddhāntikā* by Varāhamihira. See my paper on the *Rōmaka Siddhāntas*, which will shortly be published in this Journal.

²² I take it from Dr. Thibaut's article on the *Pañchariddhāntikā*.

²³ I am aware that Bentley says that the date of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta* is A.D. 1061.

²⁴ This is the reading in my copy. It may be पंचदशयो, *pañch-dāśayo* (45), as Dr. Thibaut gives it.

²⁵ I take this reading from Dr. Thibaut. My copy reads सखदेवविकलिकाः, *kha-kha-veda-vikalikā*.

I must state here that the fifth verse of the ninth chapter of the *Pāñchasiddhāntikā*, containing the mean motion and the *kshēpaka* of Rāhu, or the moon's ascending node, according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, is so corrupt in my copy that I have not been able to make out its sense. But, seeing that all the other numbers of the revolutions of the planets in the *Khaṇḍakhādya* and the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta* agree exactly, I have given, in the accompanying Table, the number of revolutions of Rāhu, derived from the former, as belonging to the latter; and the *kshēpaka* is as calculated from this number.

I would also invite the attention of antiquarians to another interesting point. At present only one work is known to have been composed by the first Āryabhaṭa; it has been published by Dr. Kern; it contains 118 verses in the Āryā metre; and it is called the *Āryabhāṭya* or (first) *Ārya-Siddhānta*.²⁶ In it, the Kaliyuga is made to commence at sunrise at Lāṭkā. But Varāhamihira says:—

संकाशेषावसमे दिनप्रवृत्तिं जगद् चार्चयतः ।

मूलः स एव सूर्योदयाद्यनुत्वाह लक्षायां ॥ *Pāñchasiddhāntikā*, chapter xiv.

"Āryabhaṭa declared the day to begin at midnight at Lāṭkā; again he declared (it to begin) at sunrise at Lāṭkā." And from this one expects that the same Āryabhaṭa must have written another work, in which the *ahargana* is to be counted from the midnight. Now, I have stated above that the elements derived from the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, with the commencement of the Kaliyuga at midnight, exactly correspond with those of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and this last work differs considerably from the published work of the first Āryabhaṭa, the difference being described above. But in the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, Brahmagupta, while alluding nowhere to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, often states that he has followed (the first) Āryabhaṭa. For example, he says at the outset:—

प्रणिपत्य महादेवं जगदुत्पत्तिस्त्यतिप्रलयहेतुं ।

वक्ष्यामि संख्यापकमाचार्योक्तमनुत्पत्त्यफलं ॥ *Khaṇḍakhādya*, chapter i.

"Having saluted Mahādēva, who is the cause of the creation, the existence, and the destruction of the world, I proclaim the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, producing results agreeing with (those of) the *Āchārya* Āryabhaṭa." At another place he says:—

अर्वाचकावर्ममन्त्रसमाः ॥ 7 ॥ *Khaṇḍakhādya*, chapter i.

"(The mean places of the planets thus arrived at are) equal to the mean (places of the planets calculated) for midnight according to Āryabhaṭa." From these circumstances it necessarily follows that the first Āryabhaṭa must have composed a work, in addition to his known *Ārya-Siddhānta* (*Āryabhāṭya*), which exactly corresponded with the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*; and it must be this now unknown work of Āryabhaṭa which Brahmagupta followed²⁷ in composing his *Khaṇḍakhādya*. This point is corroborated by the following remarks of Varuṇa, a commentator²⁸ on the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, who in the introduction to his commentary on the second Part (*Uttara*) of the *Khaṇḍakhādya* says, इह चोत्तरे वक्ष्यामिहितं सार्वभौमकरणीयं वक्तव्यं,—"what is not stated here in the *Uttara* (the latter part of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*), should be stated (i.e. taken) from the *Karapa* of Āryabhaṭa." And from this it appears that the first Āryabhaṭa had composed a *Karapa*. And, if the wording of Varāhamihira in the above verse is to be taken literally, Āryabhaṭa first composed this *Karapa* in which the *ahargana* was to be counted from midnight, and afterwards wrote the known *Tantra* or *Siddhānta* which has been published. It is but natural that the *Karapa*-work, which was in fact an imitation of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, should have been composed first; and it must have been followed by the *Siddhānta* or *Āryabhāṭya*, which is an independent work.

²⁶ See *op. cit.*, Vol. XVII. p. 312, note 1.

²⁷ It is clear from his *Brahma-Siddhānta* that Brahmagupta was also well acquainted with Āryabhaṭa's *Siddhānta* known to us at present.

²⁸ The Śaka years 963, 962, 964, 966 and 967, are used by him in his examples; and therefore the date of his commentary seems to be about A.D. 1040.

KANASWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGANA;
THE MALAVA YEAR 795 EXPIRED.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.L.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription appears to have been discovered in 1820, and to have been first publicly mentioned by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Tod in a paper, read by him on the 1st of May 1824 before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¹ A few years later Colonel Tod gave (what was meant to be) a fuller account of the contents of the inscription in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. I. pp. 795-96. The text of the inscription was first edited by myself, *ibid.*, Vol. XIII. p. 163, from an indifferent, and in some places very indistinct, rubbing received through Dr. Bühler; and it was afterwards re-edited, in an improved form, with a translation and an inferior photo-lithograph prepared at Poona, by Professor Peterson, in the *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 382. I now re-edit the inscription from an excellent impression which has been supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, and from which the accompanying photo-lithograph has been prepared under his supervision.

According to information furnished to me, the inscription is on a stone which is built into a wall of the temple of Mahādēva (Siva) at Kanaswa, — or Kanvāsrama, 'the hermitage of Kanva,' as the name is spelt in lines 12 and 16 of the inscription, — a few miles to the east of Kōtah, the principal town of the State of Kōtah in Rājputāna, on the right bank of the river Chambal, Lat. 25° 10' N., Long. 75° 52' E. It contains 17 lines. The writing covers a space of about 4' 6½" broad by 1' 2½" high; and except that through the peeling off of the surface of the stone about ten *akṣaras* near the commencement of line 9 have either gone altogether or become illegible, it is generally well preserved. The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅓". — The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; though rather more florid, they are of essentially the same type as, e.g., those of the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasēna² or of the Horiṣi palm-leaf MSS.³ They include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *śaukārāh-kvachid*, line 1, and the somewhat rare sign for *jh*, in *jhapiti*, line 12, and *jhaṅkara*, line 13. Except in the conjunct *riha* (in *diarman-ārīhaṣ*, line 13), the sign for *r*, preceding another consonant, is always written above the line. — The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *ōṃ namaḥ Sivāya ōṃ* and six *akṣaras*, the meaning of which is not apparent, at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout; but, as a poem, it is of little value and hardly repays the labour of translation. As regards grammar and lexicography, we find a wrong *saukārī* in *prāyōbbhimukhya* (for *prāyāḥ + ābbhimukhya*) in line 12, and perhaps in *dattau kṣhayd* (for *dattau + akṣhayd*) in line 13; through the influence, as it appears to me, of the Prākṛit, the *anuvāra* has taken the place of a final *a* in *rāpavāra* and *śrināra*, line 9, and in *amish*, line 15, and through the same cause a final *i* has been dropped in *bharṣ*, lines 13 and 16, and *tapṣ*, line 14; and the words *anukāra*, in line 1, and *jhaṅkara*, in line 13, have been wrongly used as adjectives. Besides, attention may be drawn to the ungrammatical use of the instrumental case in the date in line 14, to the peculiar use of the word *arjaka* in the same line, and to the employment, in line 15, of the word *kārdpaka*, probably denoting 'an agent,' which is not found in the dictionaries. — In respect of orthography, it may be stated that the consonant *b* is generally denoted by its own proper sign, and that the several sibilants, on the whole, are used correctly. *V* for *b* we find only in *kavandha*, line 9, and

¹ See *Transactions of the Ro. As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 137: — "I have an Inscription, in an ancient character, recording the power of a Jit prince in the fifth century; his capital, Sālpār, doubtless that situated high in the Penjāb, mentioned in the twelfth century as being amongst the conquests of Cumāra-Pāla, of Nahrūdā Patān, and perhaps the Spālcote of our modern geography;" and p. 138: — "the Jit of Sāl-indra-pār already mentioned, of whom I possess a memorial of this very period." — It would be impossible to guess that in these words Colonel Tod was referring to the inscription here edited, if we had not his own fuller account of the inscription in his *Annals of Rājasthān*. No useful purpose would be served by an attempt to show how some of Colonel Tod's remarkable errors may be accounted for; it may suffice to state here that his 'Jit prince of Sālpār' in all probability owes his origin to the words *Sambhār-jjajāḍ*, 'the matted hair of Sambhu,' in line 2 of the inscription.

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxviii.

³ *Anecdota Oxon.*, Āryan Series, Vol. I. Part III.

wrong sibilants only in *viśa* (for *viśa*), line 4, and in *viśambhāṣa* (for *viśambhāṣa*), line 5; but mistakes in regard to the sibilants have given rise to the wrong *sakāhi* in *dvishat-sushyach-* (for *dvishach-akhushyach-*), line 8, and in *namach-ohhasmita-* (for *namat-sasmita-*), line 12. A final *visarga* has been wrongly omitted in *ahar-aha*, *nirvāstrā*, *-kshudha*, line 6, and elsewhere; improperly added in *-ārayāḥ*, line 6; and wrongly left unchanged in *-bhuvah tyaktā*, line 7, *gamaḥ dharmmikaḥ*, line 15, and *Sambhāḥ dharmma-*, line 16. Before *r* the consonant *t* is generally doubled, e. g. in *nātrā*, lines 1, 2 and 3, *yattrā*, line 8, *tattrā*, line 6; and after *r*, the aspirate *bh* has been doubled in a wrong manner in *phāṣipair=bbhāḥga-*, line 1, and *hrttir=bbhaviśhyati*, line 14. Of individual words, *priya* has been throughout spelt *priya*, in lines 8, 9 and 15, and *ujjala*, *ujjala*, in lines 3, 5, 10 and 16.

The inscription, after the introductory 'Om, adoration to Siva,' and five verses in honour of that deity (under the names of Sambhu and Sthānu), in lines 4-7 glorifies, in conventional terms which tell us nothing, the illustrious Maurya race, and a king of that race named Dhavala. In lines 7-9 it relates that Dhavala had for his friend a prince of the Brāhman caste, named Sakuka, whose wife Dāgini bore to him the prince Sivagana. This Sivagana (lines 10-13) built a temple to Siva (Paramēśvara, Dhūrjati) at Kanvārama, and endowed it with (the revenues of) the two villages Sarvāṅkā and Ohnīpadraka. Lines 14-17 give the date, the names of the agent employed by the prince, of the writer, &c.; and the inscription concludes with an appeal to the learned, to judge leniently whatever may be faulty in the preceding.

Since from other sources we know nothing yet of the princes mentioned here, our inscription at present is valuable chiefly for the characters in which it is written; and for the manner in which the date is expressed in line 14, according to which the temple was built 'when seven hundred and ninety-five years of the Mālava lords had gone by.' After what has now been written on the subject by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 191, and in his Introduction to *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. III. p. 66 ff., it is hardly necessary to say that the era here denoted by the expression 'of the Mālava lords' is the Vikrama era, and that therefore our inscription was put up in A. D. 738-39.

But I may perhaps take this opportunity of expressing my doubts, as to whether a certain phrase (of minor importance), in other dates which refer themselves to the Mālava era, has as yet been rightly explained. I allude to the compound *gana-sthiti* in the two Mandasor inscriptions first published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 198, l. 19, and p. 225, l. 22. In the first of these inscriptions we read—

Mālavānām gana-sthityā yātā śata-chatusṭayā, | trinavaty-adhikā-bdānām ;

and in the second—

Pañchasa śatēshu śarādām yātēshv-ākānnavati-sahitēshu |

Mālava-gana-sthiti-vaśāt-kālā-jñānāya likhitēshu ||.

Professor Peterson, in the *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 381, has rendered the first passage—"when four hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment [in the country?] of the tribes of the Mālavas had passed away." Mr. Fleet has translated the first two words of the first passage by—"by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas," and the corresponding words (Mālava-gana-sthiti-vaśāt) of the second passage by—"from (the establishment) of the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas," adding in a note that it is very difficult to find a satisfactory meaning for the word *vaśāt*. Now I think that, in explaining these (what I may be permitted to call) doubtful phrases, we must start from the very word *vaśāt*. *Vaśāt* at the end of a compound ordinarily means 'in consequence of, according to, by means of, by'; in fact, it frequently takes simply the place of the termination of an instrumental case, and in the present instance its employment (due no doubt to the exigencies of the metre) shows at any rate that the word *gana-sthityā* in the first passage must be taken to be an instrumental, and cannot be translated as an ablative case, in the manner proposed by Professor Peterson. At the same time, I do not believe that it would be permissible to supply, as was done

by Mr. Fleet, the words "the reckoning from," simply to bring out the meaning of this instrumental. And the difficulty caused by the instrumental case rather tends to convince me that the word *gaṇa-sihiti* must have another meaning than the one which has been assigned to it. At the end of a palm-leaf MS. of the *Aupapātika-vṛtti*, which is mentioned in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 50, we read—

granthāgraṃ 3135 akṣara-gaṇanayā sthāpitam-iti;

i. e., "the granthāgra has by counting the *akṣaras* been settled to be 3135." Here we have in construction with each other, the word *gaṇanā*, which is etymologically related to *gaṇa* (one of the synonyms of which is *sahkhyā*), and *sthāpita*, derived from the same root *sthā* from which we also have *sthiṭi*. *Gaṇanayā sthāpayitum* means 'to settle or fix by counting, to reckon up;' and, in the absence of anything better, I would claim for *gaṇa-sihiti* a similar meaning, and would accordingly translate the phrases *Mālavāndaṃ gaṇasthityā* and *Mālavagaṇasthiti-vaiśi* simply with "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas," a rendering which, like the original passages, would leave it doubtful whether the Mālavas spoken of should be understood to be the people of Mālava or the rulers of that country. In fact, I would maintain that the expressions *gaṇa-sthityā* and *gaṇasthiti-vaiśi* are to all intents and purposes synonymous with the phrase *-prakālā gaṇandā vidhāya* in the now well-known *Gupta-prakālā gaṇandā vidhāya*, which has been fully discussed by Mr. Fleet elsewhere.

As regards the two villages mentioned in the present inscription, I may add here that Professor Peterson has identified one of them, *Ohōnipadraka*, with the village of 'Chaoṇi' which according to his account, is close to Kōtah. The village *Sarvāṅkā* I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Om⁵ namaḥ Sivāya || Om⁵ | Namaḥ⁶ saṅkala-saṃsāra-sigar-ōttāra-hētavē | tamō-garti-ābhisaṃpāta-hast-ālambya Sambhavē || Svēta⁷ dvīp-ānukārāḥ-kvaśhid-
aparimitair-indu-pādaiḥ patadbhir-nnityasthaiḥ-sāndhakārāḥ kvaśhid-api nibhṛ-
taiḥ phāṇipair-bbbhō(bbhō)ga-bhāgaiḥ [1*] sōhmāṇō nētra-bhābbhiḥ kvaśhid-
ati-ā[i]śirā Jahnuka-
- 2 nyā-jal-aughair-ittham bhāvair-vviruddhair-api janita-mudaiḥ pāntu Sambhōr-jjā-
vaḥ || Bhōg⁸-indrasya phāṇ-mapi-dyuti-milan-maul-indu-lōl-āṃsāvō |⁹ nētr-
āgnō-ohhuritā-sadhūma-kapiśair-jvālā-sikh-āgraiḥ kvaśhit | muktākāra-marun-
nadi-jalakapair-ākīrṇa-śōbhāḥ kvaśhiḥ-oh-ōttham śāvata śūśhapa-vyatikarāḥ
Sambhōr-jjā-
- 3 tñ pāntu vaḥ ||¹⁰ Sthāṇō¹¹-vvaḥ pātu mūrdhna(rddhā) sara iva satata-vyōma-
Gaṃg-āmbu-lōla-sphūrijad-bhōgindra-paṅka-ślatha-vikaṭa-jatā-jūṭa-kahlāra-
hāri | mandam yatra sphurantyō dhavala-narasiro-vārijanm-antarāla-spasṭaiḥ
prōdyan-mṛipāl-āṃkura-nikara iv-ābhānti maul-indu-bhāsaḥ || Nētra-krōḍa-
prasakt-ō[j*]jvala-dahana-sikhā-pim-
- 4 ga-bhāsaṃ jāṇāṃ bhāraṃ saṃnyamya kritvā samam-amṛita-kar-ōdbhāsi maul-indu-
bimbaiḥ | hastābhyām-ūrdhva(rddhva)m-udyad-viśa(śha)śikhi-vadanagranthim-
ātātya nāgaṃ |¹² Sthāṇuḥ prārabdha-nṛitō jagad-avatu lay-ōtkampi-pād-
āṅgulikaḥ || Ohōḍā¹³-ohāru-maṇ-indu-maṇḍita-bhuvaiḥ¹⁴ sad-bhōginām-āśrayaiḥ
pakṣa-ohclhōda-bhay-ārti-saṃkaṭavatām rakṣā-kaṣa-

⁴ From the impression.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).—Read *namaḥ saṅkala*, or *namaḥ-saṅkala*.

⁷ Metre, Braṇḍharā.

⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛjita.

⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ After this sign of punctuation there is, in the original, a small circle, followed by another full stop.

¹¹ Metre, Braṇḍharā; and of the next verse.

¹² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛjita; and of the next verse.

¹⁴ I have no doubt whatever that the correct reading, intended by the poet, is *-bhāsaḥ* (representing both *-bhāsaḥ* and *-bhāsaḥ*); and, judging from the impression, I incline to believe that the sign for the vowel *u* has been struck out already in the original.

- 5 mō bhūbhṛitām | dūr-ābhyāgata-vāhini-parikarō ratna-prakār-ō[j*]jvalah śrīmān-
ittham-udāra-sāgara-samō Maury-ānvayō drīṣyatō || Dīnāgā iva jātya-
sambhṛita-mudō dān-ō[j*]jvalair-ānanair-vvira(śra)mbhēṇa ramanty-abhīta-
manas[ō]¹⁵ mām-ōddhurō-sarvvataḥ | sadvāṃsatva-vaśa-prasiddha-yaśasō yasmin-
prasiddhā gupaiḥ ślāghyā bhadratayā
- 6 cha sa[t*]tva-bahulā[h*]¹⁶ pakṣhaiḥ-saśam(mam) bhūbhṛitah || Ittham¹⁷ bhavatsu
bhūpēṣhu bhūmijatsu sakalām mahīm | Dhaval-ātmā nripas-tattva yaśasā
dhavalō-bhavat || Kāy¹⁸ ādi-prakṣ-ārjijitair-ahar-aha[h*] svair-ēva dōṣhaiḥ
sādā nirvvastrā[h*] satata-kṣudha[h*] prati-dinām spāṣṭibhāvay(d)-yātānāḥ |
rātīrī-saṃoharaṇā bhṛīṣām para-gṛhēśhv-ittham vijity-ārayōḥ¹⁹ yēn-ādy-
āpi narēndra-
- 7 tām su-vipadō nītāḥ piśāchā iva || Kōpāl-lāna-mahābha-kumbha-vigalan-muktāphal-
ālakṣita-sphīt-āra-sruti-maṇḍitā api muhur-yēn-ōrjijitēna svayam | unnāḥ(lai)r-
iva paṃkajaiḥ punar-āpi chohhinnaḥ śirōbbhir-vvi(dvi)śhām vikrāntēna
vibhūṣitā raṇa-bhuvah(=) tyaktā naraiḥ kataraiḥ || Ittham tasya chiran-
tanō dvija-varas-sann-apy-upā-
- 8 tādyaudha-pṛitī²⁰ prētanarēndra-satkrīti-m[u]ḍah pāt[tra]²¹m prasiddhō gupaiḥ | yasy-ādy-
āpi raṇ-āṅgaṇē vilesitam saṃśohayanti dvishat²²sushyach-ohhrōṇita-marmmarā
raṇa-bhuvah prēta-pri(pri)yaḥ prāyasaḥ || Sabdasy-ārthā iva prapādana-
paṭōr-mmārggas-trayī-samj[ā]itō dharmmas(sy)-ēva viśuddha-bhāva-saralō
nyāyasya mūlām satāḥ | prāmānya-
- 9 pragata[sya(?)] — ∪ ∪ ∪ yac-cādhyasya sa[m]siddhay[ā] ta[s]y — [ā(?)] ∪ i — m-
[ga(?)][ta]ḥ pri(pri)ya-sakṣah śrī-Saṃkuk-ākhyō nripah || Dōḡinī²³ nāma
tasy-āśid-dharmma-patnī dvij-ōdbhavā | tasyām tasy-ābhavad-vīrah sūnuḥ
kṛita-guṇ-ādarah || Yaśasvī rūpavām(vām) dātā śrīmām(mān-²⁴) Śivagaṇō
nripah | Śivasya nūnam sa gaṇō yēna tad-bhaktatām gataḥ || Kha-
- 10 dḡ²⁵ āghāta-dalat-tānūtra-viśāpād-vahni-spulīng-ō[j*]jvala-jvālā-dagdha-kava(ba)ndha-
kaṇṭha-kuhara-prōtmukta-nād-ōlhapē | nārāja(cha)-grathit-ānan-ākula-khaga-prōd-
vīnta-rakt-āśva-pṛita-prētajanō raṇō rata-dhiyā yēn-āvakṣiḥ-ohhahpītam ||
Jātvā janma jarā-viyōga-maraṇa-klēśair-ātēṣhaiḥ-chitam sv-ārthasy-āpy-
ayam-ēva yōga uhitō
- 11 lōkō prasiddhah satām | tēn-ōdam Paramēśvarasya bhavanam dharm-ātmānā
kṛitam yañ²⁶ drīṣh[t*]v-aiva samasta²⁷-lōka-vapushām nashṭam Kalāḥ
kalmasam || Puṣhp-āśōka-samīrapēna surabhāv-utphulla-ohhāt-ānkurō kālō
matta-vilōla-aha[h*]p[ā]²⁸da-kulō(la)-vyāruddha-dīnmaṇḍalō | jāśō-pāṇḡa-nirīkṣhap-
aika-kathakō nārī-janasya smarē kṛiptam sad-bha-
- 12 vanam Bha[va]sya sudhiyā tēn-ēha Kaṇv-āśramō || Kālē²⁹-ndōl-ākulānām tanu-
valana-bhar[ā]t-prasphuṭat-kaṇohukānām kāntānām drīṣyamānō kuoha-kalāśa-
taṭī-bhāji sambhōga-ohihnē | yasmin-prēyōbbhimukhya³⁰-sthiti-jhāṭī-namach³¹-
ohhaemit-ārdh-ākṣhaṇānām bhrū-bha[h*]gair-ēva ramyō hṛidaya-vinihitas-
sūchyatē prēmabandhah || Ma-

¹⁵ Originally undoubtedly *manasā*; but the superscript line of the final *ā*, which has been subsequently added, is faintly visible in the impression, and even in the photo-lithograph.

¹⁶ This sign for *vīraṇa*, too, may have been added in the original.

¹⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

¹⁸ Read *drīṣyō*.

¹⁹ The surface of the stone being damaged, the lower portion of these two *ākṣharas* is broken away.

²⁰ Read *drīṣhach-ohhahyach-ohhahpita*.

²¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and of the next two verses.

²² The first *ākṣhara* of this word originally was *sat*.

²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

²⁴ Read *namat-samast*.

²⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita, and of the next three verses.

²⁶ I believe that the reading intended is *prīti*.

²⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and of the next two verses.

²⁸ I believe the reading was intended to be *yaś-*.

²⁹ This *ākṣhara* looks rather like *dṛ*.

³⁰ Wrongly for *prēya-ābbhimukhya* (i. e., *prēya+ ābbhimukhya*).

- 13 *ttā*²¹ dvirēpha-jhaṅkāra-sahakāra-virājita[h*] | sathvikshya kakubhō bāshpaṁ muṁ-
chanti pathik-āṅganā[h*] || Dhūp-ādi-gandha-dīp-ārtham khaṇḍa-sphuṭa-
hētunā [i*] grāmau dattau kahayā nimih²² Sarvvāṅka-Chōnipadrakau ||
Pālayantu nripāḥ sarvve yēshāḥ bhūmir-iyam bhavē[t*] | ēvaṁ kṛitē
t[ē*] dharm-ārtham nūnaṁ yānti
- 14 *Ēi* . . . jayam || Saṁsāra-sāgarāṁ ghōraṁ²³ anēna dharmma-sēt[u]nā tārayishyaty-
asau nūnaṁ janyau [oh]-ātmānam-ēva cha || Yāvat-sa-sāgarāṁ prithvīm sa-
nagām cha sa-kānanām | yāvad-indus-tapē[d-²⁴] bhānus-tāvat-kirttir-
bbha(bbha)vishyati || Sarhvateara-katair-yātāḥ sa-pamoha-navaty-
arggalāḥ [i*] saptabhir-Mmālav-āsānām mandirāḥ Dhūrjajēḥ
- 15 kṛitam || Alubdhaḥ pri(pri)ya-vādī cha Siva-bhakti-rataḥ sadā | kārāpa[kaḥ]²⁵
Sadbhagaḥ(pō) dhārmikaḥ sānsita-vrataḥ²⁶ || Dakṣhaḥ prājñō vinit-ātmā
guru-bhaktāḥ pri(pri)yamvadaḥ [i*] t[ri]ptō-[rtth]²⁷ Raupakaḥ-oh-āsmim²⁸
kāyasthō Gōmik-āṅgajāḥ || Utkirṇā Sivanāgēna Dvāraśivasya sūnūnā ||²⁹
Sūnūnā Bhaṭṭa-Surabhē[r*]-Ddēvaṭēna
- 16 *śrut*-ō[j*]jvalā[h*] | ślōkā amī kṛitā³⁰ bhaktyā mauli-chaṁdra³¹-sudhā-jushaḥ ||³²
Kṛishṇa-sutō guṇ-ādhyaś-cha sūtradhārō-ttra Nāṇakaḥ ||³³ Ētato-
Kāṇv-āsramāḥ jñātvā sarvva-pāpa-haram śubham | kṛitam hi mandirāṁ
Sambhōḥ³⁴ dharmma-kirtti-vivarddhanam || Yati-hīnam³⁵ śabda-hīnam mātṛā-
hīnam tu yad-bhavē[t*] | tat-sarvvaṁ sādhu-chi-
- 17 *ttēna* marshaṇīyam budhais-sadā || || Kāṭakayārbaḥ[a]h³⁶ || ||

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Adoration to Siva !

Om !

(Line 1). — Adoration to Sambhu, who makes (*men*) cross the whole sea of mundane exist-
ence, (*and is*) a support for (*their*) hands when they fall into the pit of darkness !

May Sambhu's matted hair protect you, which,—in one place, by the countless rays of the
moon falling (*upon it*), resembling³³ the white continent, in another covered with darkness
through the ever present close coils of the lord of serpents,—(*here*) heated by the flashes of (*his*)
eye, (*and*) elsewhere cooled beyond measure by the floods of the daughter of Jahnu,³⁴—creates
joy by conditions even so incompatible !

May Sambhu's matted hair protect you,—on which the quivering rays of (*his*) diadem, the moon,
meet the lustre of the jewel in the hood of the lord of serpents ; which in one place is covered

²¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following verses.

²² I believe that the phrase intended by the writer is *akṣayā nṛitā*, and that the initial *a* of the first word has
been wrongly elided after the final *au* of the preceding word *dattau*.

²³ Read *ghōraṁ-anēna*.

²⁴ This *akṣara* was originally *ād*, but it has been altered into *ād*, as may be seen even in the photo-lithograph.

²⁵ A common mistake for *sānsita-vrataḥ*.

²⁶ Of the consonants in these brackets, only the *t* appears to me quite certain. The vowel of the *akṣara* was
first *i*, which was subsequently altered to *e*.

²⁷ Read *-āsmim*.

²⁸ These signs of punctuation are followed by a circle and another full stop.

²⁹ Read *-chandra-* ; the sign of *anuvāda* has perhaps been struck out in the original.

³⁰ Read *Sambhō-*.

³¹ Originally *yati-hīnam-nṛitā-sādā* ; but subsequently the two syllables *nṛitā* were struck out, and the
sign of *anuvāda* was put over the *sa* of *hīna*.

³² All these *akṣaras*, the meaning of which I do not understand, are quite clear, except the last which may
possibly be *paḥ*.

³³ The substantive *anukṛā*, 'imitation, resemblance,' is used here for the adjective *anukṛā*, 'resembling.'

³⁴ i. e. the Ganges.

with the smoke-encircled brownish pointed tongues of flame of the fire of (*his*) eye, and elsewhere overspread with lustre by the pearl-like drops of water of the river of the gods; (*and*) in which there is thus a constant intermingling of ornamentation!

May Sthânu's head protect you, which,— with its uncouth tresses of matted hair, dishevelled by the hissing lord of serpents ever moving to and fro in the water of the heavenly Ganges, — is charming like a lake with its water-lilies loosely clinging to the mud moving about in the water; (*and*) on which, amidst white skulls, shine the gently gleaming rays of (*his*) diadem, the moon, like a mass of fibrous sprouts seen protruding between white lotus-flowers!

May Sthânu preserve the world, when, — having tied up the weight of his matted hair, to which a tawny lustre is imparted by the flashing tongues of the fire fixed in the hollow of (*his*) eye, — having put straight the orb of the moon, (*his*) diadem, beaming with rays of nectar, — (*and*) having stretched out above (*himself*) with his hands the serpent from whose knot-like mouth poison-flames shoot forth, — he begins to dance, with his toes trembling to the measure!

(L. 4).—The illustrious Maurya race,—which adorns the world with the moon-like beautiful jewels in the diadems (*of its princes*); contains good rulers; is able to protect kings beset with difficulties and distressed through fear of being deprived of (*their*) adherents; is served by armies come from afar; (*and*) is bright with all manner of precious things,—appears thus like the abode of Lakshmi, the majestic ocean, which adorns Bhava⁴⁵ with the moon, the beautiful jewel of (*his*) diadem; is the resort of big serpents; is able to afford shelter to mountains in difficulty and distress through fear of having their wings cut; has for its retinue the rivers come from afar; and is radiant with all manner of jewels.

The rulers (*born*) in this (*race*), like the elephants of the quarters, filling the noble with joy by (*their*) faces bright with generosity (as with rutting-juice) together with their adherents confidently take delight everywhere, undaunted of mind (*and*) exulting in (*their*) pride, of known renown on account of (*their*) good lineage (*and*) known for (*their*) virtues, praiseworthy for probity⁴⁶ and full of energy.

(L. 6).—Among these kings, who were such (*and*) who ruled the whole earth, there was a prince who, Dhavala as he was,⁴⁷ was dazzling by (*his*) fame.

For their own sins, which day by day they always openly brought on themselves by their bodies and so forth,⁴⁸ he defeated (*his*) enemies and reduced the wretches to such a state that, like evil spirits, naked (*and*) ever famishing (*and thus*) day by day revealing the punishment (*meted out to them, and*) again and again wandering at night to strangers' houses, they even now are kings.⁴⁹

Although the mighty one already had in person repeatedly adorned the fields of battle, abandoned by cowardly men, with thick streams of blood ornamented with the pearls dropping from the frontal globes of lordly elephants wrathfully cut open (*by him*), — he yet, full of valour, decorated them again with the cut-off heads of enemies, as with lotus-flowers torn from the stalks.

(L. 7).—Such (*was he; and*) his dear friend, of long standing, was the illustrious prince, named Śaṅkuka, known for his excellent qualities; who, although a Brâhman, took delight in doing homage to the king of the dead who is fond of those that take up arms; whose dalliance in the court of battle, the battlefields, dear to goblins, betray, one may say, even to-day, filled as they

⁴⁵ i. e. Śiva; see note 14, above.

⁴⁶ Or, referred to the elephants, 'praiseworthy because they are bhadrâ elephants.' Of elephants there are three or four kinds, one of which is termed bhadrâ, mentioned before the others by both Halyudha and Hamaachandra.

⁴⁷ The expression *dāvala-dāval*, of course, is properly equivalent to *dāvala-sabbhāva* 'of a pure disposition or character;' and the name of the king is only indirectly suggested by this verse.

⁴⁸ i. e. by their deeds, words, and thoughts.

⁴⁹ i. e. they still remained *narāṇḍas*; not however *narāṇḍas* in the ordinary sense of the word ('kings') but in the sense of 'sorcerers.' I am unable to bring out the double meaning of the word *narāṇḍas* in the translation. It is similarly used in *Śiṣya Upaniṣad*, II. 88.

are with the murmur of the drying-up blood of the enemies; (*who was to Dhavala*) what the meaning is to the word able to convey it (?), what the path, called the triad (of the Vêdas), is to the law; (*who*), of pure character, (*was*) straightforward, the root of fitting conduct, (*and*) . . . for establishing what had to be established . . .

This (*prince*) had for his lawful wife (*a lady*) named Dêgini, sprung from a Brâhman (*family*). She bore to him a son who has set high store on virtue, the illustrious prince Sivagana, a hero, renowned, of beautiful form, (*and*) liberal; since he has become a devotee of (Siva), he surely is Siva's host.⁵⁰

Who, gratified at heart, more than once exerted himself in fight, which was loud with the shouts emitted from the cavern-like throats of headless corpses, burnt by the spark-lit flames of fire issuing from armour which burst under the strokes of (*his*) sword, (*and*) in which the spirit-folk enjoyed like liquor the blood vomited forth by birds which took fright at the faces pierced by (*his*) arrows.

(L. 10).—Having found out that life is burdened with every affliction, old age, separation, and death, (*and being aware that*) this is the only fit employment of one's wealth, well known all the world over to the good,—he, pious-minded, had this dwelling of the supreme Lord made, having but set eyes on which everybody in the world is freed from the stain of the Kali-age.

That wise man built the excellent dwelling of Bhava here in the hermitage of Kapva, in the season which is fragrant with the breezes from Aśôkas in flower, when mango-shoots are blossoming, when the circle of the regions is hemmed in by swarms of intoxicated staggering bees, (*and*) when the love of women is told, more plainly than by anything else, by the glances from the corners of their eyes;—

In the season in which fair women,—when the mark left by love on their round breasts is betrayed by their bodies bursting open through the motion of their bodies, (*as they sit*) bewildered on swings,—face to face with their lovers quickly cast down their smiling half-shut eyes, and only by the knitting of their brows show the pleasing affection that dwells in their hearts;—

(*When*) the wives of wanderers shed a tear, as they see the regions brightened by mango-trees that resound with the humming of intoxicated bees.

For incense and so forth, perfumes and lights, (*and*) for the repair of what may be broken or damaged, he gave the two villages Sarvâhka and Chônipadraka, as a perpetual endowment.

(L. 13).—May all princes, to whom this land shall belong, protect (*this*)! By doing so they surely, for their righteousness, go to the abode of Siva!

By this bridge of righteousness a man surely will make his parents as well as his own self cross the awful sea of mundane existence!

As long as moon and sun illumine the earth together with the sea, and with its mountains and woods, so long will (*his*) fame⁵¹ endure!

(L. 14).—(*This*) temple of Dhûrjati was built, when seven hundred and ninety-five years of the Mâlava lords had gone by.

⁵⁰ e. Sivagana, on account of his devotion to Siva, was really what his name expresses, *Sivasya ganak*.

⁵¹ possibly, — 'so long will (this) meritorious work endure.'

⁵² the original the instrumental case is used instead of the locative. Besides, the passage is remarkable for the use of the word *argala* (or *argald*) at the end of the Bahuvrîhi compound *sa-pashcha-mavaty-argyalaik*. *Argala* is 'a bolt or pin for fastening a door, a bar, check,' etc.; and the only other date known to me, in which the word is used, is in Professor Peterson's Report for 1894-95, App. p. 9, where we have *dyu-argala-chakvâritak-sa-madika-ra-sakara* 'thousand years, increased by forty (which have run on to and are) checked by two,' i. e. 1040 years. Literally the literal translation would be here—'seven hundred (which have run on to and are) checked by (i. e. have) gone beyond) ninety and five,' i. e. 795 years.

The agent¹³ (*in this matter was*) Sabdagana, free from covetousness, and kindly speaking, always delighting in devotion to Siva, righteous (*and*) faithful to vows. And the writer, taking delight in this matter, (*was*) Ranpaka, the son of Gômika, clever, intelligent, of well-controlled mind, devoted to his elders (*and*) kindly speaking. Engraved (*was this eulogy*) by Sivanaga, the son of Dvârâsiva. Dêvata, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Surabhi, full of faith, composed these verses (*which are*) radiant with sacred lore (*and*) partake of the nectar of the moon (*which is Siva's*) diadem. And Nannaka, the son of Krishṇa, rich in good qualities, is here the architect.

Knowing that this blessed hermitage of Kanva takes away all sin, (*the prince*) forsooth built (*here*) the temple of Sambhu which advances (*both*) religion and (*his*) fame.

Whatever there be defective here in the verses, in language and in prosody, may the wise, benevolently inclined, forgive all that at all times.¹⁴

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WHIE SMYTH.

(Continued from Vol. XVIII. page 378).

V. The fifth *aṅgam*, *viyāha* or *viśāha*, (or °pannatti,¹) with the epithet *bhagavatī*, and lastly also [295] merely *bhagavatī* (Hēm. v. 243); in 41 *sayas*, *śata*,² of which some are divided into sub-divisions of the same name,³ and both into *uddāsagas*. The number of the latter cannot be discovered from the MSS. themselves, because the latter books (83—41) contain for the most part nothing but stereotyped descriptions, in reproducing which the greatest freedom has been taken. Some *uddāsagas* are indicated merely by catch-words. According to the usual general survey of extent and division of the work at the end of the MSS., there are in all 138 *sayas*, including all the sub-*sayas*, 1925 *uddāsagas*, 184,000 *padas*; and these statements, especially those in reference to the number of words, are in exact agreement with the actual state of affairs, (see Bhag. I, 376), and agree, so far as the number of the *uddāsagas* is concerned, with the specific statements on this head in the Vidhiprapā (V), excepting in the case of an insignificant variation (there are only 1,923 *udd.* see p. 296n). In reference to the great difference especially as regards the extent—184,000 *padas*—as opposed to the statements of *aṅga* 4 and of the *Nandī* the reader is referred to p. 288. Besides, in its general survey of the extent of the *aṅgas*, the fourth *aṅga* has in § 84, where there is no occasion for suspecting its truth, the same statement that the *viśāhapannatti bhagavatī* had 84,000 *padas*. This statement was transferred from there to the later general survey (see page 289), although it does not belong there. I do not scruple, therefore, for this very reason to regard it as [296] correct. It would then have to be relegated to a period in which the fifth *aṅgam* had not yet attained the half of its present extent. Of. on this point the statements in *aṅga* 3, in reference to the *viśāhachūliya* as *ajjh.* 5 of the last of the ten *dasā* texts there cited. See above, p. 274. The *viśāhach.* is also mentioned in a previous passage in the *Nandī* among the *anāṅgapavijjhā* texts (*bhagavatichūlikā*, Schol.). On the other hand it is noteworthy that *aṅga* 4 in § 81, that is to say just before the mention of the 84,000 *padas* of the *bhagavatī*, refers expressly to its 81 *mahājummas* (see above page 283); and consequently there is herein a direct reference to its latter books. But these very latter books give one at first glance the impression of containing secondary additions.

That *aṅga* 5 grew only gradually to its present extent of 15,750 *grasthāgā* or 184,000 *paś.* is proved by a glance at the different proportions of the single books:—[1—8. 12—14. 18—20

¹³ I supply here some such expression as *atra* or *asmān-arthā*, which we actually find below; and ¹⁴ the word *kārṇapaka*, which is otherwise unknown, but which from its etymology should mean 'one who causes ¹⁵ thing to be done or made,' to denote an agent employed by the prince in the construction of the temple.

¹⁴ The meaning of the six *akāśas*, with which the original ends, I am unable to explain.

¹⁵ Accord. to Abhayadêva and Malayagiri (Schol. on sp. 4) *vyākhyāprajñapti* (cf. Hēm. Schol. 19); or *viśāha* or *viśāha* (cf. Wilson Sel. W. I, 281), s. *Bhagav.* I, 271-72. See *ibid.* p. 368n. and below *aṅgas* 5 foll., in reference to the name *prajñapti* and the conclusions to be derived therefrom.

¹⁶ The reason for the name is as yet involved in obscurity.

¹⁷ *avamīrasaya* in Vidhi.

with 10 *udd.* each, 9, 10 with 34 *udd.* each, 11 with 12 *udd.*; 15 without *udd.*;⁴ 16 with 14, 17 with 17 *udd.*, but 21 with 80,⁵ 22 with 60,⁶ 23 with 50,⁷ 24 with 24, 26—30 with only 11 each, 35 with 12, but 31, 32 with 28 each, 33, 34⁸ with 124 each, 35—39 with [297] 132, 40 with 231, 41 with 196 *udd.*] Their contents too prove the gradual extension of *aṅga* 5.

The first 20 books, which are the substructure of all, are clothed in a legendary form, and contain in irregular order, and without any recognizable connecting thread, the most varied legends in reference to the activity and teachings of Mahāvīra; his conversations⁹ with his first scholar Īmdabhūti (Gḍyama) at the time of king Śeṇia of Rājagṛha being made of special importance. In *śāyas* 21 ff. there are no such legends, and each *śāya* has not only a harmonious contents, but many of the *śāyas* are connected together as groups. 21—23 treat of plants, 24—30 of the different conditions of living creatures (*jīva*) 24 of their origin, 25 of their *loṣṭhādayā bhāṣā*, 26¹⁰ of their *karmabandha*, 27 of their *karmakarapā* [298] *kriyā*, 28 of their *pāpākarmāddidāṇḍakanavaka*, 29 of their *karmanprasthāpandī*, 30 of the 4 *śamavaserapā* (see above, p. 264); 31—41, finally, in a most peculiar fashion, of their state during the four *juṇmas* (*yuga* = *yuga*): *kaṣa*, *iṣṭga*, *dāvāra*, *kaliyōga*. The make-up of these latter books, is, as I have already said, purely formal, and is almost similar to a mere table of statistics.

Since this is the case it appears to me a matter of tolerable certainty that *śāyas* 21 ff. were added at a later period to *śāyas* 1—20. It is perfectly clear that we have here to deal with a chance co-ordination of elements. On the other hand, this fact serves to lend a kind of authenticity to the single constituent parts and especially to those of a legendary colouring. After the most naïve fashion the discordant parts have been brought into conjunction without any attempt at change. That there was however a guiding hand in this conjunction is evident from two reasons:—(1) Since an introductory verse in *dryā* precedes each *śāya* (only up to No. 26 is this true); which verse briefly marks the contents of each of the *udd.* of the *śāya* by means of catch-words (titles). This occurs here for the first time, since it is found in no former *aṅga*; but from this time on recurs with considerable frequency. The (2) second indication occurs for the first time especially in this *aṅga*, and remains henceforth regularly. It consists in the frequent reference to other texts as parts of the *Siddhānta*, which often completely interrupts and destroys the context. There are also frequent references to those texts, which belong to the *upāṅga* group, e.g. *Bhāgavatsamhitā* [299] *Pannavand*, *Jambuddhacāpannatti*, see *Blag.* 1, 382n. It must however remain an open question whether in each single instance we have to deal with the work of a redactor or with the convenience of the scribe, see *supra*, pp. 228-232. We must leave in doubt whether some of these citations are really to be found in the work from which it quotes, at least in its extant form. The passage cited from the *Rājaprasādyam* by Jacobi, *Kalpasastra*, p. 107 is found, according to Leumann, in the Edit. p. 185 fg.

⁴ Goodliassayam ḍgasaram V.

⁵ With 6 *vagga* each with 10 *udd.*

⁶ 33 and 39 with 12 *avasthārasāyas* (of which 8 with 11 each, 4 with 9 *udd.* each); 33—39 with 12 *avasthāras*, with 11 *udd.* each, 40 with 21 *av.* with 11 *u.* each; *ḍvān mahājummasāyāpi* (i. e. 35—40) 31, *ḍvān savvaggānāyāpi* 132, *savvaggāpāṇi uddāsa* 1933, V., to which a *gantakam* i. e. a tabular enumeration of the *uddāsa*-and days belonging to each *śāya*, is appended.

⁷ The question 9, 34, *purisa* *paṇi bhāṇṭi purisa* *paṇi hapaṇṭi* *kiṇ purisa* *hapaṇṭi*?—is an interesting parallel to *Bhagavadg.* 2, 19; *Kāṭh. Up.* 1, 2, 18, 19.

⁸ In V. and even in the MSS. of the *Blag.* the foll. names are found for books 26—41: 26 *bandhina*, 27 *karṇaṅga* (or *karṇaṅga*), 28 *karmasamañjīpapaṇṇa*, 29 *karmapaṭṭhāpapaṇṇa*, 30 *śamavaserapaṇṇa*, 31 *navvāyasa*, 32 *avvāpapaṇṇa*, 33 *ḍghāṇḍiyajummasāyāpi*, 34 *ḍghāṇḍiyāpi*, 35 *ḍghāṇḍiyamahājummasāyāpi*, 36 *bāṇḍiyamahāj*, 37 *bāṇḍiyamahāj*, 38 *chāṇḍiyamahāj*, 39 *asaṇḍiyamahāj*, 40 *asaṇḍiyamahāj*, 41 *rāṇḍiyamahāj*. The fact that “*ḍghāṇḍiyamahāj*” are expressly mentioned for these 16 *śāyas* alone (*Jāyāṇḍ. v.* 37), gives them at the very start a separate place: See the remarks on book 15. Note also that, from book 26 on, the introductory *khāṇḍa* no longer appear (book 26 has, it is true, one such), and that one of the MSS. of the text which I have before me, had before book 26 (but also before book 17) a special greeting, *saṇḍi saṇḍi saṇḍi bhagavati*. This refers to a new section. If Leumann is correct we are to attribute no importance to the absence of the *khāṇḍa* in the case of books 27 and foll., since the *khāṇḍa* that precedes book 26 holds good in the case of the following books, which have the same arrangement as book 26.

The introduction consists of three parts. The actual beginning consists in the so-called *pañcāhanavashādra*, a benediction which from this point on recurs frequently:¹¹ *namō arihaṇṭāpaṇaṁ, namō siddhāpaṇaṁ, namō āyariyāpaṇaṁ, namō uvajjhāyāpaṇaṁ, namō lōṭṭa savvasāhūpaṇaṁ*, or here with the addition *namō bambhīṣe livā* (see *supra*, p. 220). Next follows the introductory *kārikā* of the first *saṃyā* and then, after the insertion of *namō suvassa*, the customary beginning of legends: *tāpaṇaṁ kālāpaṇaṁ tēpaṇaṁ samaṭpaṇaṁ Rāyagihē nāmaṇaṁ nayarē hotthā, . . . Senīṣe rāyā, Chillapā devī, . . . samaṇe bhagavaṇaṁ Mahāvīre . . .*

Of the legends which are adduced here, those claim a special interest which deal with predecessors or contemporaries of Mahāvīra, with the opinions of his heterodox opponents, *anāstīthīyā*¹² or *ājivīyā*, and with their conversion. Apart from these are named the men, who have patronymic epithet [800] *Pāsadvachchijja* (Pāśvāpatyīya) attached to their names.¹³ Herein the name of Pāśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra can be recognized; so, for example, in 1, 9 Kālāsa-Vāsiyaputtā (cf. *Bhagav.* 2, 183 fg. Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160), is styled a *Pāsadvachchijja*, and in 2, 5 there are four of this name: Kālīyaputta, Mēhila, Ānandarakkhiya and Kāsava, in 5, 9 Pājjā thērā bhagavaṇtā, in 9, 32 Pājjā Gaṇḍā. Pāśva himself never appears here¹⁴ though the conversion of his adherents to the doctrines of Mahāvīra is often alluded to.¹⁵ The Vāśālī-sāvayā too and their adherents appear as his older contemporaries; this is the case in 2, 1 *Pinḍagala Vāśālī-sāvā* (s. *Bhagav.* 1, 440. 2, 184, 197, 249). 12, 2. See above, p. 262, 263, in reference to *Vāśālī* as a designation of Mahāvīra himself. The following are additional names:—Niyāṇṭhiputta 5, 8, Saṅkha-ppāṇmakkhā samaṇovāsagā 12, 1, Pokkhalī *ibid.*, Gad-dabbhālī 2, 1, Dhammaghōsa 11, 11, Sumaṅgala 15, 5, etc.

Indabhūti appears as the "oldest" scholar of Mahāvīra, Aggibhūti as the "second," Vāyubhūti¹⁶ as the "third." Some of the usual names of the scholars of Mahāvīra are not mentioned at all—especially that of Sudharman; and of those that are referred to, Mōriyaputta appears in an unusual connexion, *vis.* as a predecessor [801] of Mahāvīra (3, 1),¹⁷ while Maṇḍiyaputta is here too designated as his scholar (3, 3). Besides him there are other scholars whose names are not found in the later usual list of Vīra's scholars; *e.g.* Rōha 1, 6, Khamdaya, Keochhāyana, 2, 1, Kurudattaputta and Tisaya 3, 1, Nārāyaputta 5, 8, Sāmahatthi 10, 4, Ānanda and Sunakkhatta 15, Māgaṇḍiyaputta 18, 3; see *Bhagav.* 2, 195. We find in 9, 83 the history of his opponent Jamālī and in book 15¹⁸ that of his 'shade of a scholar' (*śiṣyābhāsa*) Gōḍāla Maṅkhaliputta related in great detail. There are here and there a few statements of an historical colouring; so *e.g.* the incidental mention (7, 9) of a victory of Vajji Viddhaputta (cf. *up.* 8) over nine (Malaī-Mallaī Mallakī) and nine Lechchhāī (Lechchhāki = Lichchhavi) kings of Kāśī-Kōśala at the time of king Kōṇia, Kōṇia of Campā, or of Mahāvīra himself; the history (12, 2) of Jayantī [aunt of the Kōśambi king Udāyana, son of Sayāpiya (Śatāṇka) grandson of Sahassāpiya] who was the patron of the Vāśālī-sāvayā, and who, after hearing the sermon of Mahāvīra, became a bhikkhuṇī.

¹¹ See *up.* 4, *Kalpasastra*, p. 83.

¹² Abh. explains this by *anyayūthika*; Haribhadra gives, however, the preferable explanation *anyatūthika*, cf. *prāk. tāḥa-tūthika*, Ind. Stud. xvi. p. 46. See Leumann's glossary to *Aṅgapāṭi* s. v. *anastīthīya*.

¹³ See above, p. 266, from *oṅga* 2, 2, 7.

¹⁴ In *up.* 10. 11 he appears in person as a teacher; and even till the present day he has received honours as such. The *uvasaggharastōtram*, assigned to Bhadrabāhu, is dedicated to him, see Jacobi, l. c. p. 12, 13, and my remarks on *upāṅg.* 2 below.

¹⁵ Conversion from the *chāṇḍiāma dhamma* to the *pañcāka mahāvīryān*, see *Bhagav.* 2, 183; Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160.

¹⁶ These three names in bhūti are probably *nākuḥatra* names; see *Ind. Stud.* 4, 230. 81, 3, 130; *Naksh.* 2, 230.

¹⁷ See *Bhag.* 1, 440 in reference to chronological conclusions to be drawn from this name.

¹⁸ Gōḍāla's *anākadhā janma maraṇaṇaṁ oḥā*; according to the *Vidhiprapā* this book had another title *Gōḍālayasayē tīyānāggaṇvāraṇānamayē anuṇṇāḥ*. This name, which appears in the MSS. of *Bhag.* at the very close of the book, occurs (see page 224) as that of a text designed for the eighteenth year of study whereas *uṇḍa* 5 is designed for the tenth year. Since this book, not like the others, is *āgassera*, i.e. not divided into *addāsaṅga*, it may be assumed that it is an independent text, which at a later period found a resting place here. Leumann thinks that he can discover in the *Bhag.* several other of the texts mentioned, p. 224; *e.g.* the *āstivābhāvaṇā* in 8, 2, 1 (cf. *oṅga* 3, 4, 4.), the *chārapabbhāvaṇā* in 20, 9, the *mahāsumpabbhāvaṇā* in 16, 6.

All these legends, [302] the number of which will be materially increased by a special investigation of the contents, give us the impression of containing traditions which have been handed down in good faith. They offer, therefore, in all probability (especially as they frequently agree with the Buddhist legends) most important evidence for the period of the life of Mahāvīra himself.

Among those statements which may be adduced as witnesses for the first composition of the existing form of the text, an enumeration of foreign peoples asserts the chief place. The names of these peoples recur frequently in some customary form in the remaining texts of the *Siddhānta*, though accompanied by numerous variations of detail.¹⁹ In 9, 33, 12, 2 there are enumerated the foreign female slaves and waiting-maids in the house of a rich māhapa (brāhmaṇa); consequently the names are all feminine: bahūhim khujjāhim Chilātiyāhim²⁰ vāmaṇiyāhim²¹ vaḍahiyāhim²² Babbariyāhim²³ Isiganiyāhim Vāsaganiyāhim²⁴ Palhaviyāhim Hlāsiyāhim Laṇsiyāhim Ārabhiṃ Damiḷāhim Simhalhiṃ Pulindhiṃ Pukkaliṃ²⁵ Bahaliṃ Muramḡhiṃ (Marumḡ° Abh.) Samvarhiṃ (Sav° Abh.) Pārasīhiṃ nānādesivideṣa-paripimḡiyāhim. Of these names Palhaviyā, [303] Ārabī, Bahali, Muramḡ, and Pārasī are of special interest, since they deal with a period from the second till the fourth century A.D., the age of the Parthian Arsacids and the Persian Sassanids; cf. on Pahlavas (Parthians), Nöldeke's remarks in my *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 338; on Muramḡa, *Ind. Stud.* XV. 280, on Bāhlī, Bactria, *Monatsberichte der Königl. Akad. der Wiss.* 1879, p. 462. The Marumḡas especially appear together with the Sakas and the Shāhān Shāhi on the inscriptions of Samudragupta as tributary to him, the tribute consisting, among other things, of girls (Lassen, 2, 952). The mention of the Ārabas²⁶ can be explained by reference (cf. p. 237) to the flourishing state of trade with Arabia at this period. The name of a grain ālisamḡa, in 21, 21, points to commercial intercourse at this date, since it may be explained, as I think, as signifying "coming from Alexandria" or "proceeding from A." ²⁷ It is not explained by the commentary. Alexandria, or the Persian ports Apologos and Omana, carried on a brisk trade with India in *rapports étroits*, as we learn from the *Periplus* (cf. Lassen, 2, 557, 957, 1159). Another point confirmative of this fact (see introduction to my translation of the *Mālav.* p. 47) is that Yavanī girls appear in Kālidāsa in the immediate surrounding of the king. Here then we have direct evidence on the part of the Indian tradition. The great frequency of the appearance of foreign female slaves as waiting-maids and as nurses, which is regarded as customary [304] in the Jain texts, is very surprising, and may be regarded as a proof of national pride, called into existence by a few victories over some foreign peoples, which can be ascertained only with difficulty. This national pride permitted these foreigners to appear in these menial capacities alone. In the inscriptions of Samudragupta we find immediate confirmation of this conjecture, as has been remarked above. The origin of these customary lists takes us back to the period of the Guptas.

Besides the above-mentioned list of foreign peoples there is in 15, 17 an enumeration of native races. It contains 16 names:—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magaha, Malaya, Mālavaya, Aśoka, Vachohha, Koochhha (ttha ?), Paḍha, Lāḍha, Vajji, Māli, Kōśi, Kōśala, Avāha, Subhattara. This list has the stamp of considerable antiquity, especially if we compare it with the similar one, *wp.* 4.

¹⁹ I do not propose here to enter into a detailed discussion of these variations; see *atya* 6, 1, 117 (Steinthal, p. 28) *wp.* 1, 55 (Leumann, p. 60) etc. Besides this enumeration, there is another which occurs only in those texts which are characterized as younger from the fact that they contain this second enumeration. I refer to that of the *Māchobhas*, in which some fifty (not sixteen) names are quoted; see *atya* 10, *wp.* 4.

²⁰ *Chilātiadāśāpanna* Abh. cf. *Kirita*.

²¹ *Hrasvavāriḥ* Abh.

²² *Vaḍabhiyāhiṃ madahakōṣṭhābhīḥ* Abh. (*Vakrādhaḥkōṣṭhābhīḥ* Schol. on *wp.* 1).

²³ Abh. adds *Vahsiyāhiṃ*.

²⁴ *Vāruganiyāhiṃ* Abh. who adds *Jogiyāhiṃ* after this name.

²⁵ *Pakka*° Abh.

²⁶ In Brāhmaṇ texts they occur only in the list of peoples in *Vārhamihira* 14, 17.

²⁷ I would mention incidentally that in 22, 11 *pīlu* is mentioned among the names of trees and in 23, 1 *siṅga-vāra* cinnamon among the spices.

⁴³ Accord. to the Comm. this difference consists herein, that in the first part *Āptopāmbhādijñātair dharmairtha upanishai*, in the second part *sāṅkhīy kathābhir abhidhiyātā*. The second part contains, it is true, no parables and similitudes, but the first, as well as the second contains *kathās*. As Leumann informs me the term *nāya* is treated in great detail in adgs 3, 4, 3.

ma and the latter's scholar Jambū,⁴⁴ which took place at the period of king Kōṇia of Champā. Suhamma represents the transmission of the [307] sacred texts as proceeding directly from Mahāvira. He prefaces "the fifth *aṅga* is now ended (*pañcamaṣṣa aṅgassa ayam aññhā* pannattā, what is the contents of the sixth *aṅga*?" and then continues with a detailed presentation of its division as given above, citing the titles of each of the 10 *ajjhayaṇas* of the first *suakkhamā*. Hereupon follows one of the usual *ajjhayaṇa* introductions which from this point on is found at the beginning of each of the following *ajjh.*

This style of introduction and of tabulation of the contents recurs⁴⁵ in exactly the same form in the case of *aṅgas* 7—11, and proves that these six *aṅgas* especially are bound together and have perhaps been the subject of treatment at the hands of the same redactor. They are connected like links in a chain, inasmuch as in the beginning of each *aṅga* reference is made to the *aṅgas* preceding it. The first four *aṅgas* have a mark of unity in their introductory formula *suṇāma* and in their close *ti bāmi*. The fifth *aṅga* occupies an isolated position.

The fact that this *introductio solennis* is found in all six *aṅgas* alike, is proof enough of its late origin and of its being the work of a hand which brought all six into close conjunction. If this be so, it is possible to conceive that the explanation of the name *nāyādharmakāḥā* which occurs in *aṅga* 6 (*nāyāpi ya* [308] *dharmakāḥā ya*) is not in harmony with its original signification. I prefer the foll. explanation: first separate the word into *nāyā* *dharmā* and *kāḥā* and understand by *nāyā* *dharmā* the "dharma of the *Jāṇas*" i. e. of Mahāvira⁴⁶ (see above, p. 261, on *aṅga* 2, 1, 1, 6), and understand the meaning to be "Recitals for the dharma of the *Jāṇas*."

But we must not suppress an objection. In the *aṅga* section in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandī*, both parts of *aṅga* 6 are especially recognized, and in fact by the same titles: *nāyā* and *dharmakāḥā*. This misunderstanding, if such here exist, must have been anterior to the date of *aṅga* 4 and *N.* I cannot however regard this as a cogent objection, since the *Nandī* is the work, according to all probability, of Dēvarddhigaṇi himself. (980 *Vira*), and the section of *aṅga* 4 is perhaps, in the last instance, the production of a still later period (cf. above, p. 284.)⁴⁷

The statements in reference to the extent of the second part of *aṅga* 6 contained in *aṅga* 4 and identical with those of the *Nandī*, are full of the most fabulous exaggerations, cf. p. 286, 289. Each of the *dharmakāḥās* is said to contain 500 *akkhāyās*, each of these 500 *uvakkhāyās*; each *uv.* 500 *akkhāyā-uvakkhāyās* with a total of "8½ *kōṭi*," i. e. 35 millions of *akkhāyās*. This latter sum excites the hostility of surprise since, if we reckon each [309] of the ten *vaggas* of the second part as a *dharmakāḥā*, the result for all 10 is if we trust the above quoted statements, 125 *kōṭis*, namely 10×500 , i. e. 1250 millions! According to the Schol. on the *Nandī* this riddle is solved by the assumption that of the 125 *kōṭis*, only 8½ *kōṭis* are "apunarukta," and the remaining 121½ *kōṭis* have occurred in the nine *ajjh.* 11—19 of part 1, each of which in turn contains 540 *akkh.* having each 500 *uvakkh.* and these 300 *akkh.-uvakkh.* each.

Dismissing such calculations as mere child's-play, let us examine the actual state of things. In the first place the titles of the 19 *ajjhayaṇas* of part 1 are enumerated at the outset

⁴⁴ The *Prākṛit* text *Jambūdditthamā*, or *Jambūdvāmikathānakam*, in 21 *uddāses*, deals with him; the *Prākṛit* in it is very like the *apabhraṃśa*.

⁴⁵ The tenth has now, it is true, another introductory formula. *Abhayadāra* however cites a different one which is exactly the same as that found before *aṅgas* 7, 8, 9 and 11.

⁴⁶ The length of the 4 of *nāyā* (cf. *Pān.* 6, 3, 129. 180) is irregular according to both explanations.—See however the first note on this *aṅga*. It certainly militates against the plausibility of the above conjecture, that the recitals of the first part are cited in the references of the redactor under the designation of *nāyā* (*jāṇa aṇḍanā*, *jāṇa Mālinā*).—L.

⁴⁷ There is no reason whatever to suppose a misunderstanding in the above passages only to please — etymology of the 19th century; even in this very *aṅga* 6 the term *nāyā* is applied to the first and twelfth *ajjh.* as will be seen from their titles given later on. Remember also the term *nāy'ajjhayaṇas* spoken of above on *aṅga* 419.

(see page 307), and are found singly in *Āvśy.* 16, 82, 83 (*Āv.*) and in the *Vidhagrapā* (V.)⁴⁸ They are as follows:—

1. *ukkhittanāś*, *ukkhiptam*: the “raised” but not replaced foot of an elephant, the first birth of prince Māgha, whose history is here related *ab ovo* (pregnancy of his mother, birth of the child, education, marriage, instruction at the hands of Mahāvīra). See Paul Steinthal: “Specimen der Nāyādharmakāśa,” Leipzig, 1881.⁴⁹ The contents are said by Abh. to be *anuchitapravṛttikāśya śiśhyasyo’pāmbhaḥ*.

2. *sāṅkhāḍa* (*Āv.*, *sāṅghāḍa* V), *sāṅghāṭakāś*; *śrēṣṭhichaurayōr ākabaṁdhanabād-dhatvam*; or *anuchitapravṛttikōchitapravṛttikayōr anarthārthaprapṭiparamparā*.

3. *arḥḍa*, *mayūramḍam* (cf. p. 270 note 4); *pravachanārthōśhu sāmkitāśamkitayōr pṛapinōr dōśhagūṇau* [310].

4. *kumma*, *kūrma*; *asaṁlīnēndriyētarayōr* (i.e. *asaṁlīnēndriya-saṁlīnēndriyayōr*) *anarthārthau*.

5. *Sāśa*, *Sāśakō rājaraḥiḥ*; *pramādayatō* ‘*pramādayatōś chā*’ *narthētarau* (i. e. *anarthārthau*, evil and weal.)

6. *tumba* (*tumbaya* V), *alābū*; *pṛapṭipātādimitām karmagurutābhāvēnō* ‘*tarēśhām*’⁵⁰ *cha laghutābhāvēna anarthaprapṭitarō*.⁵¹

7. *Rōhīṇi*, *śrēṣṭhivadhūḥ*; *mahāvratānām virādhanaivirādhanaayōr anarthārthau*.

8. *Māli*, *ākōṇaviṁśatitamajinasathānōtpannā tārthakari*;⁵² *mahāvratānām ōvā* ‘*lōpā*’ ‘*pī māyāśalyēna dōśhitānām ayathāvatavaphalāsādhakatvam*, or *māyāvatō* ‘*narthāḥ*’.

9. *Māimḍi* (*Māyamḍi* V); *Mākamḍi nāma vaṇik*, *tatputrō* ‘*Mākamḍiśabdōnō*’ *ha grihītaḥ*; *bhōgōśhu aviratimatō* ‘*narthō*, *viratimatōś chārthāḥ*,

10. *chamḍamā* (*chamḍimā* V), *chandramāḥ*; *guṇaviddhīhānilakṣhaṇāv anarthārthau pramādy-apramādinōḥ*.

11. *dāvaddavō* (°gō *Āv.*), *samudratatō* *vṛkashaviśēśhāḥ*; *mārgārādhanaivirādhanaibhyām anarthārthau*, or *chāritradharmasya virādhakatvam ārādhakatvam cha*.

12. *udaga*, *nāś*, *udakam nagaraparikhājalām*; *chāritrārādhakatvam prakṛitimalīmasānām api bhavyānām sadguruparikarmanā bhavati*; or *sāmsargaviśēśhād guṇōtkarṣhaḥ*.

13. *maṇḍukikō*, *Mamḍūkāḥ* *pāṁdimanikāra-śrēṣṭhībijivāḥ*; *sāmsargaviśēśhābhāvad guṇāpa-karṣhaḥ*; or *satām guṇānām sāmagry-abhāvē hānir*,

14. *Tāvali* ‘*i ya*’ (*Tōul* *Āv.*), *Tētalitāt*⁵³ *bhidhānō* ‘*mātyaḥ*’; *tathāvidhasāmagrīśadbhāvē guṇasampad upajāyatō*; or *apamānād viśhayatyāgaḥ*. See pp. 271 note 2, 317.

15. *narthāphala*; [311] *naṁdivyikṣhābhidhānatārūphalāni*; *Jinōpadōśāt* (*viśhayatyāgaḥ*), *tatra cha saty arthaprapṭis*, *tadabhāvē tv anarthaprapṭiḥ*; or *viśhayābhīśhvāṅgasyā* ‘*narthaphalatā*’.

16.⁵⁴ *Avarakamkā*, *Dhātakīśhaṁḍa* *Bharatakāśōtrārājadhāni*; *tadviśayanidānasya sā* (*anarthaphalatā*); or *nidānā(t) kutaitadānād vā anarthāḥ*.

17. *āinnō*, *ākīrṇā jātyāḥ* *samudramadhyavartinō* ‘*śvāḥ*’; *īndriyēbhyō* ‘*niyamtritēbhyāḥ sa*’ (*anarthāḥ*) *uchyātō*; or *īndriyavāsavartinām itarēśhām chā* ‘*narthētarau*’.⁵⁵

18. *Sumisumā* (*Sumśa* *Āv.*), ‘*Sumśamābhidhānā*’ *śrēṣṭhīduhitā*; *lōbhavaśavartinām itarēśhām cha tāv ōva* (*anarthārthau*); or *asaṁvṛtāśravasyō* ‘*tarasya chā*’ ‘*narthētarau*’

19. *pumḍarīś*, *pumḍarīkam*; ⁵⁶ *chiram saṁvṛtāśravō bhūtva* ‘*pī yaḥ pāśchād anyathā syāt*’ *tasya alpakālām saṁvṛtāśravasya cha tāv* (*anarthētarāv*) *uchyētō*.

After the conclusion of *ajjh.* 19 there follows a special conclusion for the first *suṇyakhandhā*,⁵⁷ then the usual beginning for the second *suṇyakhandhā* held in the same strain as the introduction to the *sūga* itself, and giving in detail the contents of each of the ten *vaṅgas*. These

⁴⁸ I extract these explanations or, as the case may be, statements of contents, from the introductions to each of the *ajjh.* in Abhayadāya’s Comm.

⁴⁹ On page 4 twenty-one *ajjh.* of part I are erroneously spoken of; there are but nineteen.

⁵⁰ *vis. aprapṭiḥ*.

⁵¹ i.e. *anarthaprapṭiyarthaprapṭi*.

⁵² See Kup. 10 (300).

⁵³ *Tēyaligūṭhō* in the text.

⁵⁴ Here there is a detailed account of the *Dōvā* (Draupadi.)

⁵⁵ i.e. *anarthārthau*.

⁵⁶ See *sūga* 2, 2, 1.

⁵⁷ The statement that 19 days are necessary to finish the 19 *ajjh.* is found here.

treat of the aggamahisā, 1. Chamarasā, 2. Balissā Vairojaparasā, 3. asurimdevajjijāpam dāhipillāpam imdāpam, 4. uttarillāpam asurimdevajjijāpam bhavapavai-imdāpam 5. dāhipillāpam vāpamantarāpam, 6. uttarillāpam vāpam°, 7. chaṇḍassa, 8. sārassa, 9. Sakkaṇṇa, 10. īśāpam. [818].

The actual composition of the text of the second part is quite summary. To the first *vagga* five *ajjhayaṇas* are ascribed,⁴⁴ their names being Kālī, Rātī, Rayanī, Viññu, Māhā, names of the five wives of Camara. The history of the first alone is really related, and that in quite brief fashion; that of the second is very much abbreviated and is identified with the first by the use of the customary marks of abbreviation (*evaṃ jaṇe Kālī, tam ohēva savaṇṇa jāva*); that of the third is still shorter, and the fourth and fifth are settled with a word or two.

The text of the remaining *vargas* is despatched in a like summary fashion with but few words, although quite a number of *ajjh* are allotted to several of them. Their contents is as follows:—*varga* 2 five *ajjh*, *vargas* 3 and 4, 54 each, *vargas* 5 and 6 each 32, *vargas* 7 and 8 each 4, *vargas* 9 and 10 each 8.—In the Vidhiprapā however 10 *ajjhayogas* each are allotted to *varga* 1 and 10 to *varga* 2.²⁰

The extent of the second part in the MSS. is one-twenty-first of the first part. In one MS. the commentary on part 2 is despatched in four lines. Even if all due regard is paid to the second note on *aiya* 7 given below on p. 315, how curious are the statements, p. 288, 289, 308, from *aiya* 4 and *Nand*.

The events take place in Rāyagiha, Champā, Vārāṇasī, Bāravati, Vīyāśṭī, Tōyalipura, Ahichohhattā, Hatthiāsa, Pundaragiri. In the first account we find an [813] enumeration of non-Aryan peoples; some are not found among those quoted, p. 302, from *āyga* 5, others are found here which are wanting there. We read (see Steinthal, p. 28) : bahāhih Ohiliyāhih khujjāhih tāvapi(1) - vaḍabhi(1) - Babbari - Vāṣṭi - Jōṇiya - Palhavi - Isini - Thāragiri - Lasiya - Lasiya - Damili - Sihali - Aravi - Pulindi - Pakkapi - Bahari - Murumdi - Sabari - Pārasthih. There is, furthermore, mention made here of 72 *kalds* (cf. p. 282 and Steinthal, p. 29). The word *jacariyd* (St. p. 14), *jacariyd*, "curtain," refers to a stage-curtain or to the theatrical plays of the Greeks. We must not fail to notice the mention of 18 *dābhihāt* (St. p. 29), in a list which does not go into detail (see below, p. 336 and on *sp.* 1. Of *Ind. Stud.* XVI. 38 on the word *talavara* (St. p. 14).

There is a commentary by Abhayadēva.

The table of contents in *saṅga* 4, or *Nandi* (N) is:—*sā kiṃ taṃ nāyādharmakāhāṇaṃ*⁶⁰ *p. nā⁶¹*
*kāsu paṇi nāyāṇaṃ*⁶¹ *nagarāsiṃujjāṇāsiṃ chāyāsiṃ vanasāṇḍā* (*qāsiṃ N*) *rāyāṇḍā*⁶² *ammāpiyārā samā-*
saraṇāsiṃ dhammāyariyā dhammakāhāṇa ihalōyā paralōyā iḍḍhivissā bhōgaparichohāyā pavajjā-
*sāyapariggahā tavō'-vahāṇāsiṃ periyāgā saṇḍhōhaṇu bhettapachohakkhāṇāsiṃ pāvagamaṇāsiṃ*⁶³
*dāvāḍgagamaṇāsiṃ*⁶⁴ *sukulapachohāyāḍā*⁶⁵ *pura-bōhilaḍā*⁶⁶ *aṇṭakiriyāḍā* [814] *ya*⁶⁷ *āghavijjā-*
jāva,⁶⁸ *nāyā⁶⁹kāsu*⁶⁹ *paṇi pavvāyāṇaṃ vipāyakarapajjāsaṃmisaṇḍavārā*⁷⁰ *sahjamaṇāsiṃ*⁷¹
padhiimaivavassāyadullabbhāṇaṃ,⁷¹ *tavanīyama-tavō'-vahāṇa-rameduddhārabbhābhaggaṇīyāsiṃ-*

²⁰ *paḍhamasā vaggasā paṇḍita ajjhasā paṇḍitā, tathā : Kāṇhī . . . Māhī*

⁴⁰ . . paḍhamavaggaṃ, tanuṃ dāsa aṭṭhayaṇā, . . viṭ dāsa aṭṭhayaṇā, (see above, p. 281.)

* jñānī udharapadi tatpradhānā dharmakathā jñ^o tñā, dīrghatvaṇ mahajñātvā; nāyāh^o is taken here as karmadh., not as a dvandva.

^a Nýtt BQ, jafnánam udáharapabhtátná Mágakumárádíná nágarádný ákhytýanté, nágarádný dvá vñáttá padáni karthváni.

⁶³ The foll. is inverted in N sam^o rā sam^o dh^ohā dh^oriyā ihālogapara^olōgā riddhivāśā bhōgaparicohāgā pavajjā pariāgā suspa^o tavōra^o sūhā bhattapachchakkhā; in *sigas* 7 fig. the case is similar.

cs pátuga° A, pátvaga° H.

^a Ned. has according to Leumann the following just as in *oags* 7 (p. 307).

* pavvaya BO, pavvayai A, pachchaya H.

W. L. H. N.

“ γ_{AB} A, γ_{AB} B, γ_{AB} ya BC.

- as jaya signifies that here anyone pashcha padāni da(r)myāni, i.e., after āgh, the usual five words pānnavijjanti padāni dāmyāni nīdamāni uvādhāni.

²⁰ *śāraṇīyā* to the end is omitted in B¹, in which there follows *śāraṇīyā* *dharmakāśikā* *vagga* and the remarks in reference to the number of the *āṅgikā*.

to śāstri omitted in B O. *śāstra-varā śāstra-pravachanāpikāḥyaḥ pradhāna-pravachanāḥ ity a., pūṣhantatpāḥ; samapāṣṭa viprayatānāpātānāpātānāmi (perhaps an older reading) pavat.

⁴⁷ paṭṭa, dhitti, durvalakṣaṇa A; sahyamapratijñā samyamābhigṛhṇamāḥ, sai 'va duradhigamasyātrī kīṭasasa-
kṛbōbhaktrāḥ oḥa' pṭīlām iva pṭīlām (other reading), tatra dhṛtimatevivasyāyā durabhā yāhāḥ tō tāhā;
pṭīlāhāṭarōḥa sahyamapratijñāpṭīlāṣya dhṛtimatevivasyāyā tātāḥ durbhā yē, tātāhā.

thāpam,⁷³ ghōraparīśahaparājīyāpam, sahapāraddharuddha-siddhālayamaggaṇiggaṇāpam,⁷⁴ viśa-
yasuhastuchasāśivasādōsamuchhiyāpam, virāhiyaśharittanāpādamaśa-jaigunavivihappagāranissāra-
sunnayāpam,⁷⁵ samsāra-apāradukkhaduggaibhavavivihaparamparāpavamōha⁷⁶ dhīrāpā ya, jiyapa-
rīśahakāsāyasennadhiidhāniya-samjamaūchohāha nichhiyāpam,⁷⁷ ārāhiyanāpādamaśaśharit-
tajōganissalla⁷⁸ suddhasiddhālayamagga-m-abhimuhāpam, surabhavaṇavimāpasokkham anōva-
māim bhottūpa⁷⁹ chiram cha bhōgabhogāni [315] tāni divvāni maharīhāni tatō ya kālakkamachu-
yāpam, jaha ya pupōladdhasiddhi⁸⁰ maggaṇam, amtekiriyaśohaliyāpā ya, sadōvamānusadhiakara-
nakārāpāni bōhapa⁸¹ anussāpāni gūṇadōśadarīśapāni dīttamātē pachcha⁸² ya sōṭṭa, lōgamunīnō
jaha ya tthiyā⁸³ sāśapammi jaramarapaśāpakarō, ārāhiyasamjama ya suralōgapadīniyattā
uvēmti⁸⁴ jaha sāśayam sivaṁ savvadukkhamakkhām,⁸⁵ ēē annā ya ēvamāi 'ttha vittharēpa ya.⁸⁶

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 88.

The following communication has reached me from Dr. E. Hultzsch:—

"On the wall of the Bilvanāthēśvara temple at Thiruvallam in the North Arcot District, Mr. V. Venkayya, M. A., my Brāhman assistant, has just discovered an inscription, the calculation of the date of which might possibly fix the year of the accession to the throne of the Chōla king Kō-Rājākēśarivarman, alias Rājārājadēva. The date is worded in Tamil as follows:—

"Kō-Rājārājākēśarivarmamkku¹ yāṇḍu 7 āvadu
... .. ivvāttai Ayappasi-
ttingal² paunnamāiyum³ Irēvatiyum perṭu
vishuvil sōmagrahanattinānu,⁴—"in the 7th
year (of the reign) of Kō-Rājārājākēśarivarman,
... .. on the day of an eclipse of
the moon in Vishu, which corresponded to (the
nakshatra) Rēvatī and to a full-moon tithi (in)
the month of Aippasi in the (above-mentioned)
year."

"The only doubtful term in the date is *vishu-
vil*, 'in Vishu,' which, if taken literally, would

refer to the 15th year of the cycle of Brīhaspati. If this explanation were correct, it would have to be assumed, that, through an oversight, the official, who drafted the inscription, failed to enter the word *vishuvil* in its proper place before the month and the *tithi*. As it stands now,—between the *nakshatra* and the eclipse,—the rules of Tamil grammar force us to connect with it the preceding relative participle *perṭu*, 'which corresponded,' and this would be absurd, if *vishuvil* had its literal meaning, as a year cannot correspond to a *nakshatra* and a *tithi*. It is therefore very probable that *vishuvil* is a mistake,—by no means without parallels in the case of Dravidian scribes, to whom Sanskrit was not very familiar,—for *vishuvattil*, 'at the equinox.'

"About the approximate period of Kō-Rājākēśarivarman, alias Rājārājadēva, with whom the king mentioned in the present record seems to be identical, I may refer to the abstract table, inserted *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 240. The large Leyden grant⁵ is dated in the 21st year of his reign. The Tanjore inscriptions⁶ contain his latest known date, the 29th year."

⁷³ dudhāra bharebhagā A; tapōniyama-tapaūpadhīnā, tē ēva ranaī cha kēśaranarakubhōbhakatvāt samgrāmō
... , śramakṛtapatvāt durbhārabharas cha, tābhyān bhagnāh parāśmukhibhūttāh, tathā nibeśā nitarām aśakti ēva
nibeśakā, nibeśhīś cha nibeśhīśhā muktīngā yē tē; prākṛitativēna kakāralōpa-samdhikarapābhhyān bhagnā ity
āden dirghatvam avastayam.

⁷⁴ sahaprārabddharuddhāh, ata ēva siddhīrgāj jnānādr nirgatāh.

⁷⁵ tair ēva yatigunāih sūnyakāh; padatrayasya cha karmadhārayah: virādhitācharitrajnādarāśana-yatiguna-
vividhaprakāranibhāra-sūnyakānām.

⁷⁶ paravimōha B O. ⁷⁷ jīya ... siddhīttidhānaya A; jītam parāśahakāśhāyaminīyam yathā, dhritē
dhanikāh svāmīnāh (cf. Anupāt. § 83 p. 196), mahīyamā utadhō ... avastayambhāvi yēśām.

⁷⁸ pūśalla A; nibeśayō mithyādarśanādirahitāh.

⁷⁹ bhuttūpa B O.

⁸⁰ siddha B O. ⁸¹ bōdhapa B O. ⁸² pavattī B O, pratyayānē cha, bōdhakārapabhūttāni vākyāni.

⁸³ jahattthiyā B O; lōkamunīyah ... parivrajakdayō yathā cha yēna prakārepa sthītā(h) āśanē.

⁸⁴ uvēti C, uvēti A. ⁸⁵ "kīkā A. ⁸⁶ ēvam āhi 'ttha vichhātēpa ya A.

¹ "Read varmaraka.

² i.e. aippasi-ttingal.

³ "Read paunnamāsiyam.

⁴ i.e. grāhanattin ādēva.

⁵ "Dr. Burgess's *Archaeol. Surv. South India*, Vol. IV., pp. 204 ff.

⁶ "See paragraphs 4 and 9 of my *Progress Report for July, August and September 1888*, Madras G. O., 7th November 1888, No. 1050, Public."

Aippaṣi is the Tamil solar month that begins astronomically with the Tula-Samkrānti or entrance of the sun into Libra, and civilly at sunrise either on the same or the following day according to the exact time of the *samkrānti*;¹ and it ends, under the same conditions, with the Vṛśchika-Samkrānti or entrance of the sun into Scorpio.

On the supposition that the word *vishuvil* means "in the Vishu *samvatsara*,"² the facts are as follows:—

By the mean-sign system, the Vishu *samvatsara* commenced on the 27th May, A.D. 979, and ended on the 22nd May, A.D. 980. In this period, there was no lunar eclipse in Aippaṣi, which fell in A.D. 979. The nearest eclipse was that of the 6th November, about twelve days after the end of the month.

By the northern luni-solar system, the Vishu *samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Samvat 903 current. In this year, Aippaṣi,—its commencement and end being taken as determined by the *samkrāntis*,—began on the 25th September, A.D. 980, and ended on the 25th October. On the very next day, 26th October, there was a lunar eclipse. But it is barred; because the Vṛśchika-Samkrānti occurred at less than 30 *ghaṭis* after mean sunrise on the 25th October, *vis.*, at 25 *gh.* 21 *p.* (for Bombay), so that this full-moon day was not in Aippaṣi even by the civil reckoning; and because this system of the cycle does not apply to this part of the country. It may also be mentioned that, at sunrise on the day of this eclipse, the *nakshatra* was not Rēvatī, No. 27, but Bharāṇi, No. 2, by all three systems.

And by the southern luni-solar system, the Vishu *samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Samvat 904 current. In this year, Aippaṣi began on the 25th September, A.D. 981, and ended on the 25th October. And during the month there was an eclipse of the moon, on the 16th October. But the *nakshatra* at sunrise on that day was Āśvini, No. 1, by all three systems; and Rēvatī had ended at about 1 hour, 40 min, after mean sunrise on the preceding day, 15th October. Consequently, this eclipse cannot be accepted, unless we assume a mistake in the record in respect of the name of the *nakshatra*; and, in the face of the much better result that is shewn below, it is undesirable to do this.

From the above results, and also from its position and context in the sentence, it appears

that the word *vishuvil* does not indicate the Vishu *samvatsara*; but stands for *vishuvattil*, "at the (autumnal) equinox." And with this view of the case, the facts are as follows:—

Within, and for many years before and after the period to which the reign of Rājāśarivarma can be referred, the only lunar eclipses which can have occurred at, *i. e.* on the very day of, the Tula-Samkrānti or autumnal equinox, are those of the—

25th September, A.D. 979;
26th September, A.D. 991;
26th September, A.D. 1010; and
27th September, A.D. 1037.

It appears unnecessary to calculate the details of the first and the last of these; as considerations of contemporaneous history prevent us from placing the seventh year of the reign of Rājāśarivarma either so early or so late.

In A.D. 991, the Tula-Samkrānti occurred on the 25th September, at about 20 *ghaṭis*, 54 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and nowhere in southern India did it occur more than about 30 minutes, or 1 *gh.* 15 *p.*, later on the same day. Consequently, though on the 26th September the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Rēvatī by all the three systems, the lunar eclipse of that day is not admissible, because it occurred on the day after the equinox; not on the day of the equinox.

In A.D. 1010, however, there was the required concurrence in respect of all the given details. The Tula-Samkrānti or autumnal equinox occurred on the 26th September, at about 15 *ghaṭis*, 53 *palas*, = 6 hours, 21·2 minutes, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the month Aippaṣi commenced, for the civil reckoning, at sunrise on that day. The lunar eclipse occurred on the same day; the full-moon-tithi ending at about 2 hours, 32 minutes, after mean sunrise. And at sunrise the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī by all three systems; ending at about 3 hours, 17 minutes, after mean sunrise. And this day, Tuesday, 26th September, A.D. 1010, is undoubtedly the correct English equivalent of the given date; though the eclipse in question was not visible in India.

The full-moon tithi which ended on this day, at about 6 *ghaṭis*, 20 *palas* = 2 hours, 32 minutes, was that of the lunar month Āśvina, of Śaka-Samvat 933 current.³ And the results shew

about 9 *ghaṭis*, 6 *palas*, on the 26th October. Consequently the month Aippaṣi lasted, for the civil reckoning, from sunrise on the 26th September to sunrise on the 26th October; and it happened to include a second full-moon tithi, that of the lunar Kārtika, which ended

¹ Warren's *Kolasamhita*, p. 4.

² The more correct name of the *samvatsara* is either *śaka* or *Bhṛīṣya*. The name Vishu occurs in some Old-Kanarese inscriptions.

³ In this year, the Vṛśchika-Samkrānti occurred at

that the accession of Rājāśarivarman took place in A.D. 1003 or 1004; according to the luni-solar calendar, either on any day from the *amanta* Āsvinā kṛishṇa 1 of Śaka-Samvat 926 current; up to the end of that year; or on any day from the beginning of Śaka-Samvat 927 current up to Āsvinā śukla 15 of that year.

J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 19.

Miscellaneous Essays by European Scholars.

(a) J. Grosset, on Hindu Music.

M. J. Grosset has published an interesting contribution to the Study of Hindu Music,¹ in which that subject is, I believe, for the first time seriously attacked from a European point of view. The Essay is reprinted from Vol. VI. of *La Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*. The author gives the text of the 28th *adhyāya* of the *Bhāratiya-Nāṭya-Śāstra*, of which the 18th, 19th, 20th and 34th *adhyāyas* have been already published by Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall in his edition of the *Dattarāpa*. Other portions of the same work have also been published by M. Paul Regnaud; but the 28th book is now published for the first time. The text is followed by a translation and notes, and being founded on two imperfect MSS. is admittedly incomplete. The notes are valuable and give a clear idea of the principles of the Hindu grāma, or gamut. It was Prof. Weber who first pointed out the connexion between the *Śkr grāma*, the *Pr. grāma*, and the *gama* of Guido d'Arezzo,—a striking testimony to the Indian origin of our scale of seven notes.

(b) Prof. Weber on old Iranian Star-names.

It is a kindly custom amongst German scholars to celebrate the Jubilee of one of their members taking his Doctor's degree, by dedicating short essays to his honour. Dr. Bohtlingk's Doctor-Jubilee was celebrated last year; and now Prof. Weber publishes his contribution, the issue of which was unavoidably delayed. His essay deals with old Iranian Star-names,² and specially with the lunar asterisms. Albérūnī's lists of the names of these asterisms in Soghd and Khwārizm, are compared with the *chortak* of the *Bundehesh*, and the Indian *nakshatras*. Amongst

the many interesting points dealt with may be mentioned *Parvā*, equivalent to *Kṛittikā*, which is connected with the Zend star-name *Pavirya* "the first." *Parvā* is the first asterism in Albérūnī's lists, and is therefore not a corruption of the *Parvā* of the *Bundehesh*. The latter is, in fact developed from the former by a secondary process of folk-etymology (پرویز = 'victorious') A feminine plural form of *Pavirya*, i.e. *Paviryān*, becomes پرویز, the *Pleiades*, i.e., the *Kṛittikā*. In the list of the *Bundehesh* *Parvā* is the third asterism (its first, *Padhwar*, corresponding to *Arctū*), so that, when this list came into existence, the original meaning of the word must have been forgotten, and *Kṛittikā* was no longer the first asterism.

For further information regarding other old Iranian star-names, such as *Tistrya* (Sirius), the *Haptō Iroṅga* (*Sapta Rishayas*, Septemtriones), *Vanañt* (*Abhijit*), and so on; the reader must be referred to this very interesting Essay itself.

(c) Prof. Sachau on Albérūnī's transliteration of Indian words.

Prof. Sachau's³ treatise on the pronunciation of Indian Languages in the first half of the eleventh century deserves far more space than can be allotted to it here; indeed, a whole number of this Journal could be most profitably devoted to it.

The learned translator of Albérūnī's *Indica* has taken the Indian words quoted in that work, and classified the changes they undergo in their Arabic dress. If we take such words and compare them with Sanskrit, the differences are great; for instance, we find *vidyut*, *jihvā*, *kāyapa*, *pustaka*, *sūrya*, *daitya*, *śrī*, *bhāga*, *nishāda*, *jyēshthā*, *aditya*, *pradyumna*, represented in Arabic characters by *bidūd*, *jibbu*, *kashehabu*, *pōll*, *śūru*, *daite*, *istrī*, *karbu*, *nishādu*, *fōrū*, *aditu*, *praddamunu*, which are so different from the originals that the incompleteness of the Arabic alphabet will not sufficiently account for the change. Nor will the influence of Prākṛit account for it, for the Prākṛit forms of these words would be *vijjā*, *jīhā*, *kāsavā*, *pothhā*, *śūrā* and *sujjā*, *daichoko*, *ittāl*, *khaggō*, *nādasō*, *jetthā*, *dicchō*, *paṭṭamā*. It therefore becomes a question whether the Arabic written forms are not simply mistakes of the scribe; but

at about 48 *ghatis*, 50 *palas*, on the 25th October. This, however, — there being no lunar eclipse on this day, — does not affect the date that has been worked out.

¹ Contribution à l'étude de la Musique Hindoue, par J. Grosset. Paris; Leroux.

² Über alt-iranische Sternnamen, von Albr. Weber.

³ Indo-Arabisches Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der ersten Hälfte des XI. Jahrhunderts von Eduard Sachau. Berlin, Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. In commission bei Georg Reimer.

this can hardly be, for we find that when Albérant wishes to give Sanskrit words correctly in certain lists, he does so, so that we have ^{بدر}

Ehadra, ^{ماتر} *Mādhura*, ^{شورمين} *Sarasena*,

^{پاشکلا} *Pāśchala*, ^{مگد} *Magadha*, and so on. We are thus driven to the conclusion that the other words also were designedly originally written as they have been handed down to us, and that they were transcribed by Albérant as they were pronounced,—incorrectly pronounced be it observed,—by the Pandits who read to him: just as at the present day a Pandit, when speaking colloquially, pronounces his Sanskrit words in colloquial fashion, though when occasion arises he can, and does, pronounce them in the full traditional manner. We thus have a valuable exhibition of words in Albérant's *Indica* of the pronunciation of North-Western India in the first half of the eleventh century after Christ.

I think that the value of the Persian or Arabic language for this purpose has been much under-estimated. The Muhammadans who conquered India long after Albérant's date, cared little for the rules of Pāṇini, but were compelled by the necessities of their surroundings to record the language of the people among whom they dwelt in the character most familiar to themselves. Even the greatest Hindū vernacular authors of India were tied down by tradition, and were compelled to spell many words, not as they were pronounced, but as tradition ordered them. We trace this compulsion up to the very earliest times,—up to the time of the North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka; but Musalmān writers had no respect for these traditions, and spelled words phonetically as they struck their ears. It is this which makes, as I have elsewhere pointed out, works like the *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad (written 1640 A.D.) of such priceless value. It is in Hindī, written in the Persian character, and, though unfortunately the vowels are often doubtful, we have in it an absolutely correct representation of the consonantal system of the language as then existing. To give an example, while Malik Muhammad's Hindū contemporaries wrote *apsaras*, he gives the correct pronunciation vouched for by the Prākṛit grammarians and wrote ^{آپسار}. It is to these Muhammadan writers that we must look for the correct representation of the pronunciation of the consonants of the mediæval Indian dialects. For this reason, an analysis of the Indian dialects as represented by Albérant, and especially an altogether admirable scientific analysis, such as

that offered by Dr. Sachau, is of great value to all students of the history of this country.

(d) *M. Winternitz on Snake Worship.*

The first part of the 18th volume of the *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna Anthropological Society) contains the first instalment of an important article by Dr. Moriz Winternitz on the serpent-cult. Taking for his text the *sarpabali* of India, he commences with general observations on the universal character of this cultus. The uncanny eye of the snake was early observed. He was the most sharp-sighted of animals (*ὁξύδρεότατος τὸ ὄμα*), and from *δέρκεμαι*, 'to see,' we find formed the word *δράκων*. Hence came the superstitions about its powers of fascination and its wisdom: "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." At an early stage we find serpents connected with magic. The Hebrew for 'snake,' *nakhash*, appears at the head of a series of denominatives signifying 'to enchant,' 'to prophecy.' He is, especially as a white snake (*śvabhaḥ śaśha*), continually exhibited as the teacher of the language of birds and beasts. The Oracle at Delphi owed its inspiration to a dragon, and Helen and Cassandra learned the speech of birds from serpents. The fact that the colours of snakes correspond to their habitats gave rise to the origin of the theory that a serpent is the *genius loci*, while the metallic glister of several of them easily suggested the many legends of the snakes as mountain-spirits and treasure-guardians. Both in Asia and America are they believed to carry a precious jewel in the head. "The way of a serpent on a rock" was one of the four things which were too hard for King Solomon, and the rapid shooting motion of these creatures over mountain rocks readily gave rise to the idea of winged serpents or dragons. The power of casting its slough was another source of wonder, and the serpent is regarded as ever renewing its youth. Moreover, we find persons transformed by magic into snakes, who issue from their skins in their proper forms. If the skins can then be seized and burnt the magic is counteracted, and the enchanted person does not go back to his transformation. But the most striking point of all about snakes is their terrible poison. As an Indian proverb says, "No one honours him who does no harm, be he ever so great. Men worship the snake, but not Garuḍa, the slayer of the snake." While, however, he was considered an evil spirit on this account, on the other side there grew up the faith that the being who brings disease and death must also know how to cure and to bring to life. Hence we find the snake in manifold relation with the

art of healing, a dualism clearly seen and clearly outspoken throughout the whole literature of antiquity. Moses was commanded, 'Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole; and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live.' Æsculapius appears in many ways connected with the snake. The Lithuanian Zemynė is a snake with one eye. Whom she bites must die at once. But with the blood of the Zemynė, which is black as the night, can men heal all diseases. As late even as the last century were remedies, such as the powdered heart and liver of a snake, considered in Europe as remedies for fever.

It was only a step further to make of the snake a tutelary genius, or even as a genius of good fortune. Some tribes even saw in him the souls of the dead, and men honoured in him the *manes* of their fathers and their heroes. Numberless instances of this are quoted.*

The deification of the snake was helped by the resemblances to snakes which men saw in exterior nature. The winding river, the black storm-clouds, the black lightning-clouds, all became personified as snakes. The Swiss have many legends of dragons inhabiting the Alps, who come tearing down the mountain-sides in rain-storms. The storm-cloud snake is familiar to readers of the *Rig-Vēda* and of the wars of Indra with Vṛitra, while the Lithuanian myth of the tempest-god Perkunas, who hurled forth fiery snakes upon his enemies, is a good example of the lightning snake.

The last stage of deification through which the serpent has passed is the abstract idea of eternity in the shape of the snake in the form of a closed ring. The Indian examples need not be quoted here. The Orphic God Æon and even Chronos are also so represented.

After these introductory remarks Dr Winter-nitz proceeds to discuss more particularly the serpent-cult in India. In the *Rig-Vēda* Indra's contest with Vṛitra is well known. A formula of the *Atharva-Vēda* against snakes prays at the same time to snakes. Virāj went first to the

dēvas, then to the *gandharvas* and *apsarasas*, then to the *itarajanas*, and finally to the snakes. The snakes called out to her 'Come thou endowed with poison!' Then Dhṛitarāshṭra Airāvata milked poison from her, and on this poison live the snakes (*Atharva-Vēda*, VIII. 10, 29). The *Chhandōgya-Upanishad* (II. 21) mentions snakes in connexion with *gandharvas* and *manes*, and so also Manu (I 37). *Yājñavalkya* declares that a Brāhman, a snake, and a Kshatriya are never to be despised. The *Taittirīya-Saṁhita* of the *Yajur-Vēda* (III. 1, 1, 1) says Prajāpati, 'wished to create offspring. He performed austerities. He created serpents.' The *Tisṭhya-Mahābhārata* (XXV. 15) describes an important snake-sacrifice, which serves to bring its performer good fortune and success.

In the Epics snakes play a still larger part than even in the Vēdic and Sūtra literature. The first book of the *Mahābhārata* contains an important list of all the most famous snake-princes (I. 1549 and ff.). Nala's meeting with the benevolent snake-king Karkōṭaka is well-known. When Bhiṣma (*Mahābhārata*, I. 5008 and ff.) was hurled into the Ganges, he fell into the kingdom of the snakes, who gave him the water of strength to drink. The part which Vāsuki, the snake-king, took in the churning of the ocean need not be described here.

The Fable-literature is also a rich mine of snake-lore. We have a snake who was the *genius loci* of a field (*kshētrādēvatā*) (*Pañchatantra*, I. 244, and ff.), and many stories of marriages between snakes and earthly maidens. The birth of Śalivāhans, as described in the *Vīracharita*, is a good example of this. He was the son of Śeṣha, the king of the snakes. Only the other day a story went round the Indian newspapers of a snake becoming enamoured of a woman (see *ante*, Vol. VII. page 44).

Amongst the Buddhists, the Nāgas were counted as gods, ranking eighth in the list of beings. There are many stories connecting Buddha with snakes, and we find in Buddhist tales instances of snake-charms which closely resemble the Vēdic

* [The following extracts from *Wide Awake Stories* (Pāñjāb Folktales) may be of use in this connection:—

(i) Survey of Incidents in Modern Indian Folktales: *Serpents*: first kill and then restore to life hero's companion, show hero how to get serpent out of his throat, destroy a family leaving only sleeping beauty, kill and restore to life hero, also heroine's bullocks, also heroines, aid hero, must resume their shape at night if they travel, possess power of metamorphosis, can fly through the air, are guardians of a tree, can scorch and burn by their breath, can put on wings: a palace of glass surrounded by a ditch, and a wall of needles sprinkled with salt and

water will keep them out. *Tale*: serpent issuing from queen's nostril as thin as thread, kills the king (elected daily) every night, is killed by hero. References are *Wide Awake Stories*, 180 ff., 198 ff.; *Old Deccan Days*, 121; *Folktales of Bengal*, 21, 18 ff., 100; *Legends of the Punjab*, Vol. I., 47 ff., 154 ff., 177, 179 ff., 180, 181, 183, 189, 416, 481, 487 ff., 488, 496, 498, 502, 520 ff.

(ii) For modern instances of the Snake-demon, *Wide Awake Stories*, 141, 226. *snake-jewel* *ibid.* 304, 347, 424; see also same pp. for *snake-stone*, *snake-woman*, *ibid.* 183, 196, 331, 1; *snake befriends hero*, *ibid.* 197 ff.; *father of snake gives hero a wonderful ring*, *ibid.* 198.—R.O.T.]

formulas already mentioned. The only difference is that instead of 'cult,' or 'honouring,' the word 'love' is used.

Not only in literature, but also in sculptures and the like do we see the same serpent-culture. Śiva is the Nāgachūḍa or Nāgabhūṣaṇa, and we often see representations of the *linga* encircled by a snake. Sculptures are often given of a male and female snake in close embrace, the former with five the latter with one head. Finally, we find many tribes such as the Nāgas, and the family of the Rājā of Chutia-Nāgpur, boasting of their descent from snakes.

In the *Grihya-Sūtras*, we find the serpent-cultus closely connected with the rainy season. In the *Vāda*, as already remarked, the clouds are inhabited by an evil demon, a dragon, who prevents them giving forth their life-producing drops; and what we, to the present day, call 'a war of the elements,' was then described as Indra's fight with the dragon. So also in other mythologies the gods and heroes, Apollo and Herakles, Odin and Sigurd, Thór and Siegfried all fight with the dragon. In the *Mahābhārata* itself we find memories of the origin of this superstition still lingering, and the snakes determining to bring rain-clouds to extinguish the fire of Janamējaya's

sacrifice which was to destroy them. The connexion with water is further extended to lakes. The valley of Népāl was originally the Nāga-Hrada, and the Hydra is a water-snake.

Finally, in the rainy season the snakes all come out of their holes and do most mischief. All this accounts for the worship of the snake in the rains, and for the fact that it is in the month of Śrāvana (July-August) there is prescribed in the *Grihya-Sūtras* that ceremony, with which the *sarpabali* and the snake-sacrifice are so closely connected. The ceremony commences on the full moon of Śrāvana and continues daily till the end of the rains, and sacrifices are performed to various gods, specially Agni, with prayers for prosperous rains, and for protection from all danger, especially from the snake. But at the same time the snake is throughout the sacrifice honoured and addressed. The whole ceremony as laid down in the *Grihya-Sūtras* is minutely described by Dr. Winternitz, as far as the offerings of flowers and wood. This is followed by the ceremony of the *sarpabali* itself which is reserved for the concluding portion of the article. With this the first portion of a most interesting paper is concluded. The second portion is promised in the following number.

G. A. GIBBSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ELVES IN MADRAS.

South India has its elves in the *kuttichātris*, who are mischievous, but not malicious.

One favorite trick is to assume the form of an absent relative and knock at the door of the house. If admitted, he will spoil the house food. Food that turns sour or bad, when prepared overnight to stand for the morning, has been the sport of a *kuttichātri*! The way to counteract

him, is to oblige any person knocking at a door to answer four times before admittance, as the elves only call three times, and if they get no answer they go away.

You can always tell a *kuttichātri* by his having no feet, and it is as well to examine the lower extremity of all persons entering your house.

Madras.

S. M. NATASA SASTRI.

BOOK NOTICES.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE HLUTDAW, compiled by Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, and published by authority. Rangoon, 1889.

At the taking of Mandalay, a very valuable Record Office and an official library fell to the British Government, the contents of which have been carefully catalogued, and stored at Rangoon, the India Office, and other places. From time to time Selections of the Burmese Records are being published, and the volume before us, which is entirely in Burmese, contains extracts from the Records of the Hluttaw (officially Hluttaw for some occult reason) or Privy Council Chamber. The main object of the records would appear to be to note the style in which official Burmese was written at the Court. This differs considerably from that in vogue in official corre-

spondence at Rangoon and Lower Burma under the British Government, and is still a source of much grumbling at Mandalay, where the Lower Burma style is held to be harsh, uncouth, and impolite.

But apart from their interest as samples of style, the present extracts are valuable as historical documents, and as an index to modern Burmese customs and manners. They are divided into Royal Orders, Laws, and Regulations, Contracts, Leases and Licenses, Civil and Criminal Law Proceedings, Letters to and from Provincial Officials, Papers relating to the Shan States, Memoranda and Instructions, and Ecclesiastical Papers.

As an instructive commentary on the Edicts of Aśoka and similar documents, and the danger of

laying too much stress on such, as indications of the public character of a ruler, we may cite the following Royal Orders of King Thibaw, contained in these extracts. He commands that "in the interests of the Buddhist Religion" copies should be made of the *Pitakas*. He appoints twelve titled *sadaws* (= *sayddaw* = abbot, bishop, chief of a monastery) to be members of the Ecclesiastical Council. He fixes the date on which Lent was to be observed by the Buddhist priesthood in the year 1242 B. E. (1880 A.D.). He commands qualified monks "to recite the *Vibhata Vibhanga* at the Myénandaw Palace" (at Mandalay). He commands the holding of the annual examinations in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Thudama Hall (at Mandalay). He commands the ministers "to make arrangements for His Majesty's visit to the Mahāmyātmuni Pagoda (the 'Arakan Pagoda' of Europeans at Mandalay) for the purpose of unveiling the image of Gautama-Buddha and offering a crown to be placed on it." And sandwiched among these religious "orders" we find one abolishing monopolies! How purely perfunctory these edicts were, all those acquainted with the real facts of Thibaw's reign must be well aware. At any rate the abolition of monopolies was purely a paper measure. At the same time Thibaw is exceedingly "learned in the law," a good disputant in matters concerning his religion, and exceptionally well posted in the aphorisms connected therewith. Practice was another matter.

These are followed by a series of royal orders granting various important posts, which are hardly of interest except for style; but the order determining the form of the oath of allegiance and King Pagan's address to his army marching to Hanthāwādī (Rangoon) in B. E. 1213 (A.D. 1851) are of general interest. The address was not of much avail, as the army came to signal grief in 1852.

The succeeding chapters are mainly of interest to students of the law and general administration of such a people as the Burmese. We have rules for criminal and civil judicial procedure, and for appeals and legal costs, for the guidance of judges. Instructions also to revenue collectors, provincial governors, town and district officials and magistrates, and as to the grant of waste-lands and the levying of the *thāthawāda* (capitation) tax. We have also specimens of contracts, leases and licenses, petitions, complaints, and depositions. Here some of the subjects are interesting, as giving an insight into the life of the people and the methods of the late Government. There are complaints that a revenue collector had mortgaged his circle and was receiving illegal gratifications, and against an admiralty official (the Burmese

Admiralty was confined to the rivers) for taking bribes. There is an application to recover arrears of monopoly revenue and a complaint about the abduction of a wife. Among the "civil suits," of which judgments, sentences, and orders are given in sample, are several which should attract attention; e. g., those about the property of a deceased monk, about lands granted by the Burmese king, in feudal tenure, about claims to shares in inheritance of the property of a deceased husband and wife by persons claiming to be separately heirs of each, about the testamentary disposition of his estate by a man who had children by two marriages; about the division of an estate left by a grandmother and an aunt, and of another between the wife and child and a "lesser" wife of the deceased. Shān life is exhibited in the sentence in a case of "raiding into complainant's territory" on the part of a Shān magnate.

Peeps into Burmese Court and official life are to be got in the letters to officials and *vice versa*. Thus, an escort is to be provided for "a daughter presented to His Majesty by the Chief of Mayittaung," certain people are exempted from contributions for the maintenance of a cavalry regiment, and a Shān Chief is ordered to receive presents from His Majesty "in a respectful manner."

As regards the Shān States generally there are no less than 28 valuable extracts given illustrating their attitude towards the Burmese Court, and among the Ecclesiastical Papers there are sixteen which would be worth translating for the behoof of students in general, especially as showing the time and attention paid by the Court to matters of superstition, which might have been so much better employed in really coping with the administrative difficulties always present, i.e., presuming that any person belonging to it was capable of such work.

A correspondence from the Wungyis (Ministers) and Atwinwuns (Secretaries of State) to the Sayādaws (Abbots, Bishops) about a list of monks "learned in religious books" to be sent to distant parts of "the Empire" for the propagation of the Buddhist religion, and the propriety of sending them abroad before the coronation ceremony of King Thibaw, will awaken many a memory in the minds of Indian scholars.

In thus giving a brief outline of this valuable work, we have shown, we think, that it would be worth the while, of the Burmese Government to have it translated and to produce many more like it. Of course, in its present shape, its usefulness is very limited, and therefore there is much danger of its contents being lost sight of altogether.

R. C. T.

AN INSCRIPTION IN A BUDDHISTIC VARIETY OF NAIL-HEADED CHARACTERS.

BY CECIL BENDALL, M.A.

THE present inscription is on the pedestal of a brass image of Buddha, which belongs to Mr. James Robinson, C.E., of Gaya, the chief town of the Gaya District, Bengal Presidency, and which seems to have been obtained somewhere in that neighbourhood. It has been incidentally noticed by Mr. Fleet, in his *Gupta Inscriptions* (Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III.), p. 19, note 1; but it is now considered in full for the first time, from Mr. Fleet's ink-impression, and from the lithograph prepared from it.

Mr. Fleet's account of the image &c., is as follows: — "The image is about 6½" high, of which measure about 1½" are occupied by the pedestal or seat. It represents Buddha, squatting on the pedestal or seat, with his legs crossed and the soles of his feet turned upwards. His left hand rests in his lap, with the palm upwards; his right arm hangs down, with the hand resting on the right knee. His head either is covered with a close-fitting beaded skull-cap, or else has the hair done up in beaded knobs; and the long ends of the hair are wound up into a top-knot on the centre of the head. In the centre of the forehead, just over the root of the nose, there is a silver dot, or the head of a pin. And from the ears there hang long pendants. A band or ribbon hangs over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The right side of the body is naked; but the left side shews a cloth at the back, with one of the ends of it lying over the left shoulder. The legs seem to be unclothed. The pedestal or seat is triangular, about 4½" broad by 2½" from front to back, with the angles rounded off. It is hollow. And the inscription is on the bottom side of a plate which forms the bottom of the pedestal, and which, not having been cast as an actual part of the pedestal itself, slides out at the right side of the pedestal where the beaded rim of it has been broken away. Following the shape of the pedestal, this plate is triangular, about 4½" by 2½", with the angles rounded off. Differing from the image and pedestal, which are of brass, the inscribed plate seems to be of copper. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation, except for some lines or furrows, — caused apparently by the plate having rubbed against some hard substance, — which rather spoil the first *akshara* in lines 1 and 2. The weight of the image and pedestal is about 1 lb. 12½ oz., and of the inscribed plate, about 2½ oz.; total, 1 lb. 14½ oz."

The inscription is as follows: —

TEXT.¹

- 1 Śrī-Dharmavarada-hātu² || Śrī-Brahmaputra-Saṅgha-pra-
- 2 vāla(ṇ)³ Śrī-Rājākṣa(ṇ)-Yakṣapāla tatputra⁴ Āhava-
- 3 masya dāyadharma-yam ||

TRANSLATION.

For the sake of Dharmavarada. This is the votive gift of the scion of the Brahmaputra congregation, Rājākṣa (ṇ), Yakṣapāla his son, Āhavamalla (or, son of Yakṣapālita).

In the first two examples of this form of character to which I called attention soon after my discovery of them, a leading feature was a small triangular point at the head of most of the vertical strokes of consonants. Hence I named the character 'arrow-headed,' or 'point-

¹ From the ink-impression and lithograph.

² *Āṭa*, used at the end of compounds, as an indeclinable and equivalent to *orikāṇ*, occurs in Pāli, but is not quoted in Sanskrit.

³ I am not confident of this reading, as the side-stroke for *r* is somewhat strange in this position and the sign that I take for *v* is indistinct, but perhaps 'scion of the Saṅgha' is an allowable expression.

⁴ Or perhaps, *Yakṣapālita-putra*.

headed.⁵ Here, however, this feature is wanting and we get in its place the ordinary 'nail-head' ornament, fairly well-known in Indian epigraphy. It is interesting to note that this, the third specimen of this writing,—for I hope to show that it is substantially the same character as that of the other two examples,—is Buddhistic, and comes from Eastern India. Should other specimens be found with these characteristics, one would be tempted to conjecture that it is none other than the *bhaktishuklī* of Alberūnī, "the writing of Buddha, used in Udappur in the Eastern Country" (see Sachau's Translation, ch. xvi, p. 173).

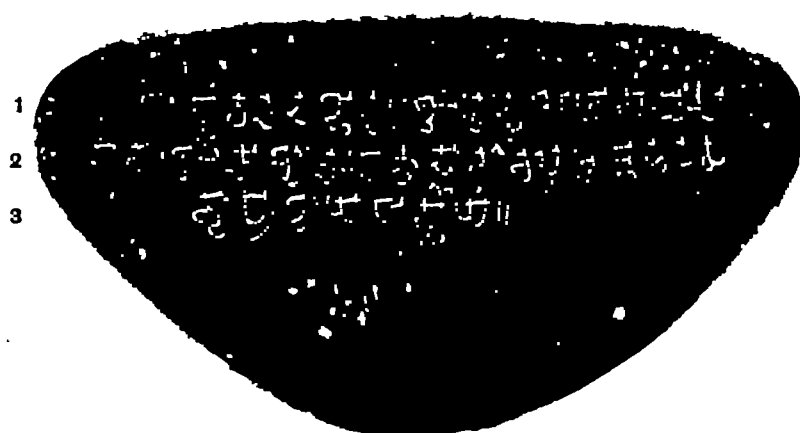
In treating of the palaeography of this inscription, I shall express myself most briefly by referring to my paper already mentioned, citing it by the pages of the complete volume of the 'Ariache Section' in the Congress Transactions. (1) The first, then, of what I have regarded as the three leading features,—the triangular top-ornament,—is found in consonants only in the modified, and possibly equally archaic, form of the 'nail-head.' It survives however in the form of medial *ī*, which may be compared with the forms given in the second column of the Table accompanying my paper. (2) The second feature (p. 113), — the wedge-like mark on the right-hand side of several letters, — is found in the only two of this group that occur in simple (*i.e.* un-vocalized) form in the inscription, *vis.* in *dha* and (less clearly) in *la*. (3) The third point,—the absence of the vertical side-line found in Nāgarī and kindred alphabets in च च न च न प म ञ ल व ष and ष, is maintained here also, though perhaps hardly so clearly in the case of the symbol for *ta*. (4) Initial vowels. If I read this name Āhavamalla aright, the *ā* corresponds remarkably with the MS. (p. 114). (5) Consonants. *Gh* corresponds (p. 117), but the straight horizontal top is somewhat modern. *P*; the double form of this letter is a characteristic feature of the alphabet. The more archaic form, a survival of the simple hook-like sign of the Aśoka alphabet, occurs, as I have shown in my previous essay (p. 118), in the combinations *pa* and *pi* only. The former may be seen in line 2 of the present inscription. The small cross-stroke distinguishing the character from that for *d*, and similar to the distinction between the Roman C and G, may just be made out. The other form, more modern, but still with open top, is also exemplified here. *M* is an interesting form, as it shows the transition from the Aśoka form, where there is a large loop below the main part of the letter, to the modern form with a small loop at the left-hand side. *Y*; this archaic form corresponds precisely with that of the MS. *R* and *ś*; these are highly curious if not unique forms, as I have observed on the corresponding symbols in the MS. *L*; as a single letter this corresponds with the MS., but in the double form, in line 3, the first part appears slightly more modern. *S* bears a general similarity to the form of the MS., but the distinction between it and *m* is in the present document better preserved by the distinguishing addition (here a figure more like a small square than a loop) being placed still higher up on the left hand of the body of the letter. *H* is somewhat more angular in form than in the MS., and herein corresponds more closely with the example of this character found in the Calcutta Museum (Bihār, 68). (6) Medial vowels. *I*, *ī*; the short vowel I read with some hesitation in line 2, but the long corresponds well with the unique form of the MS. *U*; this occurs in both the forms noted in the MS., *vis.* the curl to the right (here in *ta* only, and that to the left.

I refrain from further comment on an inscription, of which I have not seen the original, as I am not sure of my readings of several of the letters.⁶ Possibly a further study of this document in connexion with the inscription above cited in the Calcutta Museum may throw more light on both.

⁵ *Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*. Ar. Sect., p. 111. Cf. my *Journey in Nepal*, p. 22.

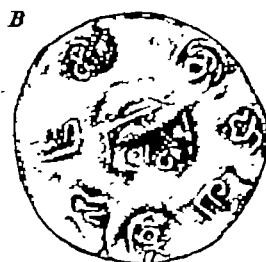
⁶ [The lithograph, however, is an absolutely exact reproduction of the original.—J. F. F.]

Inscription at the bottom of an image of Buddha from Gaya.

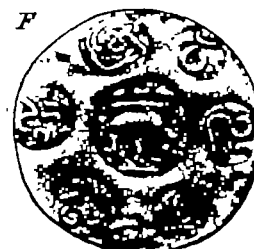
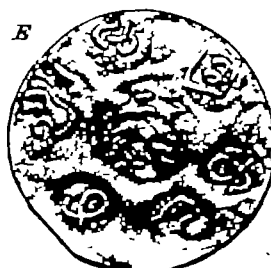
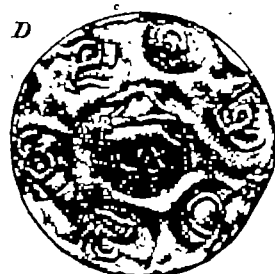


FULL-SIZE.

Coins of Chalukya-Chandra or Saktivarman.



Coins of Rajaraja II.



J. F. FLEET, NO. O.S.

FULL-SIZE.

W. GRIEBS, PHOTO-LIT.

SOME GOLD COINS OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS
SAKTIVARMAN AND RAJARAJA II.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

The class of coins now under examination seems to have been first brought to public notice in 1846 by Lieut. Thos. Latter, who in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XV. Plate iii. No. 6, published a lithograph of a coin almost exactly identical with that shewn as A. in the accompanying Plate, and made the following remarks on it (*id.* p. 240) in his paper on "the Symbolical Coins of Arakan:—" "The coin No. 6, though not belonging to the country, is represented here, having been found on the seashore of the Island of Ramree with several others. It is of gold, and thin. The central portion represents an animal like a pig, with a representation of the Bo-tree above, and a monographic character ॐ beneath. Around are certain characters which an intelligent Buddhist priest declares to be old Cingalese, and to compose the words *Pawaraganran thooradaa*, commencing from the letter marked (a). The first letter appears to have been mistaken by him; the first half composing it, being indistinct, appears to have escaped his attention. The name he gives is that of one of the old kings of Ceylon."

The only other notice of these coins that I can find, is by Sir Walter Elliot, in his *Coins of Southern India* (International Numismata Orientalia, Vol. III. Part II.), pp. 51, 54, 66, 67, and 152 D., and in Plate iii. Nos. 79, 80, where he published excellent autotype facsimiles of the coins shewn as A. and D. in the accompanying Plate. His description of them (*id.* p. 152 D.) is as follows:—

"No. 79. — Gold. Weight, $65\frac{9}{10}$ grains. A large thin plate, having on the *Obv.* the figure of a boar in the centre under an umbrella, and two chowries with the *taurus* symbol, and a lamp in front of and another behind the animal; around, impressed by separate punches, old Osanese letters, reading *Sri Okhlukeya Vallabha*. The last word doubtful. *Rev.* Plain. Another specimen has been figured by Lieut. Latter in J. A. S. B. XV. p. 240, fig. 6.

"No. 80. — Gold. Weight, $66\frac{4}{10}$ grains. *Obv.* Similar to the above, the separate letters reading *Sri Raja Raja*, and a doubtful letter which has been read *ndra* or *rya* (pp. 51, 54, 66, 67, 70). With these compare Nos. 19, 20, of Plate i."

Sir Walter Elliot rightly recognised them as Chalukya coins. But he was not so correct in his further treatment of them; in consequence of his adhering too closely to the theories regarding 'punch-coins.' And the case of these coins furnishes a pointed instance of the fact that it is useless to build up history on numismatic bases, until the latter have been very carefully tested by and arranged in accordance with epigraphical evidence. 'Punch-coins' are coins on which the symbols, or the letters of a legend, are each impressed by the separate stroke of a punch; and the first appearance of them in India is allotted to a time "long before the appearance of the die-coinage introduced by the Andhras" (*Coins of Southern India*, p. 45). They are, in fact, held to be the first attempts that were made in the direction of a metallic currency, when a desire grew up to avoid the inconveniences of the primitive system of barter. And it is considered that, as the art of coinage developed, "the use of the punch gradually gave way to the exclusive employment of a matrix or die," which latter "at first was of the simplest form, and appears to have been a reversal of the superior action of the punch by striking the gold plate upon the single symbol placed below, and then adding the additional symbols by the old-fashioned process around the central device, leaving the other side or reverse plain, except where it shows the grain of the anvil or basis on which it rested" (*id.* p. 54-55). And it is undoubtedly owing to an opinion that the making of punch-coins quite died out when the art of coinage from matrices or dies had fully developed itself, that Sir Walter Elliot came to speak of these particular coins as being "the oldest specimens of gold punch coins hitherto discovered" (*id.* p. 51), and to stamp them as being "apparently the second step in advance from the primitive form" (*id.* p. 54). He further described the characters of the legends

as belonging to the fifth or sixth century A.D. (*id.* p. 67). And noting that the specimens obtained by himself "were found imbedded in the sand of the island of Ramree, the result of some ancient wreck" (*id.* p. 51); that "they have not hitherto been found within the limits of India proper" (*id.* p. 66); and that "the only authentic instances of their occurrence have been on the shore of the island of Ramri, though others have been brought from the kingdom of Siam" (*id.* p. 66, 67), the conclusion at which he arrived, was, that their occurrence in such distant localities might be explained by the exploits attributed to the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalēśa, including "expeditions by sea" and a conquest of Rōvatīdvīpa. Mr. Wathen, following Col. Wilford, had suggested that this place might be Sumatra. While Prof. Wilson had given the opinion that it might have been an island off the coast of Malabar. Sir Walter Elliot, however, thought that the discovery of these coins on the coast of Arakan and in Siam, was in favour of a more distant locality; and he plainly seems to have been inclined to identify Rōvatīdvīpa with Ramri itself, though he does not expressly say so. His final conclusion (*id.* p. 67) was that, if his surmise was correct, we might suppose these gold pieces "to have been coined by Maṅgalēśa or one of his predecessors before the siege of Banawāni, when the conqueror, struck by the beauty of the *padma-tāṅkas*" of the Kadambas of that city, "adopted them as a model in substitution of the ruder type which formerly prevailed in the Chalukya mint."

As regards Maṅgalēśa, however, there are no indications that he made any distant expeditions by sea. All that the Miraj grant says of him, is, that he was powerful enough to invade all islands, and that, crossing the ocean by means of bridges of boats, he effected the plundering of Rōvatīdvīpa (*ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 13). While the Aihole inscription simply says that, when he was reducing Rōvatīdvīpa, his mighty army, which had beset the ramparts, was reflected in the water of the ocean, so that it seemed to be the army of Varuṇa, which had come at his command (*ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 243 f.). This indicates an attack on a fortress on the seashore. And Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 37 f.) has pointed out that Rōvatī was probably the old name of Rāḍī, a few miles to the south of Veṅgurla. Rāḍī (the 'Heree' of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, Lat. 15° 45' N., Long. 78° 44' E.) is a town and port in the Ratnāgiri District, Bombay Presidency; and the map shews a large fort, commanding the entrance to the creek which forms the port, beyond which there juts out a large promontory to the west, on the south of the fort. Whether this fort is of any great antiquity, I am unable to say. But I notice that the map shews also, at the mouth of another creek on the south side of the promontory, another fort, the name of which is entered as 'Tarekhol.' Probably in ancient times this promontory was a regular stronghold, protected by fortresses where the two now stand, and by fortifications between them; and doubtless it was not so well guarded towards the sea as inland; so that an attack on it would be made from one or other of the creeks by means of boats or a bridge of boats. And there can be little doubt, if any, that this really is the place assaulted and plundered by Maṅgalēśa; the word *dvīpa*, *lit.* 'that which has two waters, i.e. water on two sides,' being applied to it in the sense of a 'peninsula or promontory,' not in the more usual meaning of 'an island.'

The island of Ramri, spoken of above, is an island, with a town of the same name, off the coast of British Burma, in the Kyauk-hpyū District, separated from the mainland of Arakan by a narrow but deep channel; it lies between Lat. 18° 51' to 19° 24' N., and Long. 93° 28' to 94° E. And close on the south-west of it, separated by what is known as the Cheduba Strait, there lies the smaller island of Cheduba, with a town of the same name, where also, as will be seen, some of these coins have been obtained.

It is curious that these coins should be found only in those localities and in Siam, at such a distance from Southern India across the Gulf of Bengal. But, curious as is the fact, the proper assignment of the coins is perfectly easy, and entirely free from doubt. And in connection with numismatic theories, they prove conclusively that the making of 'punch-coins' was at least occasionally revived, long after the time when the use of the die had been fully introduced.

In the first place, I have to point out that even the characters in which the legends are given, leave no doubt whatever that the coins belong to a period later by at least about four centuries than the time to which Sir Walter Elliot referred them. And in the second place, the six coins of which I have been able to give representations (see the Plate facing page 78 above), — chiefly through the kindness of Mr. E. J. Rapson, of the British Museum, in making casts for me; — give the names of two well-known kings of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, belonging to just the period that suits the palaeographical standard of the legends.

A. is one of Sir Walter Elliot's coins, now in the British Museum, and is the one shewn in *Coins of Southern India*, Plate iii. No. 79; its weight is 65·9 grains. B. also belongs to the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. U. Shwé Bu; weight, 66·2 grs. And C. belongs to General Pearce; weight, 66·1 grs. The reverse sides of these coins, as also of D. E. and F., are quite plain; except that, the coins being thin, the punch-marks show through on the backs of them more or less distinctly throughout. The centre part of each coin is occupied by a group of emblems; and it may be noted here that the same punch does not appear to have been used on any of these six coins, either in the emblems, or in the legends. The leading emblem is a boar, of the usual Chalukya type, standing to the proper left. Under the snout of the boar there is, — not the Pāli *ma*, as was supposed by Lient. Latter; nor the *taurus*-symbol, as Sir Walter Elliot thought, — but on A. and B. the Old-Kanarese character *ra*, and on C. *ka*; what these letters may denote, however, I am unable to say. Directly over the boar, and separated by a line, there seems to be an umbrella, expanded, with a *chauri* on each side of it. And in front of the boar, and behind it, there is a lamp-stand. Round these emblems there is a Sanskrit legend, in seven letters of the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet; beginning on C. directly over the boar; on A. a trifle to the proper left; and on B. still more to the left. On B. and C., as also on D. E. and F., the last character of the legend is very indifferently formed, and in fact hardly resembles at all what it was intended for; but it is clear enough on A. The other characters have, on all the specimens, been formed with more care. And the whole legend on these three coins is distinctly recognisable as *śrī-Chalukya-Chandraya*, "of the glorious Chalukya-Chandra." The person thus referred to is the Eastern Chalukya king Saktivarman, who reigned over the kingdom of Veṅḡ for twelve years, about A.D. 1000 to 1012. He is mentioned by his proper name of Saktivarman in line 19 of the Chellūr grant (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 56); and by his *biruda* or secondary name of Chalukya-Chandra, 'the moon of the Chalukyas,' in line 49 of the Korumelli grant (*id.* p. 52).

D. is the other of Sir Walter Elliot's coins, also now in the British Museum, and is the one shewn in *Coins of Southern India*, Plate iii. No. 80; its weight is 66·4 grains. E. and F. also belong to the British Museum, having been presented by Mr. H. Foster, who obtained them on the island of Cheduba; their weights are, respectively, 66·6 and 66·8 grains. Each of these three coins has in its centre the same emblems, described above; but there is a difference in the characters below the snout of the boar; that on D. being *ra*, as in the case of A. and B.; while on F. we have *vi*, and on E. apparently the same. The legend round the emblems on these three coins, consists of six characters, of the same alphabet as on A. B. and C.; on D. it commences in front of the boar; on F. almost directly over it; and on E. in an intermediate position. Allowing for the very indifferent execution of the last character, the whole legend on these three coins is distinctly recognisable as *śrī-Rājarājaya*, "of the glorious Rajaraja." And here the reference is to the Eastern Chalukya king RAJARAJA II., the nephew of Chalukyachandra-Saktivarman, who succeeded to the throne of Veṅḡ in A.D. 1021, and reigned for forty-one years.

From a memorandum which was sent in by Mr. U. Shwé Bu with the coin presented by him, and was handed over to me by Mr. Rapson, it appears that in Ramrī and Cheduba these coins are known by the name of *shwe-tha-bya*; and that, as to the circumstances under

which they came there, there is the following tradition, which very possibly indicates the truth about the matter, *vis.* that they were sent from India as religious offerings: —

"About two thousand years ago, during the time of king San-da-thu-ruja of Arakan, Gautama-Buddha went there from India. The king did worship to the Buddha, being much attracted by his preaching. And when the Buddha was about to return to India, the king and his subjects asked for permission to preserve and worship an image in memory of him. The Buddha assented. And then the king sent out notices to all the Buddhist kings, asking them to contribute metal, according to their means, for the fashioning of an image of the Buddha. With the contributions that came in, there was fashioned in seven metals, gold, silver, brass, copper, &c., an image which is now in Mandalay. Some of the kings brought their contributions to Arakan in person. Others started to do so, but did not arrive in time; and so the offerings brought by them were of no use, and had to be taken away again. On the way home, some of them happened to come to the island of Man-aung (Cheduba); and finding it uninhabited, — [and, I suppose, not wishing to apply to any worldly use articles which, though not actually accepted for a sacred object, had been dedicated to it,] — there they buried in the ground the metals which they had taken with them as religious offerings."

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from Vol. XVIII. page 309.)

CHAPTER III.

THE DETACHED ROCK EDICTS.

1. THE EDICTS OF DHAULI AND OF JAUGADA.¹

No part of our inscriptions has, I think, profited so much by the publication of the *Corpus*, as the two edicts which I now propose to study. Not only does it render the version of Jaugada for the first time accessible, but in a great many instances it rectifies readings given by Prinsep for Dhaul. Dr. Kern has also again taken up the interpretation of both the inscriptions, and has published a new transcription and a new translation in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. I need hardly say that he has thoroughly improved the version of Burnouf. Nevertheless, our present knowledge of these monuments is still at a stage when the last word is not yet said, with regard either to the reading or to the interpretation. I owe to the inexhaustible kindness of Mr. Burgess the communication of new rubbings of both the rocks; and it is very doubtful if, after so experienced and skilled a hand has passed over them, further examination will bring us more light in the future. Unfortunately the preservation of the rock is very imperfect, especially at Jaugada, where it seems to have undergone intentional mutilation. At any rate, these rubbings have permitted me, as we shall see, to correct General Cunningham in the reading of several passages, and to submit to

¹ Since the work, here translated, was published, these two inscriptions have been studied anew by Prof. Bühler (*Journ. Ger. Orient. Society*, XL, 1, and ff.). It would lead me too far, should I undertake to introduce here into my commentary and translation the various changes which are necessary, either to embody the progress, which my learned friend has not failed more than once to make towards realising the exact meaning of the text, or to uphold such of my interpretations as still appear to me to have been unduly rejected. I, besides, consider it necessary that my essay should keep its chronological place in a study which at some future period will certainly be taken up again. I therefore content myself with entering below my original text, line by line, the readings of Prof. Bühler, whenever they differ from mine. No doubt, his revision, founded as it is upon a more recent attempt and upon better documents, will in most cases prove more trustworthy than all previous decipherments. Of course, the differences bear generally on minute details, and the cases are few where these variants are such as to modify the paleographical basis on which my explanations had to rest.—THE AUTHOR.

a decisive test the correctness of various conjectures of my predecessors. Even when they do not introduce new elements to our consideration, the experienced reader will understand how much security the direct inspection of these immediate and necessarily accurate reproductions gives to the commentator. They bring us, I consider, sensibly nearer a definite understanding of the two texts, and all Indian scholars will share my gratitude to Mr. Burgess.

The order according to which the two edicts are numbered has only a secondary importance. It is simplest to preserve that which has been introduced by Prinsep, and which, adhered to by Burnouf, has become in a manner traditional. It is moreover recommended by a further reason which was not noticed by the earliest interpreters; the two edicts, while resembling each other in their general tone, differ essentially in the fact that one refers only to the subjects of the king, and the other to the frontier populations not incorporated in his Empire. It is natural to arrange them in the order which the two interests ought to have occupied in the thoughts of Piyadasi.

FIRST EDICT.

Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, 1888, pp. 434 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 671 and ff. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, p. 268, n. 1-5; Kern, *Jaart. der suyd. Buddh.*, pp. 101 and ff.; *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XII., pp. 384 and ff.

TEXT.*

DHAULI.

(1) Dēvaṇāmpiyasa vachanēna
tōsalīyaṃ mahāmāta naga-
laviyōhālaka (2) vataviyaṃ¹ [·]
aṃ kicchhi dakhāmi hakam
taṃ ichhāmi kiṃti kam . na
paṭipātayēham (3) duvālatē
cha ālabhēham² [·] ēsa cha mē
mōkhiyamata duvālē ētasi a-
ṭhasi aṃ tūphēsu (4) anu-

JAUGADA.

Dēvaṇāmpiyē hēvaṃ āhā [·]
samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā naga-
laviyōhālaka hē . vataviyā [·]
aṃ kicchhi dakhāmi hakam
taṃ ichhāmi kiṃti . kamana
paṭipātayēham³ (2) duvālatē
cha ālabhēham [·] ēsa cha mē
mōkhiyamata duvālam
aṃ tūphēsu anu-

* Professor Bühler's readings:—

FIRST EDICT.

DHAULI.

- L. 1. "hālaka.
- L. 2. . . vataviya"; "kashmana".
- L. 5. "athā".
- L. 6. "ti tathā . . muni".
- L. 7. "iyath aṭhā kē"; "dēkhātē hi".
- L. 8. "hōti.
- L. 9. "cha . . bahujanē".
- L. 11. "ayēna kilamathāna".
- L. 12. jātā.
- L. 13. "ugāohh. sah".

- L. 14. "samāpāpāda.
- L. 16. "manābhālekā"; "mānē ohu ē".
- L. 17. "mātha ta . . . ānaniyam"; "sōtaviya.
- L. 18. "tiē khānāsi khānāsi".
- L. 19. "likhita hi".
- L. 20. "magalaviyōhālaka"; "palibōdhē va.
- L. 21. "ajhāyē".
- L. 23. "kalarāti"; "pi ohu kumālē".
- L. 24. "tinnī"; "takhasilātē".
- L. 25. "ahāpayitu".

JAUGADA.

- L. 1. "hē . th va"; "kashmanā".
- L. 2. "āyāta pa"; "savanunāsi".
- L. 3. "pālālakikēna hē"; "ēsu nō cha tūphē ētān pāpu-
nātha āvagamakē.
- L. 4. "aṭhā"; "manāti"; "dēvaṃ nē sa"; "phē kusvitā";
"bahuka aṭhi yē"; "lēvaṃ hi pā"; "tata hōti aka.
- L. 5. "bahadhamantika . . cha"; "vēdayati"; "hi ichhi";
"iadyē".
- L. 3. "anāvutiyē āsavyēna"; "niti ē yath".

- L. 7. "aṭhāyē sah"; "vajitaviya pā"; "yē hēvaṃ hēvaṃ
cha"; "sa anuvāthi.
- L. 8. "kutē manāsa — .
- L. 9. "āṭṭi kha. na a. taviyā ēk . . pi . . va — manā
cha —
- L. 10. "ajhāyē"; "liptē"; "yath yu . yu tinnē hi —
- L. 11. "nīkhamāyisām"; "pachadach aphalabata. vachanēti
— i. mālēva —
- L. 12. — ājavachanika vāda"; "kashmanā ē. ni pi . n —

sathi³ [·] tuphê hi bahusû
pânasahasêsu âyatâ panayam
gaohhêma sumunisânâ⁴ [·]
savê (5) munisê pajâ mamâ [·]
atha pajâyê ichhâmi ha-
kam kimti savêna hita-
sukhêna hidalôkika (6)-
pâlâlôkikâyê yujêvâtî...⁵ muni-
sêsu pi ichhâmi hakam [·]
nô cha pâpunâtha âvâga - (7)
makê⁶ [·] iyam atha kêchha
va êkapulisê manâti êtam sê
pi dêsam nô savam⁷ [·] dê-
khatê hi tuphê êtam (8)
suvitâpi niti⁸ [·] iyam êka-
pulisê pi athi yê bândha-
nam vâ palikilêsam⁹ vâ pâpu-
nâti [·] tata hôta (9) akasamâ
têna¹⁰ bândhanamtika [·]
amnê cha . . hujanê daviyê¹¹
dukhiyati [·] tata ichhitaviyê
(10) tuphêhi kimti majham
patipâdayêmatî¹² [·] imêhi
chu jâtêhi¹³ nô sampatipajati
isâya âsulôpêna (11) nithû-
liyêna tûlanâya anâvâtîya
âlasiyêna kâlamathêna [·]
sê ichhitaviyê kimti êtê (12)
jatâ nô huvêvu mamâti [·]
êtasa¹⁴ cha savasa mûlê anâsu-
lôpê atûlanâ cha nitiyam [·]
ê kilamê¹⁵ siyâ (13) na sê
ugaohha samchalitaviyê tu
vajitaviyê êtaviyê vâ [·] hê-
vamêva ê dakhiyê tuphâ-
ka¹⁶ [·] tēna vataviyê (14) am-
nam nê dēkhata¹⁷ hēvam cha
hēvam cha dēvānampiyasa anu-
sathi [·] sê mahâ . lē¹⁸ êtasa
sāmpatipādê (15) mahâ-
apâyê asāmpatipati [·] vipa-
tipādāyamnêhi¹⁹ êtam nathi
svagasa âladhi nô lājâdhi
[·] (16) duâhalê²⁰ hi imasa
kamasa mē kutê mana-
atilêkê [·] sām̐patipajam̐nê
cha êtam svagam̐ (17) âlâ-
dhayisatha t naniyam
êhatha²¹ [·] iyam cha lipi tisana-
khatêna²² so . viyam (18) am-
talâpi cha tisêna khamasi kha . .
si êkêna pi sôta viya [·] hēvam

sathi [·] phê³⁰ hi bahûsu
pânasahasêsu â . . . pana .
gaohhêma sumunisânâ [·]
savê munisê (3) pajâ [·]
atha pajâyê ichhâmi
kimtimê³¹ savêna hita-
sukhêna yujêvâtî hidalôgika-
pâlâlôkikâyê hēmêva mē
ichha savamunisêsu [·] . . .
pâpunâtha âvâga-
makê [·] (4) iyam atha kêchâ
êkapulisê pi manati sê
pi dêsam nê savam [·] da-
khatâ hi tuphê
pisuvitâpi³² [·] bahukê aghi
yê³³ êti êkamunisê bândha-
nam palikilêsam pi pâpu-
nâti [·] tata . ta aka (5) smâ
tēna bândha

—cha vagê ba-
hukê vêdayamti [·] tata tuphê-
hi . chhitayê kimti majham
patipâtayêma [·] imêhi
jâtêhi nô sām̐patipajati
isâya âsulôpêna nithu-
liyêna (6) tulâyê anâvâtîyê
âlasiyêna kâlamathêna [·]
hēvam ichhitaviyê kimti mē
êtâni jâtâni nô hêvâtî [·]
savasa cha iyam mûlê anâsu-
lôpê atulanâ cha niti iyam³⁴ [·]
ê kilamê siyâ na (7) sam-
chalitu uthi³⁵ . samchalitaviyê tu
vajitaviyê pi êtaviyê pi [·]
nitiyam ê vê dēkhêyi³⁶ [·]
amna nê
nijhapêtaviyê hēvam .
cha dēvānampiya . . nu-
sathi [·] — (8) tam mahâphalê
hôtî sām̐patipati
mahâpâyê hôtî [·] vipa-
tipâtayam̐tam nê³⁷
svagâladhi nô . lājâdhi
[·] duâhalê êtasa
kamasa samê³⁸ kutê ma
— mâ . nê
(9) cha ânanêyam êsatha
svagam̐ cha âlâdhayi-
sathâ [·] iyam cha lipi anutisam̐
sôta viyâ a-
lâpi va. nasâtatîlâ ê . ka . pi³⁹

cha kalāntam tuphē (19) cha-
ghatha²³ saṃpaṭipādayitavē
[.] ētāyē aṭhāyē iyaṃ lipi
likhitā hida ēna (20) naga-
laviyōpālakā saṣvataṃ sa-
mayam yujēvūti nagalajana-
sa akasmāpalibōdha²⁴ va
(21) akasmāpalikilēsa va nō
siyāti [.] ētāyē cha aṭhāyē
hakam dhammatē paṃchasa
paṃchasa vae-(22)-su²⁵ nikhā-
mayisāmi ē akhakhassē achari-
ḍa sakhinālabbhē hōsati [.]
ētam aṭham jānitu tathā (23)
kalati aṭha mama anu-
sathīti²⁶ [.] nṇēnitē pi cha ku-
māle etāyē va aṭhāyē ni-
khāmayisati (24) hēdisaṃm
ēva vagam²⁷ nō cha atikā-
mayisati tini vasaṇi [.] hēmē
va tākhasilātē pi [.] adā
a . . . (25) tē mahāmātā ni-
khamisanti, anusaṃyānam²⁸ ta-
dā ahāpayita atane kam-
mam etam pi jānisanti (26)
tam pi tathā kalanti aṭha
lājinē anusaṭhīti [.]

—————(10) tavē
[.] ētāyē cha aṭhāyē iyaṃ . khi-
tā lipi ēna mahāmātā
nagalaka saṣvataṃ sa-
mayam . . ka . ya . ēnā

—————(11) paṃchasa
paṃchasa vaeṣu anusaṃyānam
nikhāmayisāmi mahāmātā achari-
ḍam phalahata
vāchēnēlā

————— nṇēniku
mālē vi . tasettē

—————(12) ————javachanika⁴⁰ tada
anusaṃyānam nikhamisanti
atanē karimam ————

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. *Vataviyāṣ* for *vataviyāṣ*. Comparison with Jaugada leaves no doubt as to the plural, contrary to the opinion of Burnouf.

2. The difficulty of this sentence resides in the words which follow *kāṣṭhā*. The reading *saṃnāṣ* given by the facsimile of the *Corpus* is not tenable, and there is no room at Dhauli for the four letters supposed by the conjecture *asṇāṣ* *ēna* of Dr. Kern. Unfortunately the parallel passages are either incomplete (at Dhauli in the 2nd Edict) or (at Jaugada) are not particularly clear, and moreover both contain one character too many. I have, however, little hesitation as to the correct reading. Trusting to the first and third letters (which are very distinct in Mr. Burgess's *facsimile*), I complete the word as *kāṣṭh[ma]na*. Jaugada lends itself well to this restoration, so far as regards the three last characters. As regards the first, which is certainly *ka* in the 2nd Edict, and probably also in the first, our only resource is to consider it as an erroneous repetition. We shall see lower down, how the Jaugada text presents to us enough examples of very similar pieces of carelessness to justify this conjecture, especially with the evidence of Dhauli, which certainly had only three letters. On the other hand, Jaugada suggests a useful correction for the next word; for, if following the reading *paṭipādayāṣam* (cf. lower down, line 5, where *paṭipādayāṣma* corresponds to *paṭipādayāṣma* of Dhauli), we correct the Dhauli reading to *paṭipādayāṣaṣ*, we obtain a translation very consistent with *ḍaṣṭhāṣa*; 'All the views which I entertain, I desire to have brought into practice,' literally, 'to have them practised in fact,' — a very natural antithesis between, on one side, the thought, and, on the other, the action. *Daṣṭh*, therefore, takes here a special shade of meaning; it is

to see in the sense of *recognising, believing*. We may compare the common use in Buddhist language of *drishti* to mean 'theory,' 'doctrine,' and thence, in particular, 'a doctrine which is peculiar, heretical.' Dr. Kern has well explained *duśāla* by the Sanskrit *duśra*, which we must take in its figurative sense of 'means.'

3. Dr. Kern has rendered an essential service to the understanding of the whole of this passage, by recognising in the base *tupha*, the Prākṛit *tumha* (cf. *Hemachandra*, Ed. Pischel, III. 31, &c.), instead of the *stūpa*, which misled Prinsep, Lassen and Burnouf alike in interpreting the whole edict (cf. *Jaartell. der myd. Buddh.*, p. 102). We shall see, lower down, that our rubbings permit us to add a new form to those which he has recognised. Here they establish a perfect harmony between the two passages, by giving us the reading *tuphāsu*; while as regards the analogous forms, *aphākam*, *aphāsu*, for the pronoun of the first person, see below in the 2nd det. edict. We may take *am* as a neuter and refer it to *duśāraṇa*, or we may consider it as another spelling of the feminine *yā*, and connect it with *amūsaṭhi*; in either case, the sense remains the same. The principal means of action, according to Piyadasi, are the instructions which he imposes upon his officers.

4. Regarding *āyatā*, see above Col. Ed. VIII. L; IV. 8 and note. With regard to what follows, repeated examinations of the rubbings have convinced me of the correctness of the reading *parayasa*, which, with *gachhāma* (the word is perfectly clear), gives a very natural construction. The only matter of doubt, and it is not of great importance, is as to what is the subject of *gachhāma*. It would seem most natural that it should be the king himself, who is speaking; 'I have appointed you that I may gain the affection of good men.' But Piyadasi rarely speaks of himself except in the singular, and besides, it seems to me that *parayasa* 'affection,' is too modest and familiar a term to be used with reference to the king. I think, therefore, that the verb has for its subject the *mahāmātras* themselves. We should, strictly, expect an *iti* at the end of the sentence, which however is often wanting in analogous cases; and I understand that the king appointed these officers with the intention that they should set themselves to gaining the affection, the confidence, of good men. This view explains the importance attached by the king to the instructions which he delivers to them. The source of their authority is the very confidence which they succeed in inspiring.

5. As a whole this sentence is quite clear. Traces which are apparent on the rubbing leave me little hesitation in restoring it as *vāti tathā savamuni*. *Tathā* corresponds well with the *kāṃva* of Jaugada; both are correlatives of the *yathā* which precedes. We need not divide the sentence after *iti*, it goes on down to *hakaṇa* inclusive.

6. This is the passage in the edict which leaves me in the greatest uncertainty. Unfortunately Jaugada has a lacuna here; but the text certainly contained several characters, whether one word or two, more than that of Dhauli. The reading, *dukaṇa*, of the *Corpus* is condemned by the rubbings which have clearly *hakaṇa*. The sentence therefore only commences with *nō*. With regard to the verb *pāpundīha*, Dr. Kern seeks in it a third person singular. All analogies are contrary to this interpretation; it can only be a second person plural. Thus not only does the supposed object (*dukaṇa* corrected to *dukkhaṇa*) disappear, but we are compelled to admit another subject. I believe that Jaugada in the indistinct characters at the beginning of the sentence gives us both. The reading *nō cha tuphā* appears to me to be almost certain. I dare not be so positive as to the two following characters. It is very probable that the second was a *t*; and the former one can in that case hardly be anything but an *ḍ*. It is certain, at any rate, that the traces on the stone do not prohibit this suggestion. We are thus driven to translate the first words, 'and you will not obtain that.' It becomes at the same time clear, without our being compelled to assume any material error of the engraver, why the text of Dhauli omits the words *tuphā* and *ḍīha*. The second person implies of itself that the king here addresses, as above, his officers, and an object so vague as *ḍīha*, which only refers in a general way to the idea which the king has just expressed, can be omitted without too great

obscurity. A little lower down we shall meet the inverse case, when *śaśā* as an object, after *dāhata*, is expressed at Dhauli and omitted at Jaugada. There remains *śva* (or *vā*) *gamakāś*, which Dr. Kern understands as the Sanskrit *yāvad gāmyakāś*, *yāvadgamyāś*, 'as much as possible.' I must confess that I have many doubts as to this interpretation. This pleonastic use of the suffix *ka*, though common enough in Prākṛit, is rare in the language of our inscriptions. But I have nothing better to propose, and moreover this explanation agrees excellently with my general translation of the whole sentence, and allows me to distinguish more accurately the general purport of the phrase. *Gam* and *prāp* are, as used here, essentially synonyms. The king accordingly says to his officers, 'I desire the welfare of all men; and in this matter, you are not yet attaining to all the results which are obtainable.' Hence the new and more precise instructions which he immediately gives. We may join *iyāś* to this sentence without materially changing the meaning, but I prefer to connect it with what follows for two reasons; first, because this arrangement establishes between the two next sentences, *iyāś atthi kśāśa*; *iyāś śkapulīś pi atthi*, a formal parallelism which exists also in their ideas; and second, because it is improbable, supposing that I have deciphered Jaugada correctly, that the same object should, in the same sentence, at a distance of only two words, be referred to at one time by *śaśā*, and at another by *idāś*. There is no more difficulty in taking *iyāś* as a representative of the masculine *ayāś*, than in considering it as equivalent to the neuter *idāś*; for everywhere here the distinction between masculine and neuter is completely obliterated (cf. above, Col. Ed. II. note 1).

7. In order to understand this sentence and the following ones, it is important to note the general purport. A very instructive symmetry, between entire periods, rules the whole passage. We have successively three propositions: *iyāś atthi — śkapulīś*, *iyāś śkapulīś atthi*, *atthi oha bahujāś*, which are all counterparts of each other. Each points out a fact which is a matter of regret to the king, and is followed by another proposition, in which he indicates to his officers how they ought to cure the evil: *dāhata hi tuppāś . . .*, *tata hōta . . .*, *tata icchitaviyāś*. It will be seen how clearly the formal parallelism manifests itself. The first sentence, which immediately claims our attention, requires only one correction, viz. *atthi* into *atthi* or *atthi* (to judge from the rubbings, the difference between *atthi* and *atthi* is in the whole of this passage hardly distinguishable): a comparison with *atthi* in the sentence *iyāś śkapulīś pi atthi* leaves no doubt in the matter. For the general meaning of the whole passage, the 7th of the fourteen edicts gives us a valuable parallel: *śā* (i.e. *jana*, men) *sarvāś vā kāsāśi śkadāśāś vā kāsāśi* (G. I. 2). The objects, *sarvāś*, *śkadāśāś*, on the one side, and *śaśā dāśāś*, *sarvāś* on the other, of themselves challenge comparison. Dr. Kern ingeniously refers *śkapurūśa* to *śkavira*, recalling the sense in which the latter is used in a passage of the *Kṛichchhakaṣṭi*. He takes both in the meaning of a 'bad, culpable man,' 'a rogue;' but as *śkavira* has the accepted meaning of 'hero,' the passage cited in the play can only be employed in this way ironically. The quotation deals with 'heroes, valiant when pillaging the houses of others, but trembling before the police.' Nothing authorises us to admit for *śkapurūśa* the translation which we reject for *śkavira*. We shall see that the next sentence excludes this interpretation, for the word is used for men who have been imprisoned *without reason*. It is on the contrary, natural to attribute to it a value analogous to that of the Buddhist *prithagjana* and to that of our 'individual.' This fits in excellently with the whole sentence. Closely related to the indeterminate *jana* of the 7th edict above quoted, it completes the resemblance between the two passages. The verb alone is different, but *maṇḍi* may with confidence be explained by the meaning of 'to devote oneself to,' 'to pay attention to,' that is to say 'to respect,' the orders and instructions. I believe, therefore, that in the notes on the 7th edict, I have not accurately defined the value of *dāśa*. I derived its meaning from the customary sense of the Sanskrit *dāśa*. This translation only with difficulty suits the two other passages where the word occurs, in the 5th of the Fourteen Edicts (G. I. 3) and in the second detached edict of Dhauli and Jaugada in *dāśya*-*śāśa*. In the first instance the king, after declaring that those who follow his instructions will

prosper, adds, 'yō tu ātam dāsaṁ pihāpāsati sō dukataṁ kāsati.' There is no room here for any restriction, and we have been led to take *dāsa* in a sense more general than would suit the passage of the 7th edict. It would, of course, be preferable to adopt a translation which could be maintained uniformly throughout all the instances in which the word occurs. This meaning appears to me to be that of 'order,' 'commandment,' *dāsa* being equivalent to *saddāsa*. *Ekaddāsa* in the 7th edict will therefore mean 'one order in particular,' and here we can translate *ātam dāsaṁ* by 'such and such an order,' which comes practically to the same thing. There remains *dāsyutika*, of the next edict, in the sentence *tuphākaṁ dāsyutikaṁ kāsāmi*. We shall see that there can be no doubt about the general purport; the king says to his officers: 'It is thanks to you that I shall put my orders into practice.' The meaning which we are led to attribute to *dāsa* in the present passage is therefore again verified. The literal translation would be: 'I shall be having from you application to my orders.' Besides this interpretation, one other only is possible: it consists in taking *dāsa* in a meaning analogous to its use in Sanskrit, and to translate, 'I shall have you for substitutes, for lieutenants.' But not only would such a use of *dāsa* be very vague, and give an extremely embarrassed turn to the phrase, but we should be thus compelled to state for the word, in that one case, a meaning different from that which is required in the other passages just cited. The former method avoids every difficulty.

8. The reading *dkhātā* is probably founded merely on a fissure in the rock. Jaugada shows, and the pronoun *tuphā* makes it certain, that we have here a second person plural. The only difference is that Jaugada has *dakhātā*, that is to say, the new Pāli-Prākṛit termination, while Dhauli preserves the regular orthography of the classic imperative. We have no more sure check for our interpretations than the facility with which they establish a complete harmony between the two versions. It will have been remarked that wherever our rubbings give us new lessons, they tend to render more perfect the agreement between the two texts. Here, nevertheless, they differ in the close of the sentence; but this is only due to a material error in the original. The text of Jaugada is altered and cut short: *piṇvītā* should probably be read *hiṇvītā*, for *suṇvītā*; while, as for the words *nīti iyaṁ*, or simply *nīti*, which is sufficient, they have been carelessly omitted by the engraver. The reading of Jaugada appears actually to be unintelligible, while that of Dhauli lends itself to a satisfactory translation. It is sufficient to supply, as is done so commonly, the verb substantive *siyā* or *kāsati*, 'look to that,' says the king, 'and may the rule of conduct be well established,' 'well directed.' I would refer here to a passage of the 3rd (rock) edict (G. note f, and K. note g); where I believe that I have established, both at Dhauli and Kapur-di-giri, in passages which are unfortunately uncertain as fragmentary, the phrase *anuntī*. If my conjecture is verified, *nīti* would appear to be applied, exactly as here, to the sum-total of moral duties. At any rate, we shall again find this use a little lower down, and it is moreover in entire accord with the classic usage of the word. I may add that Dr. Kern's conjecture, *kīntī* is altogether set aside by the rubbing.

9. The sentence is sufficiently cleared up by what has been said above in notes 6 and 7. Dr. Kern, misled by his general interpretation of the passage, translates *parikkāsa* by 'chastisement.' I need hardly observe that the word does not necessarily imply this shade of meaning, and signifies generally 'suffering,' 'torture.'

10. This is cleared up by a comparison with a passage further on (l. 20-21). The king declares that the aim of this edict is to secure by the zeal of the *nagaravyavahṛakas*, that is to say of the same officers as those he is here addressing, that there should be neither imprisonment nor torture without valid motive (*akasmā*). Here we can only look for the same meaning. Thanks to the reading *baddhānāntika*, simply corrected to *baddhānāntikā*, with the sign of the plural, the construction is clear, and the only difficulty has reference to *īna*. The instrumental *īna* lends itself to no explanation. Some correction or other is unavoidable. At Jaugada the two characters appear with a clearness which excludes all uncertainty as to the reading; but, on the other hand, mistakes of the engraver,

especially in the notation of vowels, are frequent enough to authorise us to use some liberty. *Sīnam* might be suggested; the plural would refer to the collective singular of the preceding sentence, — to the people put in prison. But in that case *akasmā bandhanasītika*, *akasmā* being separated from, instead of being connected with, what follows in a compound, could only be translated 'who without motive deliver from prison,' which would be exactly the opposite of the meaning we require, which is 'who delivers from a prison without motive, from an imprisonment which has no motive.' For my part, I see no other expedient (the translation of the whole sentence leaving no room for doubt) than to read in one single word *akasmātanabandhanasītika*, and to admit an adjective *akasmātana*, formed from *akasmā*, like *chirantāna* from *chirant*, and *sandātana* from *sand*. I do not forget the difficulty that such long compounds are scarcely consonant with the usages of the language of our monuments; but the present instance is one of extreme simplicity and transparency.

11. *Daviṣṭ*, I think, requires correction. Dr. Kern, it is true, recognises in it the Sanskrit *daviṣ*; and although I entirely differ from him in the general interpretation of the whole passage, the meaning which he proposes for the word, 'moreover,' 'besides,' is not necessarily inconsistent with my analysis of the sentence. But, not only does this figurative meaning appear to me to be unacceptable for *dūra*, above all in a style so level as ours, but the very form, the comparative in *tyāsi* instead of *dūrātara*, would be, to my mind, an archaism *a priori* little likely in this language. Unfortunately Jaugada has here an altogether different expression, and, as it represents *daviṣṭ dukkhiyati* by *vedayati*, cannot help us by checking the reading. One point is sure, — that we cannot be positive about the vowel which accompanies the *v* at Dhauli. The stone has just at this place suffered injury, so that it is by no means out of the way to propose to read *davīṣṭ*. As regards the use of the Buddhist *davā*, we have, the explicit witness of the scholiast cited by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 649), who defines it thus *kṛchchhādhippāyāna kiriṣṭ*. The nearest meaning is therefore 'violence,' which is confirmed by the Sanskrit denominative *dravaryati*, in the meaning of 'to suffer' (*paritāpa*). The king, after referring to the acts of violence and injustice committed under the shadows of administrative and legal authority, now turns his attention to acts of violence performed by private persons on private persons. So far as regards the form, there need be no serious difficulty, even if the reading *daviṣṭ* is ever definitely verified, in admitting a base *davā* alongside of *davā*, especially as the feminine *davā* is itself a new formation if compared with the bases *drava* and *dravas* of classical Sanskrit.

12. The form *majjhā* need not surprise us. It is a secondary base formed upon the analogy of the oblique case *majjha* (*Hémachandra*, III. 113), nearly as the forms *suphā*, *aphā* are drawn from oblique cases like *yuskmā*, *asmā*. The object is not expressed, being understood from the neighbouring nominative *bakkhant*.

13. I have previously (1st Col. Ed., 12, 3) insisted on the exact meaning of the particle *etā*, which is slightly adversative; 'but,' 'now.' The use of *jāta*, which we find here, is, so far as I know, entirely new. The only explanation for it which I can see is to assume that the neuter *jāta* is employed, not, as above, to signify 'kind,' 'species,' but rather in the sense justified by etymology, of 'native disposition,' 'inclination.' The nature of the terms comprised under this head appear, as we shall see, to justify this conjecture. After having pointed out the evil and the conduct by which he expects his officers to remedy it, the king now enumerates the qualities necessary to render their action efficacious. Hitherto the terms which follow have been assumed to be vices and imperfections with which the king would reproach men in general; but that is, I think, a mistake which would spoil the sense of the whole passage. I find a twofold proof of this. First, the way in which *sampatipajati* and *paripādayama* (the concluding word of the last sentence) are brought close together, is evidently intentional. In each case the verb must be expected to refer to the action of the same persons, that is to say, both here and above, to the officers of the king. Secondly, the manifest

parallelism between the commencement of the following sentence, *as ikkhitaviyā*, &c., and the commencement of the preceding one, *tata ikkhitaviyā tuppāhā*, indicates that both concern the same subject, — the officers of the king. Moreover, the proposition set forth in the direct style, which winds up with *mama*, can scarcely be placed in the mouth of any one but these officers, whom alone the king addresses in this proclamation. I conclude, therefore, that the defects enumerated here are those against which Piyadasi warns his representatives when employed in carrying out his mandates. 'You must,' he tells them, 'desire to set men in the Good Way. But there are certain imperfections which will prevent your succeeding, and of which you should endeavour to free yourselves (*ās jātā nā hurosu mamāsi*).' Amongst these defects, there are several terms of which the meaning has been misconceived. The reading *āśulōpa*, which is certainly correct, as may be judged from its repetition in several passages, excludes at once both Burnouf's translation 'le retranchement de la vie,' 'le meurtre,' (which, not to mention other difficulties, would presuppose a spelling *asulōpa*) and the conjecture *āśulōsa*, i.e. *āśurōśka*, of Dr. Kern. *Āśulōpa* lends itself, in fact, to a very suitable translation; *lōpa* ordinarily means 'interruption,' 'giving up;' *āśulōpa* can therefore be translated 'precipitate giving up,' and, consequently, 'readiness to be discouraged.' It seems to me that the following sentence indirectly confirms this analysis. All this enumeration is in a manner summed up in the two terms *āśulōpa* and *tālandā*. Every one agrees in recognising in the second of these an equivalent of the Sanskrit *tearāṇa*, with the meaning of 'hurry.' To this excess of zeal it is very natural to oppose the opposite excess, — feebleness and discouragement; and the sentence thus brings together, as the two poles of these defects, various others against which the king wished to take precautions. Burnouf derived *andāsi* from *āśriti*, and translated it 'absence de profession, de travail,' but this meaning, which belongs to *āśriti*, is not used for *āśriti*. Dr. Kern transcribes it *andāsi*, and translates 'unheedfulness.' I have already remarked (see above, IV., notes 1 and 9) that the transcription *āśyakti* is the only suitable one in the case of the Columnar Edicts, and even in the present edict, a little lower down, it appears to be guaranteed by the evidence of Jangada. This is a very strong reason for believing that here, again, the same spelling represents the same word. *Āśyakti* can be well translated by 'want of application,' and is naturally connected with *āśāya*. It is unnecessary to recall how frequent in these texts is the use of the verb *yuj* to signify 'to apply oneself,' 'to make an effort.' The last term of the series belongs to the same order of ideas, and it is surprising that its form has not been previously rectified. We must read *kilamāṭha* at Dhanli, as we have it at Jangada; that is to say, as in Pāli, 'fatigue,' 'indolence.' We must without hesitation abandon the ingenious, but arbitrary and really unsatisfactory analysis of the pundits of Prinsep. The rubbing of Jangada does away with all uncertainty. The participle *kilamāṭha* should have set previous interpreters in the right direction.

14. It is clear that *āśa*, as is frequently the case, sums up the idea implied in what precedes, — the being exempt from the various defects just enumerated. I have some little hesitation regarding the last word of the sentence. Dr. Kern has already conjecturally corrected the reading *nīticchāṣ* of the *Corpus* to *nītiyāṣ*. *Nītiyāṣ*, i.e. *nītiyāṣ*, suits the passage very well. We have seen above (note 8) that *nīti* is employed in several instances with reference to the duties of the *mahāmātras*, and it is therefore natural that the king should direct them to avoid, in their 'moral propaganda,' both the discouragement and the excess of zeal. But Jangada reads *nīti āyāṣ*. We are hence compelled to assume either that the disjunction is due to a mistake of the engraver, or that *nītiyāṣ* ought, as a matter of fact, to be split up into *nīti āyāṣ*. In this latter case the two words must form an independent proposition. We must translate, 'the essential in all this, is to avoid both discouragement and excess of zeal: that is [that which constitutes] the [true] method of conduct.' I prefer, however, the former hypothesis. It supplies a more natural and more simple construction; and at the same time allows us to state here for *nīti* a sense more exactly in agreement with that which the earlier passages assign to it. On the other hand Jangada has, further on, *nītiyāṣ* which corresponds to

nothing in Dhauli, or rather which cannot represent the meaning of the phrase *hivamēva*, which we meet instead of it at Dhauli. I conclude therefore that this *ntiyas* is only an erroneous repetition of the stone cutter, and that, hence, his original had really *ntiyas* (and not *nti iyas*) in the only instance in which it could find a legitimate entry into our text.

15. In this instance, our new rubbings improve the old readings, both at Dhauli and Jaugada in important particulars. The construction is clear. The phrase, as shown by the *hivamēva* at the beginning of the next sentence, contains a comparison, and *kilashā*, which in a general manner applies to every one who is fatigued, contains an allusion to *kilamathā*, 'indolence,' or perhaps also to the exhaustion caused by an intemperate zeal, by *tilanā*. The only word which requires some explanation is *ugachhā* in Dhauli, Jaugada, in this instance, having a different reading. We have in the one case *ugachhā*, and in the other *sachalitu utthi*, and I do not hesitate to read *ugachhā* and *sachalitu utthi*, two potentials, the second of which warrants for the first the meaning which, while quite intelligible, is not altogether ordinary, of 'to raise oneself,' 'to set oneself in motion.' The repetition of *api*, at Jaugada well expresses the insistence with which the king urges activity, 'and still it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward, to go on.' On the other hand, the final *vā* is not admissible, at least unless the king intended to express a particular difference of meaning which I must own I am unable to detect between *vrajitavyas* and *śtavyas*. I suppose that we should read *chā*, a correction which appears to be borne out by Mr. Burgess's facsimile.

16. The construction is here somewhat condensed, though there does not seem to be any doubt about the meaning. We have just had *dākh* or *dakh* used with reference to the supervision of the *mahāmātras*. We may therefore translate, 'So also with regard to the supervision which you have to exercise;' in it also it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward.

17. We might consider the *tēna* as correlative to the *ya* which precedes, but several reasons lead me to reject this explanation. In the first place *tēna vataviya* is a locution frequently used by the king at the beginning of a sentence and without any syntactic connection with what precedes. Besides this, one feels that a close connexion between the two propositions would impart to the sentence a turn neither clearer nor more convenient. Finally, the words *tēna vataviya* do not occur in Jaugada, and this leads one to conclude that they are not essential to the construction of the sentence, the words which precede being, so far as meaning goes, identical. This being settled, there are two ways of understanding *vataviya*; viz. as we supply *mayā* or *tephāhi* to complete the sentence. 'For this reason I must tell you,' or 'you must tell (the people).' In the first case *ad*, of the sentence following, would refer to Piyadasi; in the second to his officers. Jaugada does not lend itself to this equivocal meaning. *Nijhapāṭaviya* is already sufficiently known to us from the 4th Columnar Edict (l. 17-18) where we have had *nijhapayisakti* and *nijhapayid* (see note 10). According to precedent we must translate the passage in Jaugada thus, 'you must bring (the people) face to face with my orders (and will say to them), "such and such are the instructions of the king dear unto the Dēvas."' It appears that this comparison must be decisive in favour of the former of the two constructions for Dhauli also. One feels nevertheless tempted, to seek, in the phrase *vataviya* &c., for an equivalent to the causal verb of Jaugada. To make this possible, we must try an altogether different analysis for the words *anast* and *ad*. The first would be the Sanskrit *anyad*, the second would be equivalent to *ad*, and we should then translate 'bring them face to face with nothing else (but only this), "such and such are the intentions of the king dear unto the Dēvas."' But we have hitherto met only a single example of the confusion of *ad* with *ad* (Kh. XII., 31), and a reference to my notes will show that the confusion is perhaps only apparent, depending merely on an accidental omission. It must also be admitted that the construction last proposed would be very elliptical, and I have therefore the less hesitation in preferring the former explanation. At the most I would propose, in order to reconcile the two versions, to read at Dhauli *dākhā*, which would supply a causal verb, as at Jaugada.

18. There is no doubt about the correct reading, *maḥāphalā*, nor, consequently, about the meaning of the sentence.

19. The *ī* is quite clear both here, in *vipaṭipaddayamānāḥi*, and in *sampaṭipajamāne*, a little lower down. We have, in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict, drawn attention to the analogous form *pāyamānā*. It seems, however, difficult to doubt the purely accidental nature of these spellings.

20. Dr. Kern has certainly pointed out the true meaning of *dudhala*, which he transcribes *duyākhara* and which he translates, 'which gives a double pron.' I differ from him as regards the remainder of the sentence. A comparison of the various rubbings leaves me no doubt about our having here, both at Dhauli and Jaugada, not a locative, as Dr. Kern believed, but a genitive *ītasa* (or *imasa*) *kaṣṣasa*. From this it follows that, as Dhauli has one syllable less than Jaugada, we must admit one of two things; either that a syllable has been omitted at Dhauli after the termination *sa* of *kaṣṣasa*, or that, at Jaugada, the second *sa* is an accidental and erroneous repetition. Dr. Kern, adopting the former theory, explains *samā kūtā* as equivalent to *īramā kūtā*. It is clear, *a priori*, that in either case one explanation must give much the same meaning as the other. If I decide for the second alternative, it is because I find, in the analysis of the learned professor, several difficulties which it is necessary, in my opinion, to avoid. Dr. Kern transcribes the passage *īramakarāṇāṁ māṇḍagatirēkaḥ*. The locative is scarcely admissible; it is very doubtful whether it is ever formed in *ī* at Dhauli. That difficulty is not, however, decisive; for it would be sufficient to take *māṇḍagatirēkaḥ* as an adjective. I attach more importance to the embarrassed turn which the whole construction thus takes. Dr. Kern has felt this so strongly that he transcribes *īramakarāṇa*, but that is rather an emendation than a transcription. I feel still greater difficulty concerning the compound *māṇḍagatirēka*. In the first place Piyadasi does not usually represent as light and easy the efforts which he demands in the interests of the *dharma*. It suffices to call to mind only the 10th of the fourteen edicts. Moreover, this association of two entirely antithetic words, such as *māṇḍa* and *atirēka*, which form together an expression which has little neediness to recommend it, is, by reason of both its mannerism and obscurity, contrary to the usual style of the king. I may add that this use of *īramā* would be unique in our texts, which, for expressing this meaning, on several occasions use other terms such as *parāḍrama*, &c. If we admit, hypothetically, the reading of Dhauli, *mā* could only be the pronoun, and the substantive used as subject must be *manaatirēka* (or even *manāatirēka*, for the vowel is not very clear in the rubbings). The word appears to me to lend itself to a possible analysis as *mana-atirēka*, i.e. 'excess of thought,' 'preoccupation.' If the idiom seems to be a little far fetched, the fact may be explained by the desire of turning substantively (so that it may join easily to the idea contained in *dudhala*) a familiar expression of the Buddhist style; *mā kūtā manaatirēka* is easily explained, when considered as the equivalent of *atthā manasikarāmi*.

21. In spite of the *lacuna*, the meaning is quite certain. I have hardly any doubt that we ought to restore *-satha taphā nā chāṇaniyaṁ*. Not only does this reading exactly correspond with the number of characters wanted to fill up the *lacuna*, but there even appear to me traces in the rubbings which favour the adoption of the syllables *taphā nā*. *Nā* refers to the king (so also at Jaugada), just as, above, we had it in the sentence *asānā nā dākhāta*.

22. I have already in dealing with the 5th Columnar Edict (n. 8), stated my opinion regarding the date here indicated. As regards the continuation of the sentence, the analysis which Dr. Kern seems to adopt is not quite clear to me as regards either transcription or translation, nor does what he apparently means, entirely satisfy me. In the first place, we should not, I think, in *sātavīya*, seek for *īrāvayīsa*, the participle of the causal verb, but for that of the simple verb. This point is of importance for the correct understanding of *śikṣa*. Dr. Kern connects it with *śikṣa*, which is compatible neither with the position of the words nor with the addition of the particle *opi*. 'These instructions,' says the king, 'must be heard at the festivals

of Tishya,'—here we have to do with a regular and public promulgation,—'and, between times, they must be heard by a man even when alone,'—here we have to do with instructions and reminders addressed to individuals. This translation implies, for the phrase *khanasi khanasi*, an explanation different from that of Dr. Kern, 'on any solemn occasion.' It is clear that, if he is referring to individual acts of advice, the king would avoid directing his officers to reserve them for certain festivals. Moreover, such is not the usual meaning of *kshana*, nor in Pāli of, for example, the phrase *khanā bhānā* (cf. Dhammap., V., 239), which means 'at every moment,' 'at every favourable opportunity.' This meaning suits the present passage very well.

23. As regards the words *chaghattha* and *sampatipādayitavā*, see former remarks (Col. Ed. IV., n. 5; I. n. 2).

24. I have explained the meaning of *palibōdha* when dealing with the 5th Girnār Eliot, (n. k.). The word means 'bond,' 'fetter.' If there were need of a further proof of this we have an irrefutable one in the present passage, in which *palibōdha* is substituted as a synonym of the *baddhāna* used above (l. 8-9). The reading *palikilēś*, which is established by the latest rubbings, cuts short, so far as this word is concerned, all difficulty and conjecture.

25. The text of Dhauli appears to omit by accident some rather important words, which give greater clearness of construction to the text of Jangada. The latest rubbings of the latter appear to have the accusative *mahāmātān achanḍan*, without any doubt; and it follows that the relative proposition *ē—hōsati*, which is the corresponding passage in Dhauli, ought to be taken as containing the object of *nikkāmayisāmi*. The absence of *mahāmātān* or some such word, is, strictly speaking, not impossible, but, on the whole, it is not easy to believe that it was intentional. Dr. Kern has correctly transcribed *akkhahāś* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *alarkataḥ*. I think that he is also justified in reading *sasikkhina*, although the latest rubbing would appear to give clearly enough *akkhina*. I consider however that he has been misled as to the meaning of *alarkata*. This is a technical term of the language of Piyadasi, and we have already found that it signifies the destruction of life. I see no reason for giving it any other meaning here. One difficulty, however, remains. What is the real drift of that enumeration of qualities belonging to the *mahāmātra*, upon which a peculiar stress is evidently laid by the king? I shall come back to the matter later on. Here it will be sufficient to state that I consider the *amusakhyāna* as being exclusively reserved to the professional Buddhists, and so, in those epithets, 'mild, patient, never injuring life,' I can only see a periphrastic equivalent of what could have been expressed more shortly by *dhammayuta*, — 'the *mahāmātras* who adhere to the Buddhist faith.'

26. This must be compared with the concluding words of the edict. In both passages Dr. Kern understands *iti* as referring only to the portion of the sentence commencing with *tathā*: the king implies that his officers have to inquire whether his subjects carry out his instructions. But this explanation presents several difficulties which render it inadmissible. In the first place, we have here, not *jānātu* or some such word, but *jānitu*, that is to say, the participle absolute, which makes this portion of the sentence depend upon *kalati*. In the later passage *api* and *tathā pi*, &c., are unintelligible at the commencement of a proposition in the direct style. On the contrary, they emphasize the successive character of the two actions *jānisanti* and *kalanti*. *Etam aṭṭham* in the one passage, and *etān* in the other could hardly refer to something which is to follow. Moreover, if the proposition were meant to define a sort of inquest to which the officers were expected to devote themselves, it would necessarily contemplate both alternatives in the result. The king could not, without too great optimism, expect that they would invariably report that the subjects faithfully carried out his wishes. The form *kalati* cannot easily be taken as a simple indicative, the form *karōti* being familiar to the language of our texts. Finally, the agreement in number between *ē akkhahāś*, &c., and *kalati* on the one hand, and between *jānisanti* and *kalanti* on the other hand, indicates that throughout each group the subject is the same. If *kalati*, in the present passage, referred to the subjects in

general, it could only be in the plural. We are therefore led to the following translation, — 'that [the *mahāmātra*] knowing these things, should act according to my instructions; such is the thought which guides me,' and by these words, the king explains his intentions in directing his officers to preside at the quinquennial assemblies. It will be understood that I translate *kalati* as a subjunctive. Its form is that of a real Vedic *lṣ*. This is not the only trace of the use of this mood left in our monuments. I have already drawn attention to *vaḍhati* above (iv. n. 12). Perhaps we have the first person in *kalāmi* [Dhauli vi. 1. 29 (Jaugada has a lacuna)]. I admit that a comparison with G. seems to indicate a simple present and that the correction to *kalāmi* is easy, but we should only take to corrections as a last resource. Now, at Khālsi, in the parallel passage, we find, not the present, but the future *kaḥhāmi*. In this place, and the more naturally as the subject is in the first person, the future and the subjunctive are exactly equivalent. Both suit the run of the passage, being associated and co-ordinated with the imperative *paśivēdayamānu*.

27. A short way above, Jaugada (l. 5) employs *vaga* to represent the *bahujana* of Dhauli. It is therefore natural to take the word as having the same value here. In the 3rd of the Fourteen Edicts, Piyadasi mentions as the ordinary participators in the *anusamyāna*, in addition to the officers, all the faithful of his belief (*yudā*). *Vaga* well describes a numerous assemblage of the kind: *śāśā* refers to what precedes, and marks the crowd as analogous to that assembled directly by the king himself. Dr. Kern, basing his opinion on the analogy of *nibāya* in the 12th edict, considers that the word applies exclusively to the officials; but the text of Jaugada in the preceding sentence seems to show that the officials were called to the meetings in question individually; and this circumstance, together with the different use of *vaga* in the present edict, hardly bears out this interpretation.

28. Dr. Kern has joined the last visible character, *a*, of line 24, with the first of the following line, so as to form one word. He reads *ata*, equivalent to *atra*. In Mr. Burgess's facsimile, however, the *a* appears to have been followed by several characters (as was also admitted by Prinsep) which are now indistinct, and which the lacuna in Jaugada does not help us to restore. Besides this, the reading *tā* being now certain, there can be no doubt about its being the demonstrative, in agreement with *mahāmāta*. For the general meaning of the sentence, see note 26. We must also compare the 3rd of the Fourteen Edicts, where it is said in substance that some officers of the king must attend the *anusamyāna*, as well as to their other duties. Here the thought is identical in substance: the officers are to appear there, without neglecting their other duties. There is, however, one important difference. The first passage summons the *rajjās* or *prādśīkas* to the *anusamyāna* in order there to deliver religious instruction, whereas the ordinary *mahāmātras*, here addressed, are called to those assemblies, with the view that they may receive religious advice and the king's instructions.

JAUGADA.

As regards Jaugada, I have only to draw attention to a few details, and to refer the reader to the notes on Dhauli where all the various difficulties have been touched upon, and where the elements will be found which are necessary for filling up most of the lacunas.

29. The engraving of this edict does not appear to have been done with much care. I have said above (Dhauli n. 2) that *ff*, as there seems to be some probability, we must really read *-hiti kakamana-*, one of the two *ka* can only be, in my opinion, an erroneous repetition, like, in line 8, one of the two *sa* in *kamasasa mē kutt*. So, again, I consider *ntiyas*, in line 7, to be an instance of the repetition of an entire word. We shall shortly meet with examples of the reverse, where several characters are sure to have been erroneously omitted.

30. Read *tuphā*. In line 8, *mama* has been forgotten. In line 8, we have *lāddhi* for *lāddadhi*. In line 9, *all* for *astald*.

31. *Kintimā* is equivalent to *kintī imā*, as again lower down. The personal pronoun has no business here. The place which *it* occupies shows that there has been a transposition; and that in the original which lay before the engraver the order of the words was certainly the same as that in Dhanli.

32. I take *hi* (or *pi*) *suviṭṭāpi* as incorrect for *suviṭṭā pi*; *nīti* has been forgotten. In this version, a kind of fatality seems to be attached to the word.

33. Although the initial *y* would usually disappear in this dialect, there is no phonetic difficulty in taking *yā* as equivalent to *yāh*, both here and at Dhanli. At Dhanli, we have had already (v. 21) *yā apatiyā mā*; so also at Kh. vi., 18; xii., 32, &c.; and in the Columnar Edicts, ii., 16; iv., 3, &c., not to speak of the plural *yā*, which, at Jaugada itself, we find again in line 6 of the next edict.

34. Regarding *nīti iyaṇ* and the *nītiyaṇ* of the following sentence, see above, Dhanli, note 14.

35. I have already remarked (Dhanli n. 15) that here there is not a complete agreement between the two versions. The resemblance is, however, at least very close, and I have no doubt that we should read *na [sā] saṁchalitu[ṣa] nīhi[hā]*, 'that person will not get up to put himself in motion.'

36. There is here a simple transposition of vowels; *dākhāsi* for *dākhāyā*.

37. The form *vipaṭṭipāyānāṇa*, appears at first sight to be incorrect. We should expect either an instrumental, as at Dhanli, or a genitive *vipaṭṭipāyānāṇaṇa*. But compare, however, the analogous construction with an accusative, — at least an accusative in appearance, — which we have observed in the 7-8th Columnar edict (see note 24). We probably have here a new example of this construction. The singular, instead of the plural as at Dhanli, need not surprise us in a collective sentence.

38. I have already stated (note 1 above) that I consider that we must read *-kamaṣa mā kūtā*.

39. The ends of all the lines here are unfortunately almost entirely illegible in the rubbings, and the readings of the *Corpus* are manifestly only conjectures more or less doubtful. It would be waste of labour to build other conjectures upon them. We may take an example from the end of line 11. The *Corpus* facsimile reads *achasāḍa phālahata*; from repeated examinations of the rubbings I am convinced that the stone, instead of *phālahata*, bore the word *sphālahata*, a very good synonym of *akhakasa*.

40. I do not think that it is necessary to take [*lā*] *javachanika* as a substantive directly designating a class of officers. It is rather an epithet, my officers 'faithful to the orders of their king.' Thus, this expression exactly corresponds to the formula which commences our edict at Dhanli.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king dear unto the Dēvas. — The officers of Tōsali, in charge of the administration of the city, are to be commanded as follows: (— Jaugada: Thus saith the king dear unto the Dēvas; — The officers of Samāpā in charge of the administration of the city are to be commanded as follows: — All that I believe, I desire to cause to be really practised, and to take measures [to that effect]. Now, the most important measures (Dhanli: for this object) are, in my opinion, the instructions which [I deliver] to you. For ye have been set over many thousands of souls, that ye may gain the attachment of good men. Every man is my child; and just as I wish, for my children, that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come, so also have I the same wish for all men. Now, in this matter, ye have not yet attained to all the results which are obtainable. There is such and such an individual who attendeth to such and such of my orders, but not to all. Watch ye him, and may the moral duties be well defined. There is such and such an individual who is sentenced to prison or to torture. Be ye there to put an end

to an imprisonment, if it hath been ordered for no sufficient cause. Again, there are many people who suffer (Dhauli: acts of violence). In their case also, must ye desire to set everyone on the Good Way. But there are certain dispositions with which, if ye possess them, ye will not succeed: I mean envy, readiness to be discouraged, harshness, impatience, want of application, idleness, and a sense of weariness. Hence ye should desire to be free from these dispositions; and the root of all [success] is to be not readily discouraged and to possess perseverance in moral training. The man who feeleth a sense of weariness, doth not set himself to work, although it is necessary to bestir oneself, to move forward, to go on. So also is it with the supervision which ye should exercise. For this reason I command ye:— Consider ye my orders (Jaugada: Ye must call attention to my orders) [saying], 'such and such are the instructions of the king dear unto the Dēvas.' To do this is [to make sure of] great fruit; not to do this is [to render oneself liable to] great calamities. For such as may neglect to guide the people thus, there is no [hope], either [of] the favour of heaven or [of] the favour of the king. Verily, if I specially direct my attention to these duties [which are entrusted to you], it is because they bestow a twofold advantage; for, by following this line of conduct, ye will both obtain heaven, and will pay off your debt to me.

This edict is to be [publicly] promulgated at each festival of the *nakshatra* Tishya, and, between these festivals, it is to be repeated to individuals each time when any favourable opportunity offers. Do this, and try your best to direct the people in the Good Way. It is for this purpose that this edict hath been engraven in this place, in order that the officers in charge of the administration of the city may display a persevering zeal, and that there may be no arbitrary imprisonment and no arbitrary torture of the inhabitants.

It is also for this purpose that regularly every fifth year I shall summon [to the assembly of the *amavasyā*] every *mahāmātra*, who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life, in order that, hearing these things, he may act according to my instructions. The Prince-[Governor] of Ujjayini also will for this purpose summon an assembly of the same nature, but he shall do so every three years without fail. So also at Takshashilā. By attending the *amavasyā*, without at the same time neglecting their other particular duties, my officers will learn these things. Let them act in accordance therewith, following the instructions of the king.

SECOND EDITION.

Prinsep, J.A.S.B., L.c.; Burnouf, p. 692 and ff.; Kern, J.R.A.S., N.S., XII, p. 379 and ff.

TEXT.³

DHAULI.

(1) Dēvānāmpiyasa vachanēna
tōcaliyam kumālā ma-

JAUGADA.

(1) Dēvānāmpiyā hōvam āha []
samāpāyam mahamatā la-

³ Professor Bühler's readings:—

SECOND EDITION.

DHAULI.

1. 3. "hōv muni . . . u.
1. 4. "kicchhachd. su°; "maré i°; "anuvigina ma°.
1. 5. "dukhach hō°; "khamimati né°; "chalérvā.
1. 6. "ā hi dhik°.
1. 7. "ā hōvach°; "avā °; "tāha d°; "aphāka°.

1. 8. "paja°; "cha tām .
1. 9. "ama.
1. 10. "tāma°; "khaṇasi khaṇasi°.
1. 11. sōtaviya°.

JAUGADA.

1. 1. "kibhā kashikumana.
1. 2. "mācīyamatāch dūvāla°.
1. 3. "maré d°; "yujéy°; "kikāti mē°.
1. 4. "kham°.
1. 5. "tā kā vā mē°; "anuvigina°.
1. 6. "kalyā°; "kash hōvach°.
1. 7. ā chakiyā°.
1. 8. "amā d°.

1. 9. "pajimā°; "tā tō pāpamā.
1. 10. "pita°.
1. 11. "anuvigina°; vēdita . mama diti pajikāna°.
1. 12. dōmāyutikā hōvāna°; "tāma°.
1. 13. "pāla dīkikāy°; "avagah cha āha°.
1. 14. "hī lī°; "yujérvā°.
1. 15. "chalanāy° cha āha°; "hī amā d°.

hāmātā oha vataviya [.] am
kicchhi dakhāmi hakaṃ taṃ

(2) duvālatā oha ālabhāham [.]
ēsa oha mē mōkhiyamata du-
vālā ētasi aṭhasi am tu-
phēsu

mama (3) aṭha
pajāyē icchāmi hakaṃ kiṃti
savēna hitasukkhēna

hidalōkika-
pālālōkikāyē yujēvūti hēvaṃ

(4) siyā [.]
amānāmi¹ avijitānam
kicch. d. su lāja aṭhēsu . .
. . mava icchā mama amānēsu [.]
. . pāpunēvu tē² iti dēvā
nāmpiyē . . . anuvāgāna ma-
māyē (5) huvēvūti asvasēvu oha
sukhamm ēva lahēvu mama
tē nō dukha [.] hēvaṃ
. . nēvū iti khamiti³ nō
dēvānāmpiyē aphākaṃ ti [.]
ē oha kiye khamitavē mama
nimitam oha dhammam oha-
lēvu (6) hidalōka pālālō-
kaṃ oha ālādhayēvū [.]
ētasi aṭhasi hakaṃ anu-
sāsāmi tuphē [.] ananē
ētakēna⁴ hakaṃ anu-
sāsitu chhamdam oha vēdi-
tu ā . dhiti paṭimū⁵
oha mama (7) ajalā [.] sē
hēvaṃ kaṭu⁶ kamme ohalita-
viyē asva—i oha tāni
ēna pāpunēvū iti aṭha pitā
tathā dēvānāmpiyē aphākaṃ
athā oha atānam hēvaṃ dēvā-
nāmpiyē anukampati aṭhē⁷
(8) athā oha pajā hēvaṃ
mayē dēvānāmpiyasa [.] sē
hakaṃ anusāsitu chhamdam oha
v phāka⁷

dēsāvu-
tikē hōsāmi ētāyē athāyē [.]
paṭibalā⁸ hi tuphē asvāsāyē
hitasukkhāyē oha tasē (9) hi-
dalōkikapālālōkikāyē [.]
hēvaṃ oha kalamtam tūphē

javaohanika vataviyā [.] am
kicchhi dakhāmi hakaṃ taṃ
icchāmi hakaṃ kiti kamkam-
mana⁹ (2) paṭipātayēham
duvālatā oha ālabhāham [.]
ēsa oha mē mōkhiyamata du-
vālā ētasa aṭhasi¹⁰ am tu-
phēsu anusāthi [.] savamuni-
(3) sē mē pajā aṭha
pajāyē icchāmi kiṃtimē
savēnō¹¹ hitasukkhēna yujē-
vu aṭha pajāyē icchāmi
kiṃtamē savēna hitasu-
(4) khēna yujēvūti hidalōgika-
pālālōkikēna hēvaṃmēva
mē icchā savamuniēsu siyā [.]
amānāmi avijitā- (5) -nam
kimohhamdēsu lāja aṭhēvūti
ētakā va mē icchā amānēsu [.]
pāpunēvu lāja hēvaṃ icchati
anuvigina hēvu (6) ma-
miyāyē asvasēvu oha mē
sukhamm ēva oha lahēvu mama
tē nō kha¹² [.] ēvaṃ
oha pāpunēvu khamisati nō
lāja [.]

(7) ē oha kiye khamitavē
mamaṃ nimitam oha dhamma
chalēvūti hidalōgam oha pālālō-
gam oha ālādhayēvu [.]
ētāyē (8) oha aṭhāyē hakaṃ tu-
phēni¹³ anusāsāmi [.] anēna
ētakēna hakaṃ tūphēni anu-
sāsitu chhamdam oha vēdi-
(9) -tu ā mama dhiti paṭina
oha achala [.] sē
hēvaṃ kaṭu kamme ohalita-
viyē asvāsaniyā oha tē
ēna pāpunē (10) yu athā pitā
ēvaṃ nē lājāti
atha atānam anukampati hē-
vaṃ aṭhēni anukampati
athā pajā hē- (11) -vaṃ
mayē lājine [.] tūphēni
hakaṃ anusāsita chhamdam oha
vedāta¹⁴ . mama chiti paṭina
ohā achala sē . . (12) dēsāyu-
tikē hōsāmi ētasi athasi [.]
alam hi tūphē asvāsāyē
hitasukkhāyē oha tasam hi-
da- (13) -lōgikapālālōkikāya [.]
hēvaṃ oha kalamtam svagam

svagam ālādhayisatha mama
cha ānaniyam ēhatha ['] ētāyē
cha aṭhāyē iyaṁ lipi likhitā
hida ēna mahāmātā svasa-
taṁ⁹ samam (10) yujisanti
asvāsanāyō dhammachala-
nāyē cha tēsu aṁtānam [']
iyaṁ cha lipi anuchātumma-
saṁ tiṣṇa nakhatēna sōta-
viyā¹⁰ kāmam cha khaṇḍkha-
nasi aṁtalāpi tiṣṇa ēkēna
(11) sōtaviyā ['] hēvaṁ kalam-
taṁ¹¹ tuphē chagghatha saṁpaṭipā-
dayitavē ['].

. ālādhayisatham mama cha
ānanēyam ēsatha ['] (14) ētāyē
cha aṭhāyē iyaṁ lipi likhitā
hida ēna mahāmātā sās-
taṁ samam yujēvā asvā-
sanāyē cha (15) dhammachala-
nāyē . aṁtānam [']
iyaṁ cha lipi a . chātumma-
saṁ sōtaviyā tiṣṇa aṁta-
lāpi cha sōtaviyā¹² (16)
khaṇḍ saṁtaṁ ēkēna pi
sōtaviyā ['] hēvaṁ cha kalam-
taṁ chagghatha saṁpaṭipā-
dayitāvā¹³ [']

NOTES.

DHAULI.

1. In all that precedes this word, this second edict is so completely the fellow of the first that comparison with it enables us to fill up with every certainty the lacunae of our present text. It is from this point that the differences between the two edicts begin. The first words are characteristic of them, but owing to their not having been understood, the special object which inspires each of these two writings has hitherto not been clearly developed. *Aśtānash avijitānash* shows us from the commencement that the king here has in view 'the unconquered frontier populations,' which do not form an integral portion of his empire; and, indeed, towards the end of the edict, Piyadasi expressly declares that he has had this edict engraved *dhammachalandyē tēsu aśtānash*, 'to cause the Religion to be practised amongst these frontier populations.' For this use of *aśta* we may compare Kh. xiii., 4, and *Sahasrām*, line 5 (and the parallel versions), in which latter Prof. Bühler's translation requires correction. We should also specially refer to *Jaugada* ii., 6 (Kh. I. 4), where *aśtā* is contrasted with *vijitā* in such a way that the sentence forms a decisive commentary on *aśtā avijitā*, our phrase here. This explains why the king in this edict omits to mention the assemblies of the *anussavyāna* upon which he lays so much stress in the preceding one. It is natural that, when busying himself with populations which escape his direct action, he should not presume to summon them to regular periodical assemblies. I think that Dr. Kern has accurately analysed the word which follows, *khaṇḍkhaṇḍsu*, as equivalent to *khaṇḍkhaṇḍah svid*; the text is certain, being perfectly clear at *Jaugada*, with which the traces at *Dhauli* entirely agree; but that he is in error as regards the subject to which he refers the pronoun *aphēsu* (i.e. *asmēsu*). He puts the phrase in the mouth of the people, — the subjects of the king. Given as correct the certain reading and the translation of *aśtānash avijitānash*, such an explanation would make the construction impossible. Moreover, the experience of the preceding edict ought to guide us here. We have seen therein that it is, throughout, his officials whom the king is addressing, and that it necessarily follows that when he employs the direct style with the first person, there being no express indication to the contrary (cf. l. 4, *gacchēna*, l. 12, *jātā nō hūvāsa mama*), they are the persons whom we must take for the subject. We thus get in the present case a perfectly well-connected sentence, 'If you ask yourselves, — what is the will of the king with regard to us in relation to the unannexed frontier populations? This is my wish in what touches the frontier populations.' The slightly loose use of the genitive *aśtānash* is sufficiently explained not only by the liberty of idiom which is common in this style, but specially by the impossibility of placing together two locatives, *aśtēsu* and *aphēsu*, with different syntactic functions.

2. It is certain that two *akṣaras* are wanting before *pāpunnēsu*. This would be sufficient in itself to put aside Dr. Kern's conjecture, if it were not already condemned by the exact explana-

tion of the preceding sentence, which requires *ashīṣu* and not *ashīṣ*. No more can we separate this beginning of the sentence from that of the following one, which is strikingly parallel to it. Completing the second sentence from the reading of Jaugada, about which there can be no hesitation, we find that it commences with *hāvash pāpunnēnu*, and I have no doubt that this is also the correct reading here. What is more important, is to discover the meaning of *pāpunnēnu*. If we add to these passages another lower down (l. 7), we shall notice that we have here three times the verb *prāp* followed, not by the enclitic *ti*, but by *iti*, which must refer to what follows, and consequently announces the introduction of the direct style. It is easy to explain this, without departing from the literal translation of the verb. I understand the sentences as meaning, 'that they may arrive at this, that is to say . . .', or in other words 'that they may become convinced of this . . .'. The subject *is* refers of necessity to *antā*, to the frontier populations. The absence of *iti* at Jaugada does not weaken this interpretation. The fact that in that version it has been either omitted accidentally, or (as happens so often) left out as superfluous, does not do away with the fact that it is written in the Dhauli version, and that there must in consequence be a reason for its being there. It would be a well-nigh desperate enterprise to attempt to remedy formally the entanglement of phrases in the direct style which burdens and mixes up this sentence. We must certainly supply *ichhati* understood, and the words which follow, as indeed is indicated by the use of the singulars *mamāyē*, *mā*, *mama*, express the thoughts of the king, all the other subjects hitherto used being in the plural. Jaugada leaves no doubt as to the reading *anuvigind*, which Dr. Kern correctly transcribes as *anuvignā*. I shall return elsewhere to the various forms of the instrumental of the pronoun of the first person. Perhaps it is this same *mamāyē* which we have met at Kh. (v. 14) under the form *mamāva*. *Mamāyē* is, of course, only a variant spelling of the Prākṛit *mamāi*, referred to by Hēma-chandra (III. 109).

3. We must certainly, as has been already suggested by Dr. Kern, correct this word to *khamisati*, as is given at Jaugada. It is equally certain that *aphākani* concludes the sentence. *ti* is sufficient to show that the proposition is completed. It is altogether impossible to join the following words to it. The reading *ś cha kiya* at Dhauli may be taken as established, and we can without hesitation adopt it at Jaugada, where, to judge from the rubbing, the *ś cha* is the reverse of clear. This *ś cha* admits of only one explanation, — to connect it with the other *ś cha* which follows *mama*. Indeed, the relative proposition *ś cha*, &c., taking *kiya* as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *kiyat*, can only be translated, 'and in whatever way my benevolence may be necessary to them:' whence we get for the entire sentence the general meaning, 'whether because they desire a favour, or whether simply to please me, they (i.e. the people of the frontier tribes) may practise the Religion.' This is an appropriate place to remind my readers that, in the 13th of the Fourteen Edicts, we have already met the base *ksham*, — *okhamitsiya* and *okhamana* at K. (l. 7), and *khamitavā* at G. (l. 6), — in a passage which the lacuna of Girnār, and the condition of the text at Kapur-di-Giri have prevented my translating. I have no doubt that the present sentence will some day help to the right understanding of this passage, when we shall be at last in possession of a final reproduction of the version of the North-West. It appears, in fact, to refer, like our present passage, to frontier countries, *yā* ————— *dēvānāpiyasa na* ————— *vijitā kṣanti*.

4. There appears to be no doubt about the correctness of reading *anamē*. The engraver has transposed the vowels. It should be *anēna*. In what follows (which should be compared with the partially analogous phrase in line 8), the rubbings enable me to correct the readings of the *Corpus* in material points. In the first place, as the reading of the *Corpus* at Jaugada, *anusāsitā*, might have suggested, we must read *anusāsitū*, *edditū*, which can only be taken as gerunds and not as participles. The readings *dhayāmi* at Dhauli, and *dhiti* at Jaugada, cannot be maintained. At Jaugada, I clearly decipher, from the rubbings, *ā mama dhiti*, and at Dhauli the characters *ā . . ti* are certain at first sight. Guided by the analogy of Jaugada, we can further recognise a *dhi* before the *ti*: the character again preceding that is indistinct.

Comparison with the other version, leaves scarcely any uncertainty as to the meaning which is required. *Mā*, instead of *mana*, would exactly fit the *lacuna*, and the traces on the rubbing lend themselves well enough to this restoration. *Ajalā* corresponds to *achalā*, as we have had *libi* for *lipi*, and as we have at Jaugada, *lōga* for *lōka*, &c. This has been previously recognised by Dr. Kern. All the words are therefore clear, and the meaning is easy: 'after having given you (*tuphā* is omitted here, but expressed at Jaugada; at any rate it is easy to borrow it from the preceding sentence) my instructions and made known (*vāditu* for *vāditu*, by a confusion of the simple with the causal base, of which we have already met several examples) my orders, my will (*dhriti*) and my promises are unchangeable.' There remains only one small difficulty, the nominative *hakam*, which remains isolated, without being the subject of any verb. This is a liberty in construction examples of which are offered by all languages, and which need surprise us the less here with a style so free and flexible as that of our monuments.

5. Dr. Kern has well transcribed this as *taś śvaś kṛitā*. It is necessary to read *ś*; and *kuṭu*, as equivalent to *kṛitā*, presents no difficulties. As regards the meaning, I am compelled to differ from him. I content myself with referring to a preceding edict (G. iv. 9; Vol. I. p. 207) in order to justify the translation I propose: 'making this reflexion, full of this thought.' We have already seen *kāmā* applied to the functions of the *mahāmātras* (Dhauli, the preceding edict, l. 25, and note). Jaugada assists us to fill up the lacuna by reading *-arvāsanīyāni cha-*. This neuter might puzzle us, if the masculine at Jaugada did not, here as higher up, show that *pāpūnāsu* has for its subject the *ahitā*, in whom the officers have to inspire confidence, and who form the object of the king's thoughts throughout the entire edict. It is a curious example of the degree of confusion into which, in that age, the distinctions of gender had fallen.

6. The reading *anukampati* cuts short all conjecture. It is quite certain, especially at Dhauli.

7. It will be seen that here Jaugada deviates from our text. The sentence at Dhauli is, however, quite complete, and the fault is incontestably that of the engraver at Jaugada, who, after the words *chhāyādun cha vāditu*, which also occur a few lines higher up, has borrowed by mistake from the preceding phrase (regarding which see my remarks above) the words *ā mama* — *ś śvaś*, which have no right to be, and are quite unnecessary, here. He has on the other hand omitted a word of importance, *tuphānā*. As regards *dśādvahitā*, cf. note 7 of the preceding edict (at Dhauli).

8. The expression *patibālā* finds a very clear commentary in the synonym *aleś*, which I have succeeded in deciphering at Jaugada: 'you are capable of'. Hitherto we have always had the *ahitā* in the plural, and it is therefore a plural which is wanted here. Beside my proposal on the comparison of *tasā* and *tasān*, I would here read in both versions *tśān*. The use of the genitive *tśān*, besides *tānān*, is well vouched for, e.g. by Kh. xiii., 37; and in this edict itself a little lower down we read *tśu*, which, being in agreement with *antānām*, is evidently only a variant spelling (cf. I. p. 19) of *tśān*.

9. Read *savatañ*. As for *sumān*, the word can no doubt be explained by translating, 'the entire year.' It is, nevertheless, more probable that, in spite of the agreement of the two versions, the correct reading should be *savayān*; the accidental oversight of the *ya* being possibly aided by the initial of *yujisānti*. For the whole of the concluding portion of this passage, see the remarks on the preceding edict.

10. As I have already pointed out (Col. Ed., v. n. 8), this passage appears to me to prove that there were three annual festivals in honour of Tishya corresponding to the three *chāturmāsya* sacrifices of the Brāhmanas. At the end of the sentence, the text does not exactly correspond with that of the preceding edict, but the sense is similar. We can here distinguish, as in the other instance, two cases: — the public promulgation at the festivals of Tishya, and the individual in-

struction given at will (*kāmañ*) in the interval, whenever an opportunity presents itself. The second alternative would in that case commence at *kāmañ cha*. Nothing can be more simple, but the text at Jaugada does not lend itself to this method of dividing the words. It repeats *sōtaviyā* three times, and distinguishes three cases, the public instruction at the festivals of Tishya, the instruction in the intervals between these festivals, and the individual instruction, which is to be as frequent as possible. I am persuaded that the second *sōtaviyā* is an erroneous repetition, which we should omit, resting satisfied with the meaning of the preceding edict, which well agrees with the text of Dhanli. Why should the festivals of Tishya be specified at all for the public promulgation of these edicts, if the king adds immediately afterwards, 'and also in the interval' ? With Dr. Kern, we should correct to *khaññkhamasi*, although the use of the locative in *ñ* is rare (Of Jaugada), at least unless it is preferred to admit a sporadic use of the cerebral *ñ*, *khaññakha-*

11. *Kalashitāñ* is for *kalasitā* (cf. I. p. 16-17) or for *kalasitāñ*, i.e. *kalasitāñ* (cf. Col. Ed. vii-viii., note 24, and note 1 to the Jaugada version of the present edict)

JAUGADA.

12. I have already said (cf. preceding edict, Dhanli, n. 2) that instead of *kashkhamasāna* (the reading of the *Corpus*), I read *kashkhamāna*. The spelling *kashkhamāna* for *kashkhamāna* is not without analogies: a little lower down (l. 11; Dhanli, l. 8) we have *mayā* for *mayāñ*; and in this edict, l. 16, *sakhtāñ* for the locative *sakhtāñ*.

13. Very possibly we should correct to *ñasi añhāñ*; but I do not venture to say that it is absolutely necessary. I have several times laid stress upon the very indefinite use of these oblique cases. In this very edict (Dhanli, n. 1) we have seen the genitive *aññāñ* used in the sense of the locative, and in the preceding edict (Dhanli, l. 13) the phrase *ñakhiññ taphāññ* uses the genitive in the sense of the instrumental.

14. We should evidently read *savāna*.

15. Restore to *-ñ [du]ññāñ*. The form *mamiyāñ* is a curious one. It looks like an orthographical compromise between the forms *mamiyā* (Col. Ed. viii. 7, which I consider as simply a variant of *mamiyā*, Prākṛit *mamiyā*) and *mamiyāñ*, which Dhanli has in the corresponding passage.

16. *Taphāññ* is another curious pronominal inflexion. The correctness of the form is vouched for by its being repeated here and line 11, and by the parallel form of the first person, *aphāññ*, which we find in line 10. It reminds one of the Apabhrañśa *tumhāññ*, *amhāññ*, given by Hémachandra for the nominative and accusative. These forms, again, only refer us back to a spelling *tuphāñ* or *tumhāñ*, just as *ññ*, the termination of the neuter plural, becomes *ññ*. Compare Hindi *hamāññ*, Hoernle, Comp. Gram., p. 178.

17. I have already (Dhanli, note 7) stated that, in my opinion, the words which follow *vāññā* (read *vāññāñ*) up to the end of the line are probably an erroneous repetition. However, as the character *ñ* is not very distinct, if we could read *ñ* and supply *phāññ* for the two following letters, it would be unnecessary, after supplying *ñ* before *mamiyā*, to omit anything. The sentence would be correct. In any case the general sense would not be affected.

18. Cf. Dhanli, N. 10, and, for *sakhtāñ*, note 1, above.

19. It is difficult to doubt, although indeed I have discovered nothing on the rubbing to support the theory, that the stone has really the termination *-ññāñ*.

TRANSLATION.

By order of the king, dear unto the Dēvas; — The prince and the officers of Tōsalī are to be commanded as follows (Jaugada: Thus saith the king, dear unto the Dēvas; — The king's officers of Samāpā are to be commanded as follows); — All that I believe I desire to cause to be

really practised, and to take measures [to that effect]. Now, the most important measures for this object are, in my opinion, the instructions which [I deliver] to you. All men are my children; and just as I wish, for my children, that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come, so also wish I the same for all men. What is, [you ask yourselves], the will of the king with regard to us relative to the independent frontier tribes? Now, this is my wish relative to the frontier tribes: that they may be assured that the king, dear unto the Dévas, desires that they should be, as far as he is concerned, free from all disquietude; that they may trust in him and be assured that they will only receive at his hands happiness and not sorrow; that they may be assured of this:—That the king, dear unto the Dévas, will show unto them benevolence; and that, whether in order to avail themselves of my benevolence, or whether [simply] to please me, they may practise the Religion, and assure themselves happiness in this world and in the world to come. It is with this object that I give my instructions. When, once, in this manner I have given you my instructions, and have made known unto you my orders, my resolutions and my promises are unalterable. Considering this well, perform ye your duty, and inspire these [tribes] with trust, that they may be assured that the king is unto them like a father, that he careth for them as he careth for himself, and that they are unto the king, dear unto the Dévas, as it were his own children. Having given you my instructions and made known unto you my will (Jaugada adds: that is to say how my resolutions, and how my promises are unalterable), I shall possess in you, for this object, persons fit to actively carry out my orders. For ye are in such a position that ye can inspire trust in these [tribes], and assure unto them prosperity and happiness both in this world and in the world to come. By doing thus ye will both obtain heaven and will pay off your debt to me. It is for this purpose that this edict hath been engraven in this place, in order that the officers may display a persevering zeal to inspire trust in these frontier tribes and to cause them to walk in the ways of the Religion.

This edict is to be [publicly] promulgated at each of the three annual festivals in honour of the *Nakshatra* Tishya; and also, in the intervals between these festivals in honour of Tishya, it is to be repeated at will to individuals, when any favourable opportunity presents itself. When ye do this, use ye your best endeavours to direct [the people] in the Good Way.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 34.

In the copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II., from somewhere in the Madras Presidency,¹ which I have edited, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 15 ff., the date of his accession is given in the following two verses (line 81 ff.);—*giri-rasa-vasu-sarkkhyābdē Śaka-samayē Mārgaśīraha-māśē-min kṛishṇa-trayōdaśa-dinē Bhṛiguvārē Maitra-nakshatrē || Dhanuṣi ravan Ghaṭa-lagnē dvādaśa-varahā(rahā) tu janmanah paṭ[ṭ]arh yō-dhād-udayagīrīndrō(ndrē) ravir-iva lōk-anurā-gīya ||*—“who, like the sun (rising) on the lordly mountain of dawn, to the affectionate delight of mankind assumed the fillet (of sovereignty) in the year that had the enumeration of the mountains (seven), the flavours (six), the Vasus (eight),

in the Śaka era, in the month *Mārgaśīraha*, on the thirteenth day in the dark fortnight, on Friday, under the *Maitra* (i.e. *Anurādhā*) *nakshatra*, when the sun was in *Dhanu*, during the *Ghaṭa lagna* (i.e. the rising of the sign *Kumbha*),² in the twelfth year from his birth.”

Here the given Śaka year, 867, is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by applying it as an expired year.

In Śaka-Samvat 867 current, the *pūrṇimānta* *Mārgaśīraha* *kṛishṇa* 18 ended, not on a Friday, but on Saturday, 16th November, A.D. 944, at about 35 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); nor can the *tithi* here be connected with the Friday, as a current *tithi*; for, the sun was not then in *Dhanu*, the *sakāntānt* or entrance into that sign not occurring till seven

¹ The original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, are now, I understand, in the British Museum.

² For the meaning of *lagna*, see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162, note 1.

days later, on the 23rd November, at about 34 gk. 13 p.; moreover, the *tithi* commenced during the night, at which time it is very unlikely that a formal ceremony of accession should be performed. And the *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 13 ended, also not on a Friday, but on Monday, 15th December, at about 18 gk. 24 p.

In Saka-Samvat 868 current (867 expired), however, the results work out quite satisfactorily. The *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 13 again ended, not on a Friday, but on Wednesday, 5th November, A.D. 945, at about 37 gk. 8 p. But the *amānta* Mārgaśīrsha kṛishṇa 13, — and we have already seen (*ante*. Vol. XVII. p. 142) that the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is the one that ought to apply for the period and locality of this grant, — ended on Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, at about

24 gk. 32 p.* And for this day the other details are correct. The sun was then in Dhanu; the entrance into that sign having occurred twelve days previously, on the 23rd November, at about 49 gk. 47 p. At sunrise on that day there was the Anurādhā nakṣatra, by all three systems; and it ended, according to the equal-space system and the Garga system of unequal spaces, at about 7 hrs. 53 min., = 19 gk. 43 5 p., after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), and by the Brahma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces, at about 2 hrs. 38 min., = 6 gk. 35 p. And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that there was the Ghṛta lagna from about 8 gk. 23 p. to 12 gk. 46 p., after apparent sunrise for Rājamahēndri.*

Accordingly, the date of the accession of Amma II. was Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CHARMS AND SPELLS.

In the North-West Provinces.

Children throw oil into a pot of water when it rains, with the idea that, as it breaks upon the surface of the water, the clouds may break.

WILLIAM CROOKS.

In Madras.

In South India male devils are called *piśāṣu* (Skr. *piśāka*) and female devils *mōhtnis*. Devils

always possess the opposite sex in mankind. It is much more difficult to exorcise a *mōhtni* than a *piśāṣu*. Lascivious dreams at night are always attributed to possession by *mōhtnis*. The cure for this is to take a washerman's virgin daughter by the hand, and bathe in a tank holding her hand, on a Friday evening.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

Madras.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE MODERN VERNAICULAR LITERATURE OF HINDUSTAN,
by G. A. GRIERSON. Calcutta, 1890.

This is another of those solid contributions to our knowledge of India with which the name of Mr. Grierson is now so honorably connected, and which we have had already reason to notice.¹

The book is the final outcome of a paper read before the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna in 1886, which the present writer was privileged to hear delivered, and to the very favourable reception of which he is happy now to testify. It deals only with the modern vernacular literature of Hindustan proper, and

therefore Sanskrit and Prākṛit works of all kinds have been excluded from it; but the mere fact that in it Mr. Grierson has been able to bring together the names of 952 authors shows what an advance it is upon the previous standard work on the subject by Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, in which only about 70 authors are mentioned.

Mr. Grierson puts forth his work as a collection of materials to "form a foundation upon which others may build." Those "others," whenever the time comes for them to write, will unquestionably be vastly indebted to the author of these materials, whose industry has afforded

ending-time of the *tithi*, &c., would be later at Rājamahēndri than at Bombay. It does not cause any variation in the general results for the present date.

* This calculation is by the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. And according to the same authority, the *tithi* ended at 27 gk. 50 p., and the Anurādhā nakṣatra ended at 21 gk. 46 p., according to the equal-space system and the Garga system of unequal spaces; both these times being after apparent sunrise for Rājamahēndri.

¹ See *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 60, 244.

² The exact place for which the times of Eastern Chalukya dates should be reduced, has not been determined. The ancient city of Vengī is perhaps represented by the modern Pedda-Vēgi, a village in the 'Ellore' Taluk of the Gōḍāvarī District (*Archæol. Surv. South India*. Vol. I. p. 36). But a more suitable place, for purposes of calculations, is probably Rājamahēndri in the Gōḍāvarī District, Lat. 17° N., Long. 81° 45' E.; and taking the longitude of Bombay as 72° 53', the difference in time is $8\frac{5}{60} \times 10 \text{ palas} = 1 \text{ gk. } 29\frac{1}{2} \text{ p.}$, by which the

them such an excellent foundation upon which to raise a successful superstructure.

The indefatigable compiler of this truly noble book rightly claims for his subject that it carries us from Sanskrit and Pāli studies, through that of the classical Prakṛita, to the Gaudian literature, and so from the 12th century A.D. right up to the present day, and enables us to complete the chain of Indian linguistics. It gives vernacular commentaries on difficult Sanskrit works on Grammar, Prosody, Vocabulary and Composition, and is a valuable aid to the student of history, as the vernacular poetical works are dated, and actual historical works are revealed to us founded on materials from the ninth century onwards. The poets, too, wrote for the million, and therefore the mere survival of their productions proves the excellence of their intrinsic merit. High as their claims are, they are no doubt just, and this fact alone should convince the sceptical of the importance of this last work from Mr. Grierson's pen.

The contents are derived almost entirely from native sources, and the "innumerable texts bought in the *bādas*," upon which it is based, must in themselves form an invaluable library, which we must presume that it is the author's good fortune to possess. The European authorities chiefly consulted have been Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, Garcin de Tassy's works, especially that above quoted, and Tod's *Rajasthān*. Native anthologies have been also collated, especially the *Sib Singh Sarsūj* (1883), and 18 of these are quoted in the book, dating from 1550 A.D. up to as late as 1887.

The arrangement of this work is best described in the author's own words. "The work is divided into chapters, each roughly representing a period. The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the Augustan age of Indian vernacular poetry, occupy six chapters, not strictly divided according to periods of time, but according to groups of poets, commencing with the romantic poetry of Malik Muhammad and including, amongst others, the Krishna cult of Braj, the works of Tulsi Dās (to whom a special chapter has been allotted) and the technical school of poets founded by Kāśab Dās." Within each group the arrangement is, as far as possible, chronological.

The earliest vernacular literature is found in the bardic chronicles of Rājputānā, commencing with Ohand Bardāi and finally losing itself in the sea of the other vernacular poets in the 17th century. For historical purposes the value of these chronicles can hardly be over-estimated. In the Gangetic Valley that branch of

Vaiṣṇavism, which is represented by the worship of Rāma and in the works of Rāmānand, Kabir and Tulsi Dās, from the 15th to the 17th centuries, gives us "a doctrine of eclecticism in its best form." Side by side with the noble teaching of this sect there existed the Krishna cult — also a branch of Vaiṣṇavism — which is best seen in the writings of Mirā Bai and Bidyāpati Thākur. In those early days, too, flourished Malik Muhammad, the author of the *Padmāvat*, deeply imbued with the philosophic teaching of the period, and invaluable for its historical allusions, and also as a representation of the pronunciation of the period.

Later in the 16th and 17th centuries, the age when nearly all the great writers existed, we find the Krishna cult at its height with Kishn Dās and Sūr Dās as its chief exponents, and while they were writing, the action of Akbar's Court at Dehli (Dillī) caused the acceptance of the Urdu language. At this period, too, rose the great Tulsi Dās, the mightiest poet of modern India, whose book "is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, read, or heard, and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindi community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old." At other times the writings of Kāśab Dās, Chintāmani Tripathī, and Kālidās Tribhī, settled for ever the canons of poetic criticism. Nor must we forget the religious revivals of the period and the literature thereof, as represented in the works of Dādū, Prān Nāth and Gōbind Singh of the *Granth*.

In the 18th century the value of the literature declined, but in the present century there has been a renaissance in the *Prēm Sagar* of Lallū Ji Lal in that new English-invented language, Hindi. While the introduction of printing has created the spread of a healthy literature in the North, a spirit of criticism, a demand for renderings of the old classics, the spread of educational writings in the North-West, and the production of huge anthologies in Bengal. In this century also has arisen the Hindi drama.

All this and much more does Mr. Grierson explain in his introduction in glowing words, born of the enthusiasm which has impelled him to complete so dry a work as a catalogue of the writers, great and small, who have helped to build up so splendid and living a structure as the modern Hindu literature. All we have attempted to do here is to draw what attention we can to the subject, and to exhibit our hearty admiration of Mr. Grierson's success in presenting to the world of orientologists, and perhaps to others, materials on which to base comprehensive accounts thereof.

BUDDHAGHOSA.

BY THE REV. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

I.—Introductory.

THE famous name of Buddhaghōsa occupies a conspicuous position in Pāli literature, similar in some respects to that of Vāḍavyāsa in Sanskrit literature and Dēvaddhigapin in the literature of the Jains.¹ The voluminous works, still in existence, of which he is the author or reputed author, have had a continuous supreme influence upon the religious and intellectual life of the Southern Buddhists for a very long period of time.

His proper or original name is unknown; the name Buddhaghōsa, 'the Voice of Buddha,' is an honorific title conferred on him upon his conversion to Buddhism,² or perhaps later on in his career when his reputation had been established as an eloquent expounder of the teachings of Buddha. Professor Rhys Davids has suggested³ that this name may have reference to that "deep, rich, thrilling voice which so many of the successful leaders of men have possessed," and which Buddha himself possessed in an eminent degree. I write his name in its Pāli form, that is to say, with the dental *s*, rather than in its Sanskrit form with the cerebral or lingual *śh*,⁴ because he has no known connection with Sanskrit literature, and the name, thus spelt, has come down to us exclusively in Pāli and other cognate books. His name is found spelt in many other ways more or less diverging from these two normal forms, — Buddha Gausa, Bud-dha-gau-sa, Buddha Gautha, Bud-dha-gau-tha, Booddha-goshu, Booddhu-ghoshu, Booddhu-ghoskū, Budha-ghosa, Budhagosa, Budha-gosa, Budhagosha, Budha-gosha, Budhu-gosha, Boudha-gosha, Boudha-gantha, Buddagosa, Buddagautha, Bud-da gau-tha, Buddagosa-charin, Buddothegoo-saka, Boodagosa-w-chawree, Boudagautha, Bandagot, Prah-Putha-kosa,⁵ and others, — some of which are due to different methods of transliteration, and others to loose or unmethodical transcription, some to dialectical peculiarities, and some to slips of the pen or the press.⁶ There are many other similar compound names which have the first half of this name, such as Buddha-cāsa, Buddha-priya, Buddha-rakshita, Buddha-gupta, Buddha-mitra, Buddha-bhadra, Buddha-sīmha, Buddha-pālita, Buddha-yāsa, Buddha-nandi; and others which have its latter part, such as Siva-ghōsa, Aśva-ghōsa, Indra-ghōsa, Ārya-ghōsa, Mañju-ghōsa.

It may be mentioned here at the outset, that although this name occurs in three early inscriptions to be noticed presently, at Mathurā, the Bhēlsa tope, and the Kāphēri caves, this eminent Buddhist author is quite unknown to the Northern Buddhists and their Chinese, Japanese and Mongolian congeners, throughout the whole stream of ancient and modern Buddhist history, notwithstanding that as a Māgadha Brāhman he belongs properly to them: the traditions and

¹ See Professor Rhys Davids in *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. XIII. p. 541.

² Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 251.

³ *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 428.

⁴ See Professor Max Müller's reasons for the use of the Sanskrit form in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X. Introd. p. lili.

⁵ [Bōgdāgōk and Bōgdāgawtha are the Burmese pronunciations: *ao* as in *awful*; *th* as in *thus*.—R. C. T.]

⁶ [The transcription of Burmese words herein adopted is that used now by the Government of Burma after much discussion of the subject. The Burmese have adopted a form of the Nāgarī alphabet, but have forced it to suit their own laws of phonetics. The result is that words are not at all pronounced, though they are spelt, according to the usually accepted pronunciation of Nāgarī letters. Phayre, following others who were taught in his time, adopts a purely fanciful transcription of Arakanese origin, which neither represents the true transliteration nor the Burmese pronunciation, but is an unhappy and inaccurate mixture of both. It represents no actual forms at all; e.g. Phayre's *radsa* = ရာဇာ *rāja* = Bur. *yasa*; there is no *ds* sound in Burmese: his *weng* = ငှာ = Bur. *win* or *win*; there is no *eng* in Burmese, but *in*, *in* and *in*, as in *thakī* (*th* as in *thing*): his *sheng-bureng* = နှစ်-သုတေသန = Bur. *śin-bayin* or even *śin-bayin*, (*ś* being written *hr*): his *prā* is *bhūrā* = Bur. *phayā*. No Burman could make head or tail of his vernacular words without special training. In one point we must herein differ from the Government system. Because *th* = *th* as in *the* or *thing*, the Government writes *h* for aspirated *t*, and so *hp* for aspirated *p*, and so on. We will, however, use *t'*, *p'*, etc., to show this. But *h*, *hw*, *hs* will be preserved, as indicating real sounds.—R. C. T.]

legends respecting him are found among the Southern Buddhists alone, in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

The first of the three inscriptions to which I have just referred occurs on the base of one of the pillars discovered by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham at Mathurā on the Jamnā,⁷ which are supposed to have formed part of the railing around the *stūpa* of the great monastery erected there by the Indo-Scythic king Huvishka, about the beginning of the Christian era. It is in the Sanskrit language, and is given together with several others discovered at the same place in Professor Dowson's paper in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society⁸ in these words — "Gift of the mendicant priest [Buddhist monk] Buddhaghōṣa, the fruit," the remaining words having been broken off the stone. The company in which he is found here may perhaps warrant the conclusion that the Buddhaghōṣa of this inscription was a distinguished member of the Buddhist community of the North-West of India at that early period. There is, however, nothing here to make for an identification of this Buddhaghōṣa with the subject of the present paper: and the difference of dates interposes, at least for the present, an insuperable difficulty in the way of such an identification.

Mr. Beal has suggested the great probability that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian alludes to the Buddhaghōṣa of the Southern legends, when he speaks in his travels of the eminently learned Brāhmaṇ of Pāṭaliputra.⁹ This supposition would necessitate the sacrifice of the date now generally assigned to Buddhaghōṣa. Fa-Hian's description of his learned Brāhmaṇ in Mr. Beal's translation, is as follows: — "For something like fifty years the whole country looked up to this man and placed its confidence in him alone;" and Burnouf's translation, in Laidlay's version,¹⁰ is virtually the same: — "For more than fifty years the eyes of the kingdom and its confidence were placed upon this single man." Dr. Legge's translation is as follows,¹¹ — "He might be more than fifty years old, and all the kingdom looked up to him." Buddhaghōṣa, on the other hand, was a young man, according to the Ceylonese legend, — "a Brāhmaṇ youth,"¹² — at the time of his conversion not long before his visit to Ceylon; and the Burmese and Siamese traditions of his subsequent career show that a long period of his life was still before him when he left Ceylon. Instead then of upholding Mr. Beal's supposition that Buddhaghōṣa was living at Pāṭaliputra towards the close of his career, when Fa-Hian visited that city sometime between A.D. 405 and 409, and had lived there for many years previously, the Ceylonese and Burmese chronicles agree in placing the commencement of his career in the reigns of the Ceylonese king Mahānāma, who came to the throne in A.D. 410,¹³ and of the Burmese king Kyaungdayā, who died in A.D. 418.¹⁴ These dates, if they are to be accepted, combine to show that Buddhaghōṣa was in the midst of his work in Ceylon as a young man when Fa-Hian arrived there in A.D. 411, three or four years after his discovery of the learned old Brāhmaṇ of Pāṭaliputra. Moreover, the name of this old Brāhmaṇ was Artā-Svāmin,¹⁵ or Raddha-sāmi,¹⁶ and again, he was a professor of the "Greater Vehicle." But for Mr. Beal's note, I should have concluded that this influential old man belonged to a time long before Fa-Hian's visit.

The second inscription occurs on one of the rail-pillars at Sāñchi¹⁷ in Central India, in the following words: — "(Gift of the householder Budhaghōṣa." This serves to show that the name Buddhaghōṣa was not unique, but was borne even by an householder at the very early date of this inscription; for the circumstance that this man was not a monk, precludes the supposition that he might be the same as the subject of the Southern legends, even without any reference to the date.

The third inscription occurs under a standing image of Buddha in the porch of the great

⁷ *Archæol. Surv. Reports*, Vol. I. p. 239; Vol. III. pp. 14, 29; Vol. XX. p. 36.

⁸ Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 186.

⁹ *The pilgrimages of Fa-Hian*, p. 254; *Foe Kone Ki*, p. 254.

¹⁰ *Turnour's Mahāvastu*, p. 250.

¹¹ Beal, p. 104, note.

¹² *Turn. Mahāv.*, Introd. p. lxiii.

¹³ Legge, p. 78, and note.

¹⁴ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 104, note.

¹⁵ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, p. 98.

¹⁶ *Phayre, Hist. of Burma*, p. 21.

¹⁷ Cunningham, *Bhilar Topes*, p. 129.

temple-cave at Kāphēri near Bombay.¹⁹ It is translated by Professor Georg Bühler as follows:²⁰ — "This image of Bhagavat (Buddha, is) the meritorious gift of the ascetic Buddhaghōṣa, the guardian of the great *gandhakūṭi* [this temple-cave], and pupil of the reverend Dharmavatsa, a teacher of the three Piṭakas, who follows the religion of the divine Buddha." Like the above inscription at Mathurā, it is in the Sanskrit language. Dr. Stevenson's date of this cave-temple is about 70 B.C.²¹ Mr. Fergusson's date is about the 6th century A.D.²² Dr. Burgess places it between A.D. 100 and 150, but he thinks the statue of Buddha is considerably later than the cave itself, and considers the characters of the inscription to belong to about the 6th century A.D.²³ Professor Bühler's date for the inscription is the 4th or 5th century A.D.²⁴ On the other hand General Cunningham assigns this inscription, together with the great mass of the other inscriptions at Kāphēri, to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.²⁵ Dr. Stevenson has assumed the identity of the Buddhaghōṣa of this inscription with the great Pāli scholar;²⁶ but he has not considered the difficulty arising out of the time in which he places him, namely, about 70 B.C. This date, if it could be maintained, would have the effect of placing the donor of the Kāphēri statue in chronological connection with the donor of the Mathurā pillar: and this circumstance may be held in reserve pending the solution of the question in what measure the Southern traditions of Buddhaghōṣa are strictly historical. It must be observed that Dr. Stevenson had more than the identity of the name to support his assumption; for his translation of the inscription made the donor of the statue "the same [Buddhaghōṣa] who composed the institutes of the lord Buddha," and although this version cannot be sustained, the direct reference to his connection with the Tripiṭaka, as is still shown by Dr. Bühler's new translation, makes it difficult wholly to set aside the possibility of the identification in the present condition of the Buddhaghōṣa question, notwithstanding the apparent chronological difficulty.

II.—The Buddhaghōṣa Legends.

A.—The Burmese Legend.

The Buddhaghōṣa legend has come down to us in two separate streams, having a certain amount of imperfectly ascertained interdependence, in the chronicles of Ceylon in one form, and in another form in the chronicles of Burma.

Buddhaghōṣa was first introduced to European scholars by Father Carpanus, or Carpanius, in his *Alphabetum Burmanum* published at Rome in A.D. 1796;²⁷ but he does not appear to have attracted particular attention until his name was brought into prominence half a century later in MM. Burnouf and Lassen's *Essai sur le Pāli*.

In the meantime another notice of the Burmese legend was published by the Serampore Missionary, the Rev. W. Ward, in his *View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*, from information derived from Mr. Felix Carey, a resident of Rangoon: — "The Burmans believe that 650 years after that event, in the reign of Maha-moonsee, Booddhu-ghoshu, a Brahmin was deputed to Ceylon to copy the work Vishooddhimargu, which includes all the Jātas, or histories of the incarnations of Booddhu: and it is fabled that the iron stile with which he copied this work was given him by a heavenly messenger; though others will have it that Bodhee-sutwu gave it to him."²⁸

¹⁹ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. pp. 8, 18 ff.; Vol. VI. p. 8.

²⁰ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 4.

²¹ *Cave-Temples*, p. 363.

²² *Archæol. Surv. India*, Vol. I. Introd. p. xxi.

²³ See Sir Wm. Jones' Eighth Discourse, *As. Res.* Vol. III. p. 11, and Leyden's *Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, *ibid.* Vol. X. pp. 253, 258, 277, 280, 283.

²⁴ Ward's *Hindooes* (3rd edn.), Vol. II. p. 211. See also Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, Vol. I. Pref. p. vii. [Ward's transliteration is perfectly regular and in accordance with the period at which he wrote: and the words in the text should be accordingly Mahāmuni, Buddhaghōṣa, Viśuddhimarga, Jātas, Buddha, Bōdhimāra.—B. C. T.]

²⁵ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77.

²⁶ *Rock-cut Temples of India*, p. 89.

²⁷ *Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 77.

²⁸ *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 5.

The passage in Burnouf and Lassen's *Hesi* referred to above, is as follows:— "According to P. Carpanus the History of the Burmans called the *Mahārāsaen*²⁸ (a name derived doubtless from the Sanskrit *Mahā-rāja*), states that the Pāli books and written character were brought from Ceylon to Pegu by a Brāhmaṇ called Buddhaghōṣa ('the voice of Buddha') in the year 940 of their sacred era, that is to say, in the year 397 of ours This introduction of Buddhism into Pegu, &c."

The Hon. George Turnour in quoting this passage,²⁹ remarks that its authors have drawn two erroneous inferences from their materials, "First, that Buddhism was originally introduced by Buddhaghōṣa into Pegu; and secondly, that his resort to the eastern peninsula was the consequence of his expulsion from India under the persecution of the Brāhmanas." Whether that inference respecting his missionary work was justified or otherwise, the Siamese have a similar more general tradition of the introduction of Buddhism amongst the Southern Buddhists by Buddhaghōṣa:—"The Buddhist religion, according to the Siamese priests, was introduced into Ceylon 236 years after the death of Gautama,³⁰ or in the 236th year of their sacred era, by Prah-Putha-Kosa."³¹ It will be observed that in this Siamese tradition, Buddhaghōṣa takes the place of Mahinda in the Ceylonese legends, both as regards the work attributed to him and his proximate date. Professor Rhys Davids has put this tradition in a sounder form, correcting the chronological discrepancy:—"From Ceylon it [Buddhism] was introduced into Burma in the 5th century A.D.,³² whence it penetrated into Arakan, Kambōja, and Pegu, and finally into Siam in the 7th century of our era."³³ The same tradition in the main is given by Col. Sir H. Yule:—"Kambōjan legend, like that of nearly all the Indo-Chinese countries, couples the introduction of Buddhism (perhaps rather its re-introduction) with the name of Buddhaghōṣa. However that may be, it is about the 1000th year of Buddha (i.e. according to the ordinary calculation 457 A.D.), and near the date usually assigned to Buddhaghōṣa, that the traditions place a great king, Phutamma Surivong, &c."³⁴

The Burmese History, called by Carpanius the *Maharaseen*, is the (*Mahāyāsawin*) *Mahārāja-weng*, — Buchanan's *Maha-rasa-wayn-gye* and Burney's *Maha-Yasowen* or *Yajawen*.³⁵ It was from this source that Colonel Burney obtained the materials for his papers on Burma in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.³⁶ Sir Arthur Phayre used it still more largely in his contributions to the same *Journal*,³⁷ and subsequently in his *History of Burma*.³⁸ It had been previously referred to also by Buchanan in his paper "On the 'Religion and Literature of the Burmese'" in the *Asiatic Researches*,³⁹ and by Leyden in the paper referred to above.⁴⁰ It exists in what may be called three recensions, or editions, 'The Great,' 'The Middle,' and 'The New Yāzawin,'⁴¹ which differ from each other in their versions of the legends, and also in the dates

²⁸ [The word is written in Burmese in characters corresponding to the Devanāgarī महाराज Mahārājavan, and is always pronounced Mahāyāsawin according to the rules of Burmese phonetics. "The learned" will sometimes use Mahārāsaen; Phayre's Mahārāja-weng is fanciful as usual. Burnouf and Lassen were quite right as to the derivation of the word. It is merely Mahārājavanśa = 'Genealogy of the Great Kings,' minus the last letter or syllable, as is common in Burmese. Like derivatives are Dīpawin, Bōgdawin (*Buddhavarāṇśa*), and Mahāwain.—B. C. T.]

²⁹ Turnour's *Mahāsaen*. Introd. p. xxx.

³⁰ B.C. 307.

³¹ Crawford's *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91. [*Prah* = 'lord.' In Burmese *Bhurā* as spelt, or *P'ayā* as pron. = 'lord master; venerable as applied to things and men, to Buddha himself and to God.'—B. C. T.]

³² N.B. This is the Mahāvāṇśa date of Buddhaghōṣa.—T. F.

³³ *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 437, v. 'Buddhism.' See also *ibid.* Vol. XXI. p. 334, v. 'Siam.'

³⁴ *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 724, v. 'Cambodia.'

³⁵ [All these are forms of the Burmese *Mahāyāsawin* above explained. *Maharaseenayngye* = *Mahāyāsawingyi*. Burm. *kyi*, which in comp. after a nasal, sonant or open vowel = *gyi*, or more usually simply *ji*, means 'great' and is suffixed to words and names to imply venerability.—B. C. T.]

³⁶ Vols. IV. V. VI., A.D. 1835, 1836, 1837. See also his paper in *Gleanings of Science*, Vol. III. (1831), pp. 182, 184.

³⁷ Vols. XXXIII. XXXVII. XLII., A.D. 1864, 1866, 1873.

³⁸ Vol. VI. (1799), p. 803.

⁴¹ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXVII. pp. 80, 81.

³⁹ In Trubner's *Oriental Series*.

⁴⁰ *As. Res.* Vol. X. (1806), p. 224.

assigned to the events.⁴³ It is a compilation made at different times, bringing the record down to the present century; and it appears to have been commenced at no remote date.⁴³ It corresponds closely, therefore, with the *Mahāvāṣaṣa*⁴⁴ of Ceylon. The Buddhaghōsa legend in this authority is summarized by Sir Arthur Phayre thus:⁴⁵—"It is stated that in his reign [King Kyaungdayēk] the Buddhist scriptures having been brought to Thātun⁴⁶ by the great teacher, Buddhaghōsa, Pugaṇ⁴⁷ participated in the benefit derivable therefrom. There are however inconsistent statements on this subject; or, if the books of the *Piṭaka* were brought to Pugaṇ in the time of Buddhaghōsa, they were afterwards lost; for the *Mahāyāsawī* relates how, about 650 years later, King Anawyeṭā,⁴⁸ in order to reform religion, undertook a war to gain possession of these sacred writings. Kyaungdayēk reigned 25 years, or until about A.D. 413. Another version of this legend, drawn from the writings and conversation of the Burmese, was supplied to Mr. John Crawfurd,⁴⁹ by the American Missionary Mr. Judson:—"In the year 930 after Gautama,⁵⁰ A.D. 886, Bud-d'ha-gantha⁵¹ transcribed the Buddhist Scriptures with an iron pen of celestial workmanship, and brought them by sea to Pugaṇ, the seat of the supreme government." Later on,⁵² Crawfurd re-states it thus:—"In the year 886 of Christ, a Burman Priest, named Budd'ha Gantha,⁵¹ or Gausa,⁵¹ proceeded to Ceylon, and from thence brought with him a copy of the Budd'hist scriptures:" and in his appendix⁵³ he adds the local dates:—"A.D. 886, Grand Epoch 1078, Sacred Epoch 930, Prome Epoch 308, Bud-d'ha-gau-sa⁵¹ went to Ceylon." General Albert Fytche has also given a version of this legend in the following passage:⁵⁴—"The Buddhist doctrines were propagated here, as elsewhere, orally, and the Talaings, did not possess the Buddhist scriptures in written form until they were conveyed to them from Ceylon by Buddhaghōsa in 450 A.D. The Talaings claim this celebrated monk as a countryman of their own, and their history states that he went from Thātun to Ceylon, where he stayed three years, and then returned with a copy of the scriptures. This is, however, a fallacy, for he was a native of Magadha, and born near the Bo-tree at Buddha-Gayā. He went to Ceylon in about 480 A. D., and there compiled his great work, the *Visuddhi Magga*, or *Path of Holiness*, a cyclopædia of Buddhist doctrine; and from the great knowledge he displayed, was employed by the rulers of his order in Ceylon to rewrite in Pāli the commentaries which had till then been handed down in Sinhalese.⁵⁵ Buddhaghōsa was a convert from Brahmanism, and owing to his great eloquence, the appellation of Buddhaghōsa (the Voice of Buddha) was conferred upon

⁴³ See Phayre's *Burma*, pp. 22 note, 27, 30, 46 note.

⁴³ See *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. pp. 556, 734.

⁴⁴ [The word is clearly the same; see the above explanation of the written form of the Burmese word *Mahāyāsawī*. The final letter in the Burmese word corresponds to the Nāgarī guttural nasal and to *anuvāda*. Its power when final in a syllable in Burmese phonetics is to change the inherent *a* of the preceding consonant to *i*, and its pronunciation under those circumstances is so close to that of the cerebral nasal as to incline me to write it *y*. When initial in a syllable its power is *ay*, as in the common words *aya* and *aya* = *y* and *y*. Other forms in Further India of such *it* are wrong in Kambōjan, e.g. *Suriṅg* in the text above = *Sūryasāṅga*; and *scogas* in Siamese, used as a termination to many Royal names.—R. O. T.]

⁴⁵ *Etet. Burma*, pp. 20, 21, with p. 34.

⁴⁶ [It is in *thing*. The word is really *Thātun*.—R. O. T.]

⁴⁷ [So always spelt, but always pronounced Pugaṇ. Short unaccented *u* is often so pronounced in Burmese: e.g. *biṇḍ* = *p'ayd*; *bāsurā* = *bayis*; *saḥḥ* = *thak'ō* (*th* as in *thing*).—R. O. T.]

⁴⁸ [Spelt Anōraṭhā, pronounced Anawyeṭā; *aw* as in *awful*.) Phayre spells Anōraṭhā, as he uses *oa* = to express *aw* in *awful*, and *ai* to express aspirated *t*, because of the Burmese *th* as in *thing* and *the*. The *t* in this word is often distinctly aspirated in Burmese, as it is in the common kindred word *yet'ō*, a carriage (not a cart which is *hō*). *Yet'ō* is a Pāli derivative and is always spelt *rathā*. It should be remembered that Burmese has neither *ṭ* nor *ṣ*, but the true English *t*.—R. O. T.]

⁴⁹ Crawfurd's *Ava* (1834), Vol. II. p. 123.

⁵⁰ [Gautama in Burmese is written Gōtama and pron. Gaudama. This is the pronunciation which Bigandet represents in his *Life and Legend of Gaudama*, and which is the origin of the common Anglo-Burmese form *goddama* applied to images of Buddha.—R. O. T.]

⁵¹ [These are merely an attempt to transcribe the Burmese written word Buddhaghōsa and which is pronounced according to Burman phonetics Bōgdāgawthā (*th* as in *the*) and spelt Buddhaghōsa. Similarly Bōgdā-bāthā (*th* as in *the*) is the modern vulgar Burmese expression for the Buddhist religion = *Buddhābāthā*.—R. O. T.]

⁵² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 278.

⁵³ No. VIII. p. 59.

⁵⁴ *Burma Past and Present*, (1875), Vol. II. pp. 169, 170.

⁵⁵ *Buddhism* Rhys Davids, p. 236.

him." The Burmese legend is given in a still more complete form by Bishop Bigandet,⁵⁵ from whom most of the later authorities have derived their information — "The first one [in Burma] who made an attempt to possess himself of a copy of the sacred scriptures was Buddhagosa, a religious of Thaton, of the Ponnā⁵⁷ race. That man embarked at Thaton which was then on or near the sea. That place is in the Ramagnia⁵⁸ country, and is inhabited by a people called Moun.⁵⁹ He sailed to Ceylon in the year of religion 943, = to 400 A.C., under the reign of King Mahānāma. He resided three years on that island, wrote on palm leaves with the Burmese characters, the Pitagat,⁶⁰ which was found written in the language and characters of Ceylon. In another manuscript we read that he translated into Pāli the scriptures, which were in the language of Ceylon. Buddhagosa remained three years in Ceylon, in order to complete the work which he had undertaken. During his stay in that island, the people were so much pleased with him that they made him many and costly presents on his leaving their country. With him he brought over to Souwana boumi, [Savarnabhūmi] which is in the Ramagnia country, a complete copy of the scriptures. In or about the Pagan [modern Burmese] era 419 = 1058 A.D., the 42nd, some say the 44th King of Pagan, named Anaurata [Anawryet⁶¹], having invaded the Ramagnia country, possessed himself of the Moun's territories, and entered triumphant in the venerable city of Thaton.⁶¹ He took away from that place the collection of scriptures brought over from Ceylon by Buddhagosa as well as the most learned among the Rahans.⁶² With the aid of these distinguished Rahans religion was then firmly established in Pagan."⁶³

B.—The Ceylonesse Legend.

Down to A.D. 1838 European scholars appear to have known the Buddhaghōsa legend through the Burmese traditions alone. In that year other versions of it, differing in many essential particulars from the Burmese form, were published in Upham's *Collection of the Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*. In the most important of these books, the *Mahāvamsa*, the Ceylonesse legend is given in these words:⁶⁴—"In the reign of this king [Mahānāma] there came from Jambu-dwīpa [India] to Ceylon a learned priest whose name was Buddha-gosa, by whom the king caused to be written a great number of sermons of Budhu, and thus illustrated the doctrine." The *Rājaratnākara*, another of these books, gives the legend in the following form:⁶⁵—"The next king who ascended the throne was called Mahanawma Raja, in whose time the priest called Budhu-gosha came from Jambu-dwīpa, and added to the three books which contained 257,250 sermons of Budhu, 360,550 sermons more, in the Pālee language." The *Rājāvali*, another of these historical books, has the following variation of the legend:⁶⁶—"His son, Manam Rajah was the next king: he reigned for twenty years. In the course of this king's reign the two persons called Bandagot [Buddhaghōsa] Nam-watawak and Toumaha Sin caused to be brought from Jambu-dwīpa to Ceylon the books containing the 200,250 orders of Budhu, and the books containing the three lacs and 100,750 sayings of Budhu, which were written in the Pālee language, and ordered the same to be published." Another variation is given in the more recent Sinhalese Compendium of Gautama Buddha's doctrine:⁶⁷—"In the sixth year of the reign of the king Maha-Naone, and in the year of Budhu 930, the high-priest Buddothegooseke Terunwahansa, coming to the island of Ceylon, composed the books called *Vibuddhinirga*, &c. Upon his return to Swarna-

⁵⁵ *Life of Gautama* (2nd edit. 1866), pp. 391, 392. On Bp. Bigandet's authorities see *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI. (1881), introd. pp. xvi., xvii., xxii., xxxii.

⁵⁷ [Ponnā = Skt. Pūṇyā = in Burma 'a Brāhman'.—R. C. T.]

⁵⁸ [Ramagnia = Ramangya of Phayre = ရာမာဂ္ဂ.—R. C. T.]

⁵⁹ [Mun, spelt Mwan = Talaing.—R. C. T.]

⁶⁰ [Bidagāt, spelt Pitakat, is the modern Burmese form of the word *Pitaka* through (?) *Pitakattaya*.—R. C. T.]

⁶¹ [Sited on a tidal creek in the Gulf of Martaban, between the Sittang and Salween Rivers and not far from the latter.—R. C. T.]

⁶² [Rahan = Burmese Yahan = အရံ = အရံ.—R. C. T.]

⁶³ See also the Bishop's notes, introd. p. ix. and pp. 120, 351, 351, 396, 390, 393.

⁶⁴ Upham, Vol. I. p. 239.

⁶⁵ Upham, Vol. II. p. 74.

⁶⁶ Upham, Vol. II. p. 242.

⁶⁷ Upham, Vol. III. p. 116.

bhumiye, he composed the *Turnpittika* also, and employed himself in teaching the doctrine of Bodhi; while the king Aniniddha Maha Raja propagated the same persuasion in the country Arunardenapureje." A much fuller variation of the Ceylonese legend⁶⁶ appeared four years later in the Hon. George Turnour's translation of a portion of the *Mahāvamsa*, made from a totally different recension of that work from that which had been used by the earlier translators:— "A Brahman youth, born in the neighbourhood of the terrace of the great Bo-tree (in Magadha), accomplished in the *wijja* and *sippa*; who had achieved the knowledge of the three *vedas*, and possessed great aptitude in attaining acquirements, indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over Jambudipo, established himself in the character of a disputant in a certain *wihāro*, and was in the habit of rehearsing by night and by day with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain *mahā thero*, Rewato, becoming acquainted with him there, and saying to himself, 'This individual is a person of profound knowledge; it will be worthy of me to convert him,' inquired, 'Who is this who is braying like an ass?' The Brahman replied to him, 'Thou canst define, then, the meaning conveyed in the bray of asses.' On the *thero* rejoining, 'I can define it,' he the Brahman exhibited the extent of the knowledge he possessed. The *thero* criticised each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He who had been thus refuted said, 'Well, then, descend to thy own creed, and he propounded to him a passage from the *Abhidhammo* of the *Piṭakattaya*. He, the Brahman, could not divine the signification of that passage, and inquired, 'Whose *manto* is this?' 'It is Buddho's *manto*.' On his exclaiming, 'Impart it to me,' the *thero* replied, 'Enter the sacerdotal order.' He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the *Piṭakattaya*, subsequently coming to this conviction, 'This is the sole road to salvation, became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his (*ghoso*) eloquence as Buddho himself, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghoso (the voice of Buddho); and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddho. Having there, in Jambudipo, composed an original work called *Nanodayan*, he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called *Atthasālini*, on the *Dhammasaṅgini*, one of the commentaries on the *Abhidhammo*. Rewato-thero then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a *Parittatthakathan*, a general commentary on the *Piṭakattaya*, thus addressed him; 'The text alone of the *Piṭakattaya* has been preserved in this land: the *Atthakathā* are not extant here; nor is there any version to be found of the *vāḍā* schisms, complete. The Sinhalese *Atthakathā* are genuine. They were composed in the Sinhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahindo, who had previously consulted the discourses of Buddho, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sāriputto and others, and they are extant among the Sinhalese. Repairing thither, and studying the same, translate them according to the rules of the grammar of the Magadhas. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world.' Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein departed from thence and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (Mahanāmo). On reaching the Mahawihāro at Arurādhapura, he entered the Mahapāṭhāno hall, the most splendid of the apartments in the *wihāro*, and listened to the Sinhalese *Atthakathā* and the *Theravāḍā* from the beginning to the end propounded by the *thero* Sanghapāli; and became thoroughly convinced that they conveyed the true meaning of the doctrines of the lord of *Dhammo*. Thereupon, paying reverential respect to the priesthood, he thus petitioned; 'I am desirous of translating the *Atthakathā*, give me access to all your books.' The priesthood, for the purpose of testing his qualifications, gave only two *gāthā*, saying, 'Hence prove thy qualification; having satisfied ourselves on this point we will then let thee have all our books.' From these, taking these *gāthā* for his text, and consulting the *Piṭakattaya*, together with the *Atthakathā*, and condensing them into an abridged form, he composed the commentary called the *Wisuddhimaggan*. Thereupon having assembled the priesthood who had acquired a thorough knowledge of the doctrines of

⁶⁶ Turnour's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 250.

Buddho at the Bo-tree, he commenced to read out the work he had composed. The *dewatās*, in order that they might make his, Buddhaghosa's, gifts of wisdom celebrated among men, rendered that book invisible. He, however, for a second and third time recomposed it. When he was in the act of producing his book for the third time, for the purpose of propounding it, the *dewatās* restored the other two copies also. The assembled priests then read out the three books simultaneously. In those three versions, neither in a signification, nor in a single misplacement by transposition, nay, even in the *thera* controversies and in the text of the *Piṭakattaya*, was there in the measure of a verse or in the letter of a word, the slightest variation. Thereupon, the priesthood rejoicing, again and again fervently shouted forth saying, 'Most assuredly this is Metteyo Buddho himself,' and made over to him the books in which the *Piṭakattaya* were recorded, together with the *Atthakathā*. Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthākaro Wihāro at Anurādhapura, he translated, according to the grammatical rules of the Māgadhā, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singhalese *Atthakathā* into Pāli. This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race. All the *theras* and *achārayas* held this compilation in the same estimation as the text of the *Piṭakattayo*. Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudīpo [India] to worship at the Bo-tree at Urūwelāya in Māgadhā."

It is necessary to observe here that this Buddhaghōsa legend does not occur in the *Mahāvamsa* attributed to Mahānāma in the fifth century A.D., but in the continuation of that work by Dharmakīrti in the thirteenth century. The *Mahāvamsa* of Mahānāma, like the *Dīpavamsa*⁶⁹ ends with the reign of Mahāsēna,⁷⁰ A.D. 275 to 302, upwards of a century before the accession of Mahānāma, A.D. 410 to 432.⁷¹ Regarding the first continuation of that work, in which the above version of the Buddhaghōsa legend appears, Mr. Turnour has the following statement:⁷² — "From the period at which Mahānāma's work terminated, to the reign of Prakrama Bāhu in A.D. 1266, the Sulu Wanse was composed under the patronage of the last named sovereign by Dharma Kīrti at Dambedeniya."

C.—Combinations of the preceding Legends.

With these perplexing variations in both the Burmese and the Ceylonese traditions before him, M. Landresse, in a note to Remusat's translation of Fa-Hian's travels published in A.D. 1836,⁷³ gave the legend a new form, which is in effect a compromise combining the principal statements of both of those traditions: — "A learned priest from the continent of India, named Buddhaghosa, after having to a great extent revived the religion of which he was a zealous partisan, had hardly left Ceylon to spread the doctrine beyond the Ganges in Ava⁷⁴ and among the Burmans,⁷⁵ when Fa-Hian arrived there under circumstances highly favourable for the objects of his voyage."

A somewhat similar compromise occurs in the New *Mahāyāsawin* of the Burmese, quoted by Sir Arthur Phayre in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:⁷⁶ — "About this time it is recorded in the 'Great Rādā-weng' [*Mahāyāsawin*], that the celebrated teacher, the lord Bud-da-gau-tha [Bōgdāgawthā] went from the country of Thahtun [Thātōn] to Ceylon to bring the books of the *Bi-da-gāt* [*Piṭaka*]. In the New Rādā-weng [*Yāsawin*] it is said that he crossed from Mits-tsi-mā-de-tha [Machchamādēssa, Missimādētha]: but the case is really thus; for more than nine hundred years after the establishment of religion, the disciples of Yau-na-ka Mahā-dham-ma-rak-khi-ta, and of Thau-na and Ut-ta-ra, repeated by heart the three great divisions of the *Bi-da-gāt*. There were as yet no letters in Dzam-bu-dī-pa [Jambudīpa]. At that

⁶⁹ See Professor Oldenberg's translation, p. 231.

⁷⁰ Turnour's translation, p. 233.

⁷¹ These are Turnour's dates in his appendix, p. lxii.

⁷² *Mahāvamsa*, introd. p. ii.

⁷³ *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 347; Laidley's English translation (A.D. 1846), p. 347.

⁷⁴ [The Burmese word is, Ēwā or Ēyā (yod = yHage); accent on ā; but Awā is also known; accent on ā. Ava with accent on the first syllable is Anglo-Indian.—R. O. T.]

⁷⁵ Crawford, *Embassy to Ava*, p. 421, and Burnouf and Lassen, *Essai sur le Pāli*, p. 62.

⁷⁶ Vol. XXXVII. (1868), pp. 202. See also his *History of Burma*, pp. 202.

time a young Brahman was living near the Bandi[Bôdhi]-tree. He was learned in medicine and mathematics. Wandering about in Ddam-bu-di-pa, disputing the doctrines of others, he came to a monastery, and in the vicinity began to recite in a soft voice. The great teacher Sheng-Re-wa-ta[Shin Yôwâtâ] hearing, said, 'This man is wise, it will be proper to discuss with him.' He therefore called out, 'Who is there braying like an ass?' The young man replied, 'You understand then the braying of asses?' and then to his questions Sheng Rewata gave suitable replies. But the young man knew nothing of the divine law. He therefore became a Rahan to study the three great books of the *Bi-da-gât*. From that time he became as celebrated as a Phm [Bhurâ : P'ayâ], and was named Bud-da-gau-tha. He wished to study commentaries on the *Bi-da-gât*. The Sheng Re-wa-tâ knowing this, said : — 'In Ddam-bu-di-pa there is only the Pâli, there is not the commentary ; teachers with various gifts of mind are scarce ; but in Ceylon the commentaries are pure. The Pâli divine revelations as repeated in the three great Councils were carried to Ceylon by the lord Ma-hin-da. Going there where the commentaries exist in the Singhalese language, learn it, and translate them into Magadhâ.' Saying this he sent him, as is written in the book *Tsula-weng*.⁷⁷ Sir A. Phayre then remarks, — "The history then gives in detail several versions of the story of the sacred books being procured in Ceylon by Bud-da-gau-tha, and brought to the Indo-Chinese nations. The great teacher is represented as the religious benefactor or missionary to the Burmese, Talaings, Arakanese, Shans, Siamese, and Cochin-Chinese. But he was led to Thahtun⁷⁸ by a miraculous direction at the last moment. The history proceeds thus : — "Lo, the lord Bu-da-gau-tha, after having obtained permission from king Mahâ-nâ-ma by presenting him with a white elephant, brought away the book *Wi-thu-di-mag* [*Visuddhi-magga*], the three great divisions of the *Bi-da-gât*, and the commentaries. But when he was on his way, to Ddam-bu-di-pa [India], a Thagya⁷⁹ came and warned him saying, "There is no place in Mita-tai-ma-de-tha [Machohama-dêsa] where religion can be established. The places where it is firmly established are situated on the south-east side of Mita-tai-ma-de-tha ; they are nine hundred *yuyanas*[*yôjjanas*] in circumference ; they lie on the outskirts, and are known as Tha-re-khet-ta-tâ, The-ri-pits-tsa-ra, Râ-ma-ngya, and other countries. Religion shall be established in them for full five thousand years. The books should be conveyed thither. The great teacher accordingly came to Thahtun in the country of Râ-mangyâ, then called Thû-dam-mâ-wa-ti, and also Thu-wa-na-bhum-mi."⁸⁰ The historian states that this event occurred in the year 946 of religion, or A.D. 403. "Thus," he concludes, "in order to set forth distinctly the account of the arrival in the Burma country of the scriptures, the root and foundation of religion, which had been omitted in the Great and the Middle Râdxa-weng, I have extracted the narrative from the religious books." In a subsequent passage, p. 105, Sir A. Phayre says ; — "In most histories of Burma it is stated that he [Buddhaghôsa] was a native of Thahtun ; but this claim now seems to be abandoned. The year given for his arrival, A.D. 403, has no doubt been fixed after consulting the *Mahâvamsa* of Ceylon, but still is scarcely consistent with it The Burmese *Mahâ-râdxa-weng* assumes that the whole of the Buddhist scriptures were at this time brought to Pagan [Pagan]. This is not credible. The intercourse between the Burmese and Talaings at this time appears to have been but small, and, as has been seen, the history subsequently relates the arrival of the scriptures, and the reform of religion, as being brought about in the reign of Anurahta, or about 600 years afterwards." The same author has a paper in a later volume of the same Journal,⁸¹ *On the History of Pagan*, in which the following passage occurs : — "Up to a recent period the histories written by Talaings or Burmans represented Buddhaghosa, as a

⁷⁷ This *Tsula-weng* I take to be the *Sulawas* of Ceylon, the continuation of the *Mahâvamsa* of Mahâ-nâ-ma referred to in Turnour's Introd., p. H. quoted above. If so, the origin of this portion of the Burmese legend of Buddhaghosa is referred to Ceylon. [*Tsula-weng* = *Sulâwin* = *सुलव* = *Suluvassas*.—R. C. T.]

⁷⁸ "A few miles north of Martaban," *ibid.* p. 105.

⁷⁹ [Thagya, so pronounced, also Thajâ ; th as in *thing*, accent on last syllable. It is usually written Thekkyâ = Sakya = Sakra = Indra ; but in modern Burmese ideas the *thagya* is an angel of life.—R. C. T.]

⁸⁰ [These words should be I think :—*Shri Khâtârâ* = *Śrīkhatârâ* ; *Sripachcharâ* ; *Râmafa* = *Sudharmâwâtî* = *Suvirapabhûmi*.—R. C. T.]

⁸¹ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XLIII. (1873), pp. 23 ff.

great Rāhūn of Thahtun, who went to Ceylon, and brought from thence the sacred books to his native land. This statement has, however, been corrected in the latest edition of the Burmese national history, *Mahā-Rāśā-d-weng*, which was written, or revised, in the palace at Amarapura⁵² about forty years ago.⁵³ The story of Buddhaghosa is therein correctly told, and has apparently been derived from the *Mahāvamsa* of Ceylon. The date assigned for Buddhaghosa's voyage to Thahtun is A.D. 403. Even the Talaing writers, long jealous for the honour of their country, seem now to acknowledge their error as to the birthplace of their great teacher. In a late paper by a learned Talaing which I have perused, it is acknowledged that there are two accounts regarding Buddhaghosa: and it is only argued that in returning from Ceylon to the continent of India, he may have come by ship to Thahtun, and revived by his presence the drooping flower of religion. That Thahtun was his native place seems to be silently abandoned."

Turnour himself accepted this compromise, even in the face of the distinct statements of his own translation, under the influence of the *Essai sur le Pāli*.⁵⁴ It was also adopted by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson,⁵⁵ whose views largely dominated oriental researches for many years: and it has maintained itself as the prevailing solution of the contradictory statements in the legend down to the present time. Nevertheless, it is well to bear in mind that it is a mere compromise of recent origin without any historical value whatever.

III.—Comparison of the preceding Legends.

The points of agreement and divergence in these several variations of the legend may be conveniently exhibited under the following three heads:—A. Buddhaghosa's early life; B. His visit to Ceylon; C. His later life.

A.—Buddhaghosa's early life.

1. Both streams of the legend, — the *Mahāyāsawī*, Carpanius, Burnouf, Felix Carey, Bigandet, for the Burmese streams, and Turnour for the Ceylonese stream, — and consequently the compromise also, state that he was a Brāhmaṇ by birth.

2. Turnour's *Mahāvamsa* makes him extensively learned in Brāhmanical knowledge, and an active controversialist against the Buddhists in the early part of his career.

3. All the three groups, — Turnour, Fyche, and the *New Mahāyāsawī*, — agree that he became a convert to Buddhism.

4. Turnour's *Mahāvamsa* states that he received his name Buddhaghosa, "the Voice of Buddha," soon after his conversion, on account of his great eloquence: Fyche's authorities do the same: and the *New Mahāyāsawī* is in agreement with them in so far as it states that he possessed a soft voice.

5. They all agree also, — Crawford, Bigandet, Fyche, and the *Rājaraṭṭakūṭi*, — that he became a priest of his new religion, that is to say, a Buddhist monk: both the Upham and the Turnour recensions of the *Mahāvamsa* add the epithet "learned;" and the Upham *Sinhalese Compendium* and Langmae make him a high-priest.

6. Turnour's *Mahāvamsa* makes him a Prākṛit author even in this first stage of his career.⁵⁶

7. The Burmese legend, represented by Bigandet and Fyche, makes him a native of Thahtun near Martaban: and the Crawford variation probably means the same thing when it

⁵² [Amarapura = Burm. Amāyāpura, is near Mandalay, in fact it adjoins the southern municipal limits of the town under English rule.—R. C. T.]

⁵³ A.D. 1878—40 = about A.D. 1838. — T. F.

⁵⁴ Turn., *Introd.*, p. xxx.

⁵⁵ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. (N. S.) (1854), p. 240; XXI. (1856), p. 226 ff.; *Works*, Vol. II. p. 331.

⁵⁶ Dr. J. Stevenson (*Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. V. (1837 p. 5), says that before leaving India for Ceylon, he published several works in defence of his new religion and in opposition to his former co-religionists; but as he gives the *Mahāvamsa* as his authority for that statement, the only early works mentioned there are the *Nandakya* and the *Atthadāṇa*.

calls him a Burman priest; as also does the *Singhalese Compendium* when it speaks of his "return" to Burma from Ceylon.

8. The Burnouf-Lessen variation supposed that he was driven out of India during a persecution of Buddhism by the Brahmans: but none of the indigenous authorities support this supposition.

9. The rest of the authorities are silent on the subject of his early life: and it has been already mentioned that modern Burmese scholars have abandoned the claim set up for Thātōn as the place of his birth and education.

B.—His visit to Ceylon.

(1) The object of his visit.

1. The Carey variation of the Burmese legend states that he was deputed to Ceylon to copy the *Visuddhimagga*, — implying that this work, which is generally attributed to Buddhaghōsa, was in existence in Ceylon before his arrival there, and was therefore not composed by him.

2. The Turnour *Mahāvastu* states that his visit to Ceylon was made at the instigation of the superior of his monastery in Magadha, to study the Singhalese language and to translate the commentaries of Mahinda on the *Tripiṭaka* from that language into the language of Magadha, in order to qualify himself to compose a general commentary on the Buddhist scriptures which he had proposed to undertake. The *New Mahāvastu* has the same statement.

3. The *Great Mahāvastu*, on the other hand, states that he went to Ceylon to bring away to Burma a copy of the *Tripiṭaka*.

4. The Siamese Buddhists have a tradition that he introduced Buddhism into Ceylon. The Landresse variation is perhaps in accord with this tradition when it states that he caused a revival of Buddhism in Ceylon.

5. Colonel Sykes says⁸⁷ that he went to Ceylon "for the express purpose of disputations with the heterodox Buddhist priests, as he considered them," thus placing his visit before his conversion to Buddhism; but he gives no authority for the statement, which is probably based upon a misconception of the passage in the Turnour *Mahāvastu*.

(2) His literary work there.

1. The Carey tradition states that he made a copy of the *Visuddhimagga*, including the *Nītikas*, upon palm-leaves with an iron style presented to him for the purpose by a celestial being. The Crawford-Judson variation is to the same effect, substituting, however, the Buddhist scriptures for the *Visuddhimagga*.

2. The Carpanius variation states that he obtained a copy of the Pāli books in Ceylon and brought them to Pegu, and that he introduced the Pāli written character into Pegu at the same time. The Phayre-Fytoche-*Mahāvastu* variation is to the same effect. So also is the statement of the Phayre-*New-Mahāvastu*, which adds that the books so brought over by him were the *Visuddhimagga*, the three great divisions of the *Piṭaka*, and the *Commentaries*.

3. The Fytoche variation states that he was employed by the rulers of his order in Ceylon to rewrite the Singhalese commentaries in Pāli; but it does not appear whether the Pāli language or the Pāli character is intended here.

- i. One of the Bigandet variations states that he translated the Singhalese scriptures into Pāli, meaning apparently the Pāli language.
- ii. Another Bigandet variation states that he made a copy of the Singhalese *Tripiṭaka*, merely substituting the Burmese character for the Singhalese in which he found it written.

⁸⁷ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. (1841), pp. 339, 416.

4. The Upham *Sinhalese Compendium* states that he composed the *Viruddhimagga*, &c., while he was in Ceylon: and with this the Turnour *Mahāvamsa* and the *New Mahāyāsawin* agree, adding full circumstantial details respecting the occasion and the manner of its composition.

5. The Turnour *Mahāvamsa* states that after considerable hesitation and the imposition of severe tests of his competency, the monks of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura in Ceylon complied with his earnest request for the use of their books, and placed their library at his disposal for the purpose of translating the Sinhalese commentaries; and that in the retirement of a neighbouring convent he translated the whole of those commentaries "according to the grammatical rules of the Magadhas," to which Turnour adds "into Pāli" in brackets. The *New Mahāyāsawin* has the same story: and it relates it on the authority of the *Sulāwā*, which is apparently either the *Sulā-wāṣa* of the Turnour traditions or a Burmese counterpart of it.

6. The Upham *Mahāvamsa* tradition is entirely different from all of the above. It states that the king of Ceylon caused a great number of the "sermons" of Buddha to be written out by Buddhaghōṣa; and it does not mention any other work done by him. The *Edjeratnāheri* variation is also to the same effect, with the additional statement that these "sermons" were so committed to writing by him in the Pāli language.

6. The *Rājivālī* tradition is still more divergent from all the other records. It states that Buddhaghōṣa and another Buddhist monk brought over to Ceylon from India the books containing the "orders" of Buddha, and an immense number of his "sayings." And regarding the work done by him in Ceylon, it simply says that he ordered these books to be published there.

8. The *New Mahāyāsawin* and the Bigandet traditions state that he remained in Ceylon for three years: none of the other authorities say how long his visit lasted.

C.—His later life.

1. Burnouf and Lassen state in general terms on the authority of Carpanius that he brought the Pāli scriptures and the Pāli written character from Ceylon to Pegu, returning thither as his home when the object of his visit to Ceylon had been accomplished. The Burmese traditions of Crawford, Bigandet, Phayre, and Fytche are to the same effect. Turnour, Hardy, and Wilson also entertained this view.

2. Burnouf and Lassen regarded him, for that reason, as the founder of Buddhism in Pegu.

3. The Judeon-Burmese variation states that he brought a copy of the Buddhist sacred books to Pagan in Burma proper by sea from Ceylon, without any intervening reference to Pegu.

4. Hardy states, and perhaps Bigandet also, that the Burmese ascribe a new era to his arrival in their country.

5. The Crawford-Siamese tradition states that he introduced Buddhism into Siam, after establishing it in Kambōja and Lao, subsequent to his visit to Ceylon. The views of Dr. Stevenson, Colonel Yule, Sir A. Phayre, and Professor Rhys Davids harmonize in the main with this tradition.

6. The Turnour *Mahāvamsa*, on the contrary, states that he returned from Ceylon to Magadha; and the intention of the passage seems to be to record his final retirement to the sacred precincts of the Bo-tree at Buddha-Gayā after all his work was done. In that case it may possibly imply that he remained in Ceylon for many years down to the close of his active career.

7. The *Great Mahāyāsawin* states that he came to Burma,—meaning apparently Upper Burma,—from the *Machchamadāsa* in the Gangetic valley. Laidlay appears to have adopted this view.

8. The *New Mahāyāsawin* states that he left Ceylon with the intention of returning to Magadha, and that his destination was supernaturally changed to Pegu during his voyage up the Bay of Bengal.

9. A modern Peguan scholar, in order to reconcile the conflicting traditions, suggests that he may have touched at Thātōn on his sea-way from Ceylon to India.

10. One of the Bigandet traditions states that the people of Ceylon gave him many valuable presents on his leaving their island, to testify their pleasure with his work.

11. The *New Mahāyāsawin* states that he presented a white elephant to the king of Ceylon, and obtained his permission to bring away the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Tripitaka*, and the *Commentaries*.

12. The Landresse-Laidlay variation states that after his return from Ceylon, he spread the Buddhist religion beyond the Ganges in Ava and amongst the Burmese. This view seems to imply that he travelled from Magadha to Ava by the land route.

13. The Upham *Singhalese Compendium* states that he composed the *Tripitaka* after his return to Burma, and occupied himself in propagating Buddhism there.

14. Dr. Stevenson, presuming the Buddhaghōsa of the cave inscription at Kāphēri to be the great Pāli scholar, suggests that he propagated Buddhism in Western India under the patronage of the early Andhra kings.

15. If this identification can be maintained, that inscription affords three items of information regarding him, namely, (1) that he was the curator of the great cave-temple of Kāphēri, near Bombay; (2) that he was a disciple of Dharmavatsa, a revered teacher of the *Tripitaka*; and (3) that he erected the large statue of Buddha which still stands in the porch of that temple.

16. In this part of his life, besides the extensive missionary work with which he is credited, place must be found for the rest of the literary works attributed to him other than those which he wrote before his visit to Ceylon and during his residence there.

IV.—Buddhaghosa's Literary work.

The traditions of his connection with the literature of the Buddhists may be distributed into the following four classes, namely, (1) those which make him a mere conveyor and propagator of books already in existence;⁸⁰ (2) those which make him a mere copyist of those books;⁸¹ (3) those which make him a mere translator of them;⁸² and (4) those which attribute the authorship of them to him, either as their original composer,⁸¹ or as their reviser,⁸³ or re-compiler;⁸³ while some of those traditions combine two or more of these classes. Without attempting to present an exhaustive list of his works, I bring together here the names of such of them as I have met with in the course of these investigations:—

1. The elegant controversial discourse, which he recited defiantly in the monastery of Fāvata, may or may not have been his own composition; but, as stated above, he wrote the *Nandāya* in India soon after his conversion to Buddhism.

⁸⁰ Upham, Vol. II. p. 74, 242; Burnell's *Andhra Grammars*, p. 63; Mason's *Pāli Grammar*, p. v.; *Buddhaghosa's Parables*, p. v.

⁸¹ Ward's *Hyndoo*, Vol. II. p. 211; Upham, Vol. I. p. 239; Vol. II. pp. 74, 123, 129; Vol. III. p. vii, note; Crawford's *Ava*, Vol. II. 123, 278; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 504; Bigandet, pp. ix, 329, 351, 390, 392.

⁸² Upham, Vol. I. pp. 233, 344, 345; Turnour, pp. xxx, xxxii, 250 to 253; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. pp. 506, 717; Vol. XXXIX. pp. 24, 62, note; Hardy's *B. Monach.* pp. 171, 192; Bigandet, pp. 190, 329, 389, 392; Mason's *Pāli Grammar*, p. v.; Burnell's *Andhra Grammars*, 63.

⁸³ Upham, Vol. II. p. 106; Vol. III. p. 115; Turnour, p. 250; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. p. 530; Vol. VI. p. 546; Vol. VII. p. 690; *Jour. B. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 510; Vol. XVI. p. 241; Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 303; *Jour. Ceylon R. A. S.* for 1874, p. 9; Hardy's *B. Monach.*, pp. 1, 167, 183, 306, compared with p. 187; Hardy's *Man. Bud.*, pp. 358, 511.

⁸⁴ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 506, 717; *B. Monach.*, p. 174, n.

⁸⁵ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 504; *Sacr. Books of the East*, Vol. X. p. xxv.

2. He also wrote the *Atthasālinī* while he was still in India. I gather the intention of this statement to be, that this work was the first instalment of the great undertaking which he was then projecting, namely, a general commentary on the *Tripitaka*.

3. The *Visuddhimagga* is said to have been written by him under somewhat romantic circumstances soon after his arrival in Ceylon.⁹⁴ On the other hand, as mentioned above, the Ward-Burmese variation⁹⁵ implies that it was not written by him, but that it existed in Ceylon before his visit.

4. The Turnour *Mahāvamsa*⁹⁶ and the *New Mahāvamsa*⁹⁷ state that during his residence in Ceylon he translated into Pāli the whole of the Sinhalese commentaries on the *Tripitaka* originally composed by Mahinda⁹⁸ the son of the emperor Aśoka and the reputed Buddhist apostle of Ceylon. On the contrary, the *Sinhalese Compendium*⁹⁹ states that he composed the *Tripitaka*, meaning probably his commentaries upon it in Burma, after his return from Ceylon. The Siamese legend respecting this portion of his work is somewhat confused; yet it has a right to a place by the side of the traditions of the neighbouring Buddhist countries:—“Mahā-nāmo directed Buddha-Ghosa to put the Pāli *Sihala Atthakatha* and *Tika* into the Magadha language, in order to preserve the same in Jambo Dwip.”¹⁰⁰

The various views which have been expressed regarding Buddhaghōsa's share in the existing southern recension of the *Tripitaka* and its commentaries, — as their propagator, copyist, translator, reviser, recomplier, or author, — may be seen in the passages which I have quoted or referred to above. By their side I will place here two statements attributed to Buddhaghōsa himself, defining the character of his work. The first of them occurs in the introductory verses of his *Brahmajāla-sutta*:¹⁰¹ — “For the purpose of illustrating this commentary, availing myself of the *Atthakathā*, which was in the first instance authenticated by the five hundred Arahantā at the first convocation, as well as subsequently at the succeeding convocations, and which were thereafter brought from Magadha to Sihala by the sanctified Mahinda, and for the benefit of the inhabitants of Sihala were transposed into the Sihala language; from thence I translate the Sihala version into the delightful classical language, according to the rules of that (the Pāli) language, which is free from all imperfections, omitting only the frequent repetitions of the same explanations, but at the same time without rejecting the tenets of the Theros resident at the Mahāvihāro (at Anurādhapura), who were like unto luminaries to the generation of Theros and the most accomplished discriminators of the true doctrines.” The second passage occurs in his introduction to the *Saṃanta-pāśādikā*:¹⁰² — “In commencing this commentary I shall, having embodied therein the *Mahā-Atthakathā*, without excluding any proper meaning from the decisions contained in the *Mahā-Pachchhari*, as also in the famous *Kurukūṭi* and other commentaries, and including the opinions of the Elders, perform my task well. . . . The *Dhamma* as well as the *Vinaya* was declared by Buddha; his sacerdotal sons understood it in the same sense as it was delivered; and inasmuch as in former times they (the Sinhalese commentators) composed the *Commentaries* without disregarding their (the sacerdotal sons') opinions; therefore, barring any error of transcription, everything contained therein is an authority to the learned in this priesthood who respect ecclesiastical discipline. From these (the Sinhalese) commentaries, after casting off the language, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, and

⁹⁴ Turnour, p. 252. Upham, Vol. III. p. 115. See also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. V. p. 580; Vol. VI. p. 505. *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. V. 505; *E. Monach*, pp. 1, 167, 171, 174 n, 184, 303; *Man. Bud.*, pp. 509, 512; Bigandet p. 392; Max Müller's *Chips*, Vol. I. p. 196. *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), 392.

⁹⁵ Ward's *Hindoo*, Vol. II. p. 211.

⁹⁶ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XXXVII. p. 80 ff. (p. 113 above).

⁹⁷ Upham, Vol. III. p. 115, (p. 111 above).

⁹⁸ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. (1837), p. 510; Vol. VII. (1839), p. 920. See also Childers' translation of this

passage in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 200.

¹⁰² *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), (1871) p. 297.

⁹⁹ Turnour, pp. 252, 253, (p. 113 above).

¹⁰⁰ Turnour, p. 351, (p. 111 above).

¹⁰¹ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVII. (Pt. II. 1848), p. 615.

without overstepping any Pāli idiom, I shall proceed to compose. And as this commentary will, moreover, be explanatory of the meaning of words belonging to the Suttas in conformity with the sense attached to them therein, therefore ought it the more diligently to be studied."

These commentaries cover the whole of the *Tripiṭaka* — the *Vinaya*, the *Abhidhamma*, and the *Sutta Piṭakas*.¹⁰³ They are distributed into divisions and subdivisions bearing separate titles; and some of these are virtually if not originally separate works.¹⁰⁴ Altogether they are sufficient to occupy seven or eight volumes of ordinary size.¹⁰⁵

5. A volume of Parables in the Burmese language is attributed to him.¹⁰⁶

6. He is said to have brought over from Ceylon to Burma a copy of Kaśchhāyana's *Pāli Grammar*, and to have translated it into Burmese, and also to have written a commentary upon it.¹⁰⁷ It is, however, not mentioned by the great Pāli grammarian and lexicographer Moggallāna, A.D. 1153 to 1186, nor by the Prākṛit grammarians Ohanda and Hēmachandra,¹⁰⁸ and must apparently be placed amongst the supposititious works of Buddhaghōsa.

7. Hardy mentions a commentary on the *Buddhavaṇṇa* by him.¹⁰⁹ This is probably the *Atthakathā* called *Madurottavāḍṇī*:¹¹⁰ and if so, Grimblot assigns it not to Buddhaghōsa but to a Buddhist monk living at the mouth of the Kāvērī in Southern India.¹¹¹

8. Dr. Stevenson says¹¹² that he published several works in defence of Buddhism and against the Brāhmins in the early part of his career: but, as already mentioned, that statement is not substantiated.

9. Colonel Sykes,¹¹³ followed in substance by Mr. James Fergusson,¹¹⁴ attributes the continuation of the *Mahāvastu*, or its reduction to its present form, to Buddhaghōsa: and Professor Horace Hayman Wilson seems to have held a similar opinion, notwithstanding that he rightly distinguishes between the *Mahāvastu* and the *Dīpaṇṣu*.¹¹⁵ No authority is cited for these statements: and they were probably made under some misconception.

10. The Burmese law-code of Mann¹¹⁶ is also said to have been introduced into Burma from Ceylon by Buddhaghōsa,¹¹⁷ but the code itself is silent upon the subject.

V.—The Date of Buddhaghōsa.

I have stated in my paper on *the Vicissitudes of the Buddhist Literature of Ceylon* in a former number of this Journal,¹¹⁸ that various dates have been assigned to Buddhaghōsa ranging from B.C. 307 to A.D. 607. I omit a still earlier date,¹¹⁹ namely B.C. 543, the year of Gautama-Buddha's death, because it has no claim to be taken into consideration. I also omit an extreme date on the later side, namely An. Bud. 1809, or A.D. 1266,¹²⁰ — ("In the time of the said great

¹⁰³ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. pp. 504, 506, 510; Vol. VII. p. 690; *Jour. As. Soc. Ceylon* for 1843, p. 101; Turnour's *Mahāvastu*, p. III.; *H. Monach.*, pp. 1, 167. Oldenberg's *Dīpaṇṣu*, pp. 3, 8.

¹⁰⁴ For the names of the principal divisions see Turnour, *Introd.*, p. lxxv.; *H. Monach.*, p. 166. The names of some of the subdivisions occur in the passages cited above.

¹⁰⁵ *H. Monach.*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁶ Rogers, *Buddhaghōsa's Parables*, (1879). See *Sacr. Lit. of the B.*, Vol. X. (1881), p. x. &c. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II. p. 73; Bhandarkar, *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. XVI. p. 276.

¹⁰⁷ Turn. *Mahāv.*, p. xxv.; *H. Monach.*, p. 193; D'Alwis, in *Jour. As. Soc. Ceylon*, (1850); Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. II. p. 60 and note. Burnell's *Āindra Grammar*, p. 63; Mason's *Pāli Grammar*, pp. 1, v. 14; Dr. Boht, *Art. 'Pāli'* in *Encyc. Brit.* Vol. XVIII. (1886), p. 185.

¹⁰⁸ See Clough's *Pāli Grammar*, p. iv.; Mason's *Pāli Gram.*, pp. vii., 16; Fryer's *Pāli Studies*, in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XLIV. pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Man. Bud.*, p. 356.

¹¹⁰ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI. p. 704; Vol. VII. p. 789; *Jour. R. Soc.*, Vol. XV. (N.S.) p. 432.

¹¹¹ Professor Rhys Davids in *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII. (N. S.), p. 170.

¹¹² *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.*, Vol. V. p. 5, quoted above p. 114, note.

¹¹³ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. VI. p. 339.

¹¹⁴ *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 195, note 456.

¹¹⁵ *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII. p. 243; Vol. XVI. p. 240.

¹¹⁶ Translated by Richardson, Maulmain, 1847.

¹¹⁷ *East Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 552. See Dr. A. Führer's remarks, in *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. XV. p. 335.

¹¹⁸ Vol. XVII. (1889), p. 124.

¹¹⁹ *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV. p. 276.

¹²⁰ Upham, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345.

king [Parākramabāhu] several parts of the scripture were translated by the high priests Boddagosa-charinvaṃse," &c.) — since its inaccuracy is sufficiently explained by the parallel passage in the *Bāḥirānāḥikā*,¹²¹ — ("Now all the books which had been written from the time of the king called Mahā-nawenia [Mahānāma] Rajah by the learned priest called Boddagosa-wahawree Nahansay till the reign of the last king, and which had been expounded and enlarged upon by his successors," &c.) Another eccentric date is also capable of some explanation, namely A.D. 107,¹²² which has been derived from the following passage of Ward's *Hindoos*:¹²³ — "The Burmans believe that 650 years after that event [Boddhu's death according to Hardy] in the reign of Muhamoonsee, Boddhughoshu, a Brahmin, was deputed to Ceylon," — because the "event" referred to in Ward's book is more correctly the propagation of Buddhism in Burma "about 450 years after Boddhu's death," or about 93 B.C.: but even this partial correction gives a new eccentric date, namely A.D. 557, which awaits some further explanation. There still remains one more date outside of the range of the period usually assigned to him, namely, An. Bud. 236, or B.C. 307;¹²⁴ but this date has perhaps been sufficiently disposed of in my foregoing remarks upon the Siamese tradition in which it occurs.¹²⁵ With these exceptions, and two or three more which scarcely need to be mentioned here, the remaining dates assigned to him group themselves in the main around the reign of king Mahānāma of Ceylon, and depend upon the date of that reign. I will here append these dates in their chronological order, with the authorities on which they are given, but without attempting to explain or to reconcile them: —

B.C. 543. — (*Cal. Rev.* Vol. IV. p. 276).

" 307. — (*Crawf. Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91).

A.D. 107. — (*Hardy, Man. Bud.*, 512; but see Ward's *Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 210).

" 1st or 2nd. cent., — the time of the Andhra kings, — (*Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 5, with *Rep. Archaeol. Surv. West. India*).

" An early century (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 229, 321).

" 386 = A.B. 930. — (*Crawf. Siam*, Vol. II. pp. 10, 11; *Asa*, Vol. II. 123, 278, app. p. 59; see also *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 81).

" 387 = A.B. 930 = the 6th year of king Mahānāma. — (*Upham*, Vol. III. p. 115; *Mason's Pāli Gram.*, p. v.).

" 388 to 413. — (*Phayre, Hist. Burma*, p. 20; *Burnell's Andhra Gram.*, p. 61).

" 397 = A.B. 940. — (*Carpanius: Burnouf and Lassen*).

" 4th century. — (*Burnell, Aind. Gr.* p. 61).

" End of the 4th century. — (*Bigandet*, p. ix.).

" Beginning of the 5th century. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXVI. p. 24; XXXVII. p. 80 ff; *Bigandet*, p. 351, n.).

" 400 = A.B. 943. — (*Bigandet*, pp. 381n, 389n, 392).

" 403. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 105; XLII. p. 28).

" 408. — (*Fergusson, Tree and Serp. Worship*, p. 195).

" 410. — (*Turn. Mahāv.* p. lxii; *Jour. R. A. S.* Vol. VI. p. 416; *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. V. p. 13, 177; *Ferg. Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pp. 70, 71, 161, 172).

" 410 = A.B. 953. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XVII. (II.), p. 615).

" 410 to 432. — (*Turn. Mahāv.* p. xxx; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. pp. 388, 423; I. (N. S.), p. 432; *Max Müller in Buddhaghosha's Parables*, p. v. note).

" 420. — (*E. Monach.*, pp. 1. 167, 171; *Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes*, p. 74; *Sacr. Ets. of the East*, Vol. X. p. xxxix.).

" 430. — (*Max Müller's Chips*, Vol. I. p. 197; *Fyche, Burma*, Vol. II. pp. 169, 170).

" 432. — (*Bart. St. Hilaire, Bud. et sa Rel.*, p. 354).

" 450. — (*Phayre, Burma*, p. 21; *Rhys Davids, Buddhism*, p. 231).

" 450 or 465 cir. — (*E. Monach.*, pp. 183, 184).

¹²¹ Upham, Vol. II. p. 106.

¹²² Vol. II. p. 211.

¹²³ Hardy's *Man. Bud.*, p. 512.

¹²⁴ Crawford's *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91.

¹²⁵ Page 108 above.

- A.D. 457. — (*Encycl. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 724).
 „ 5th century. — (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 534; *Jour. As. Soc. Bomb.* Vol. XVI. 276; Max Müller's *Chips*, Vol. I. p. 196; Mason's *Pāli Gram.* p. 8; *Sacr. Bks. of the East*, Vol. X. p. xii., xiv. xxiv.; *Encyc. Brit.* Vol. IV. p. 437; V. p. 622).
 „ 557 or 607. — (Ward's *Hindoos*, Vol. II. p. 210; Uph. Vol. III., p. vii).
 „ 638 (?). — (Crawf., *Siam*, Vol. II. p. 91).
 „ 1266 = A.B. 1809. — (Upham, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345; but see Upham, Vol. II. p. 106).

VI. — Conclusions.

My aim in the present paper has been to bring together as much as possible of the materials at present available for forming a correct judgment of the true position of Buddhaghōsa in the History of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. The position in which he is placed by the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma is one of the highest eminence and importance; and whether those claims are sound, or in any measure fictitious, the influence which the writings which bear his name still retain upon the Southern section of the Buddhist world is so great that an investigation of the traditions of his career which have been handed down to us, is a matter of much more than curious research both to the Buddhists themselves, and as the unravelling of one of the unsolved problems of oriental history. The legends regarding him abound with paradoxes: and nobody who knows them can be surprised at Mr. Lillie's reflection,¹²⁶ that "the whole story of Buddhaghōsa and his compilings is very suspicious." The question now is, whether those suspicions are destined to be removed or are doomed to increasing confirmation. In dealing with these paradoxes, an essential preliminary enquiry has yet to be instituted regarding the trustworthiness of the materials available for their solution, both as regards their genuineness, which is at present open to serious doubt, and particularly regarding their true date. It is not as if those materials presented to us mere minor variations of detail illustrating a consistent common tradition; on the contrary, the two main streams of these traditions are directly antagonistic in the chief elements of their story. Nor, on the other hand, is it as if these legends were so obviously the offspring of romancing invention that they might at once be relegated to the great lumber-room of unhistorical fiction; for they have succeeded in obtaining credence with the most eminent European orientalists, who have used them in building up some of the chief supports of the frame-work of the ancient history of India. Moreover, their mutual contradictions are so direct that it would be quite out of place to attempt to amalgamate them into any common shape; one of these two sets of divergences must absolutely succumb to the other; and the simple question in this part of the enquiry is, which of the two will have to give way? One great step has already been made here; the last edition of the *Fāsaṃsā*, as already mentioned, has relinquished the Burmese claim to Buddhaghōsa's nationality; and with that concession, though its full effect may not have been foreseen, the rest of the story of his personal connection with their country loses its consistency, together with much of its probability. That admission also leads on to the further conclusion, that the spread of Buddhism in Burma and Siam was the natural consequence of the intercourse of these countries with Ceylon in early times, rather than the result of the preaching of Buddhaghōsa according to the weakly substantiated tradition to that effect. Similarly, a disposition has been shown by the Buddhist scholars of Ceylon to face the difficulties of their records of Buddhaghōsa in a liberal spirit. When consulted on behalf of Mr. Childers¹²⁷ for an explanation of the improbable statement in Buddhaghōsa's writings that a commentary on Buddha's sermons, namely, the commentary brought by Mahinda to Ceylon, existed in Buddha's own lifetime, and that the text of that commentary was settled at the council held immediately after his death, their reply acknowledged the gravity of the question "as affecting the credibility of Buddhaghōsa and the authenticity of all the commentaries on the *Tripiṭaka*," and it insisted "on the necessity of giving a wider and more extended signification than is generally allowed to the word *Attakathā*

¹²⁶ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), Vol. XV. p. 433.

¹²⁷ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 291.

[commentary] as applied by Buddhaghōsa in the passage cited. . . . Taking this wider sense of the word as a basis for the solution of the problem . . . it must be admitted that no actual commentary, in the sense that the Westerns attach to that term, like that which has been handed down to us by Buddhaghōsa, existed either in the lifetime of Buddha or immediately after his death. The reasons adduced by Mr. Childers, apart from others that can easily be added, against such a supposition, are overwhelmingly convincing." And then the solution proposed by them is this ; — "Buddhaghōsa only meant to convey the idea that at the various councils held for the purpose of collecting the discourses and sayings of Buddha, the meanings to be attached to different terms . . . were discussed and properly defined." The statement of Buddhaghōsa's commentary, however, to which they proposed to apply this solution is as follows :—"The commentary . . . praised by Buddha and his apostles . . . upon this scripture was at the first council rehearsed by five hundred holy elders, and in later times rehearsed again and yet again. And it was carried by the saintly Mahēndra to the island of Ceylon, and for the sake of the dwellers in that isle translated by him into the Sinhalese language. And now, rejecting the Sinhalese tongue, adopting the graceful language that accords so well with the order of scripture, . . . I proceed to expound the meaning of my text,¹²⁸ . . ."

The time has not yet arrived when any final solution of the Buddhaghōsa paradoxes can be properly attempted ; it must await a fuller acquaintance with the whole range of the literature of the Buddhists, and a fair critical examination of the words attributed to Buddhaghōsa. It may be that any important additions to the main facts of the Buddhaghōsa legend now in our hands, are not to be expected ; but at the same time some important light may naturally be expected to be thrown upon some of the details of the legend from the works in the library of the late king of Burma recently transferred to the India Office, as well as from other sources in Burma which have not hitherto been explored.

It may be that the personality of the legendary Buddhaghōsa is destined to recede from view, gradually dissolving before new facts and under the increasing light of the new criticism. It may be that the name of Buddhaghōsa, when it had once become famous, was attached as a matter of literary policy to the works which have hitherto been regarded as of his own composition, as in the instances referred to above, of the *Burmese Grammar* and the *Burmese Code of Manu*. It may be that one of the old sects of the Southern Buddhists utilized a similar policy as an effective instrument of controversy in building up the orthodoxy of its own school in the face of its adversaries. Or it may even be that, as a counterpart of the Avalōkittēvara of the Northern Buddhists, emanating from the Buddha and manifesting him to the world,¹²⁹ this "Voice of Buddha" may have been incorporated by some far-seeing old ascetic of the Mahāvihāra of Anurādhapura in the spirit of the prophecy ascribed to Gaṇtama-Buddha,¹³⁰—"When I have passed away and am no longer with you, do not think that the Buddha has left you. You have my words, my explanations of the deep things of truth, the laws which I have laid down for the society ; let them be your guide ; the Buddha has not left you."

TEXTS OF THE ASOKA EDICTS ON THE DELHI MIRAT PILLAR AND OF THE SEPARATE EDICTS ON THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined transcripts of the fragments on the Delhi Mirat Pillar and of the two small edicts on the Allahabad Pillar have been made according to Mr. Fleet's impressions, of which the accompanying facsimiles are very faithful reproductions. The impressions are really excellent. One complete set is mounted on cloth, and for the small edicts there is a second, not mounted.

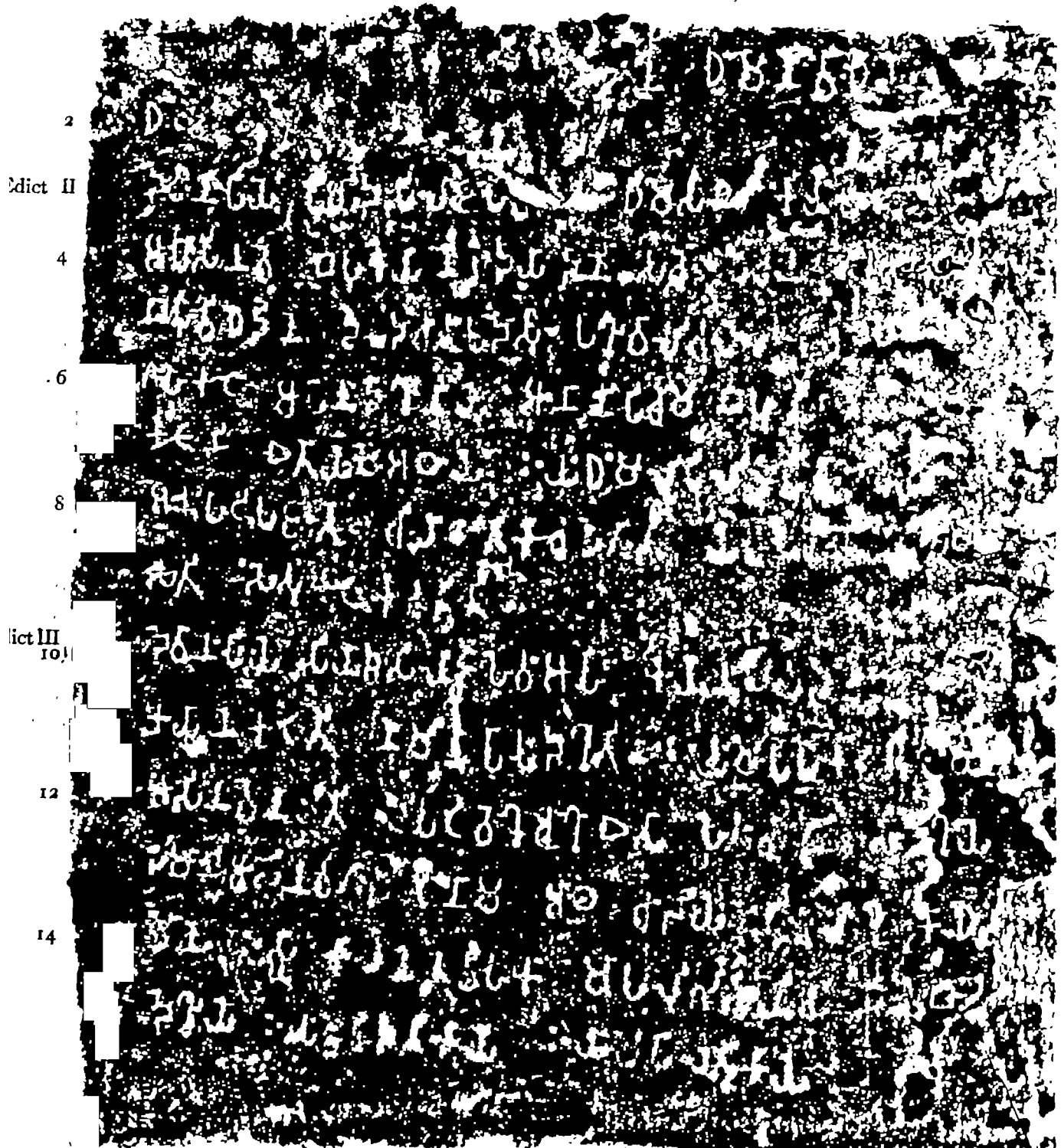
¹²⁸ *Jour. E. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. (N. S.), p. 296.

¹²⁹ *Asya. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 432.

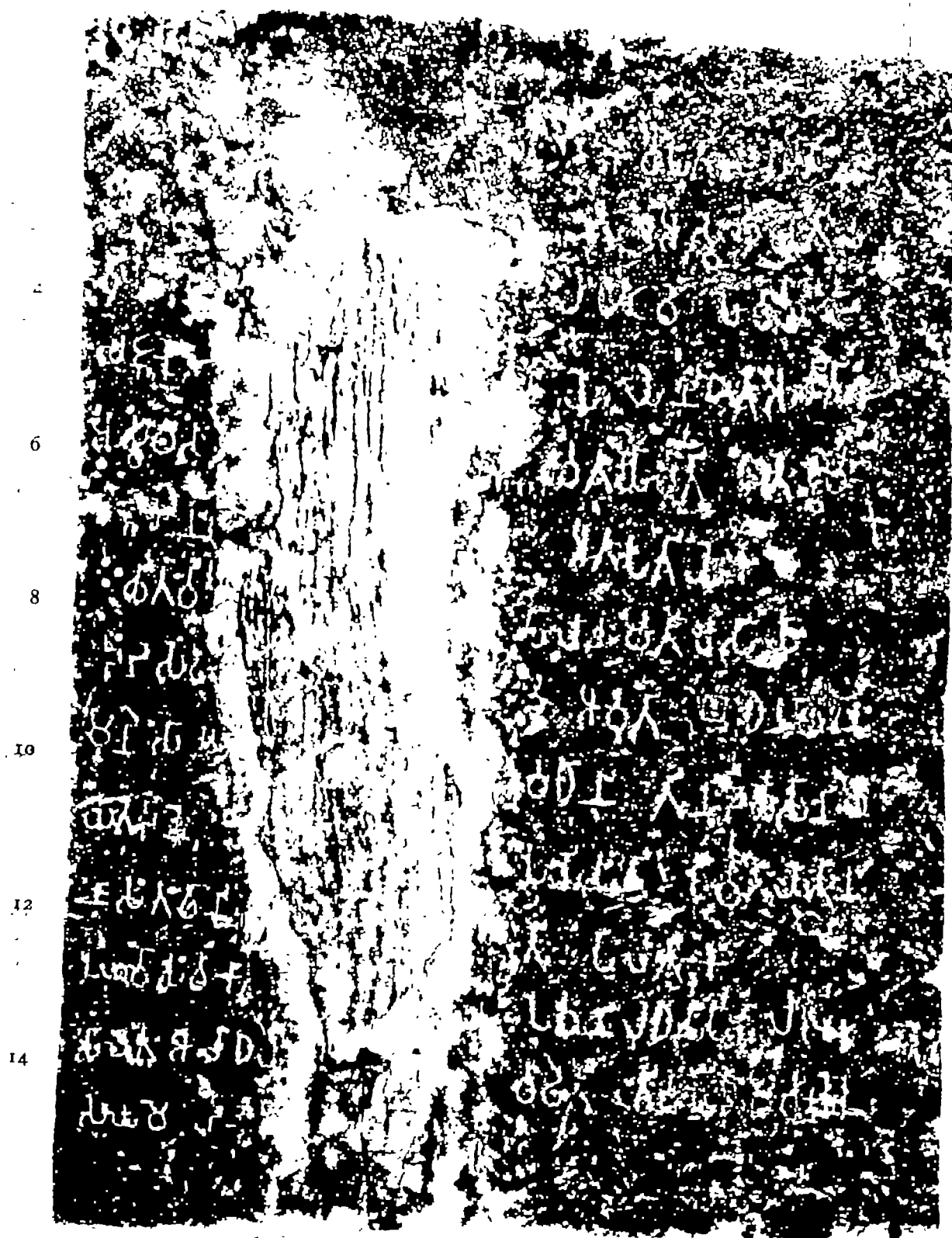
¹³⁰ *Asya. Brit.*, Vol. IV. p. 438.

ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—North Side.—Edicts I. II. and III.



The Delhi Mirat Pillar—West Side.—Edict IV.



SCALE 25

The fragments on the Delhi Mirat Pillar show that its version very closely resembled that of the Delhi Siwālik Pillar, not only in the characters and the wording, but also in the grouping of the words. As regards the latter point, there are, irrespective of breaks caused by the arrangement of the lines, only the following differences. Edict II., l. 4, the words *dayā dānā sahaśa śāhāyā* are all written separately, while they are arranged in D. S. in two groups; *ibidem*, l. 6, *bahāni* is separated from the preceding *anānī-pi-cha-mā*; Edict III., l. 13, *atha* is separated from the following *chavādiya*; Edict IV., l. 12 *pclatibhā* is separated from the preceding word; *ibidem*, l. 14, *vadhāti* is separated from the following word; Edict V., l. 1, *av . dh . y .* is separated from the following word; *ibidem*, l. 2, *deś* is separated from the following word; *ibidem*, ll. 4, 6, *jivāna, itru,* and *anupāsathā* are separated from the following words; *ibidem*, l. 6, *patipaddā* and *dāvatāyā* are joined together; *ibidem* l. 15, *kaśāni* is separated from the preceding word. The various readings are:—Edict I. l. 1, [*pāla*] *nak* for *pālanā*; Edict II., l. 8, *patipajastā* for *tu*, and *kōtā-ti* for *kōtā-ti-ti*; Edict III., l. 10, *dā* for *ahā*; *ibidem*, l. 11, *pāpā* (not absolutely certain) for *pāpā*; *ibidem*, l. 14, *bāqha* for *bāqha*; *ibidem*, l. 15, *iyān-mā* for *iyān-mānā-mā*; Edict IV., l. 13, *vā* for *ec*; Edict V., l. 6, *cha* for *chā*. Only one of these readings, *iyān-mā* for *iyān-mānā-mā*, is of any importance, as it omits the difficult word *mana*.¹

The so-called Queen's Edict from the Allahābād Pillar possesses some palaeographical interest. With the other edicts, found on the same monument, it agrees only in not arranging the words in groups or separating them.² Its characters show a number of cursive and otherwise peculiar forms, which are not very common in Aśoka's inscriptions. The cursive letters are, *d* in *ambāvadikā* (l. 3), *d* in *dāvanā* (l. 1) and *dānā* (l. 2), *l* in *dlamā* (l. 3) and *Kālvākiyā* (l. 5), *h* in *mahāmā* (l. 1). In other respects remarkable is the turn upwards given to the *v*-stroke in *°mātu* (l. 5), and the use of the letter, which I read *shā*, in *piyashā* (l. 1) and in *shā* (l. 4). Some of these peculiarities are observable in the Jaugada version of the separate edicts, and others, among them the last two, occur in the Khālsi version of the Rock-Edicts. With the language of the latter agree some grammatical forms, the final long *d* in *piyashā* and *vachandā* as well as the aspiration in *kōkhi* for *kīkhit*. Genitives in *śā* are, however, also found in the Pillar-Edict V. (Dh. M., l. 13 and Dh. S., l. 18), and *kīkhi* occurs also in both versions of the separate Edicts. I may add that the long final vowels of the genitives and instrumentals, formed from *a*-stems, are not Prākṛitic innovations, but archaisms, as they are common in the R̥g-Vēda. With respect to the interpretation I may point out that the new reading in l. 3, *dānagahā vā ś [vā]pi anā*, alone gives a satisfactory sense. *Dānagahā* corresponds with a hitherto not traceable Sanskrit *dānagṛhā*, 'alma-house,' instead of which the synonymous *dānādā* appears elsewhere. The *dānagaha* of Aśoka's times no doubt was the same thing as the modern *saddāratā*, where doles of food and sometimes shelter for one night are given to travellers. The very plain reading *°mātu* in l. 5 shows that the preceding word is a proper name, the name of one of Aśoka's sons, and it is very probable that the last word *Kālvākiyā* contains the name of Aśoka's second queen. According to the generally prevailing custom in ancient India, the latter must be a family or *gōtrā*-name and mean "she of the *Kālvāka* race." The Sanskrit equivalent of *Kālvāka* might be either *Kālvāka* or *Kārvāka*. Neither of these forms is at present traceable in Sanskrit. But there is a Vēdic race of *Kārus*. The name standing before *°mātu* may be either *Tittvāla*, or *Tivāla*, if the syllable *ti* is taken as an equivalent of *iti* which in Aśoka's inscriptions (see, e. g. Jaugada, Sep. Ed. I. l. 3, II. l. 3-4) occasionally is placed in the middle of a spoken sentence instead of at the end. The name *Tittvāla* would, on the analogy of *kṛishṭvāla* and *āsuttvāla*, exactly correspond with a possible, but not traceable, Sanskrit word *triptivāla*, which perhaps

¹ I identify the letter, as well as *manā*, Edict IV. l. 11, with the Sanskrit *manā*.

² The intervals between the letters are most irregular. *vā* stands an inch apart from the syllables *anā* (l. 1) which closely follow each other. The same distance intervenes between *vā* (l. 2) and *vi*, as well as between the latter and *ya* though *vā* and *ya* is one word. A little further on in the same line we ought to read, if the size of the intervals meant anything, *kālvākiyā vā vādvākiyā*.

might mean "the contented one." Other derivations are also possible, but there is none which would yield a known Sanskrit proper name. *Tivara*, on the other hand, corresponds with the Sanskrit *Tivara* which is explained as the name of a mixed caste of hunters, and of the ocean. In the Rājim grant, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251 ff., *Tivara* occurs as the name of a king. Hence it seems preferable to divide *Tivara*°. The lacuna at the end of l. 4 unfortunately makes it impossible to say what the object of Aśoka's order was. The five or six letters, among which the second *va* is alone recognisable, must have contained the word wanted to complete the chief clause which begins with *śāśāni*. For the edict has not lost anything at the end and is complete with line 5. The translation of the remaining portion in my opinion, ought to be,

in Sanskrit ;

Dēvānām priyasya vacchanēna sarvatra mahāmātrā vaktavyāḥ | yad-ātra dvitīyā dēvyā dānam-ātmn-vāṭikā v-ārmā vā dānagriham vā yad-v-āpy-ānyat-kiñchid-gaṇyatē tasyā dēvyās-tāny-ētāni dvitīyā dēvyās-Tivara-mātul Kāruvākī iti ||

and in English ;

"The (*following*) order of the Beloved of the gods should be addressed everywhere to the officials; — "What(*ever*) gift (*has been given*) here by the second queen,—be it a mango-garden, or a pleasure-grove, or an almshouse, or whatever else, — is reckoned as proceeding from that queen; those of the second queen Tivara's mother, the Kāruvākī."

With respect to the Kōsambi Edict, I can only state my belief that it contained an order regarding the feeding of, and perhaps regarding certain honours to be shown to, the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The word *saṅghasi* (l. 2) seems certain; likewise the phrase *bhōkshati bhikkhu-va bhikkhuni-va*, i. e. *bhōkshyati bhikkhuv-ud bhikkhuv-ud*, 'will dine, a monk or a nun,' and *āddāni dussāni . nān dhāpayitu*; i. e. *avaddāni dāshyāni tēśān dhāpayitvā*. Regarding the usage of spreading white cloth, see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, *sub voce dussān*. The same or very similar phrases occur in l. 4 of the mutilated Sāñchi edict (Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix.), which seems to be a second version of the Kōsambi edict. A good impression of the Sāñchi edict would probably permit a complete restoration of the texts.

TEXTS.

I. THE DELHI MIRAT PILLAR.

A. North Side.

Edict I.³

- 1 nam dhammāna vidhānā
- 2 dha[m]m . . . khi[ya]⁴

Edict II.

- 3 Dēvanam-piyē Piyadasi-lāji-hēv dhammē-ādhu⁵ kiyam . . . [dhammā]=ti
- 4 apāsinavē bahu-kayānē dayā dānē sacchē [sō]chayē [chakhu-dā]nam-pi-m[ā]
- 5 bahuvīdhā-dimnē dupada-chatupadēsu pakhi-vāli-chalē . [vivīdhā-mā-anu]-
- 6 gahē-kaṭṭē ā-pāna-dākkhināyē amāni-pi-cha-mē bahū[ni . yānāni]
- 7 kaṭṭāni ātāyē-mē-āthāyē iyam-dhammalipi-li[khāpitā] . .
- 8 anupaṭipajamānā ohila[mūthi]tikā⁶-cha-hōtū=[ti] yē=[cha]-hē
- 9 sati sē-sukajam-ka[chha]tī-ti [ti]

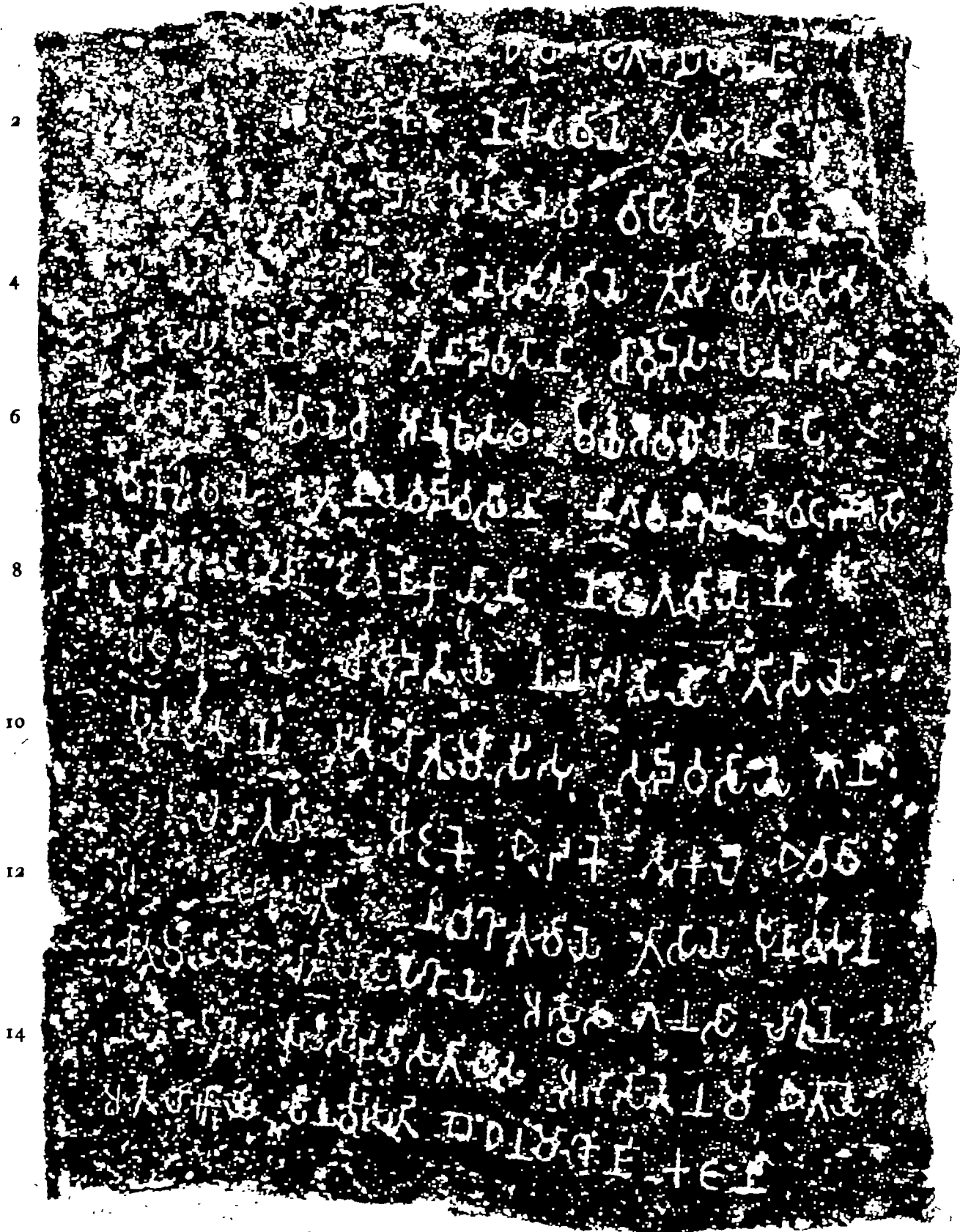
³ In these renderings the sign - has been used to mean that separate words have been written close together; the single hyphen has been employed, as usually, to separate the parts of compounds. The brackets indicate that the letters are much blurred, but just recognisable.

⁴ and ⁵ The quantity of the last vowel is not recognisable.

⁶ The *anuvāda* of *ohila* has coalesced with the upright stroke of *le*; the following letter may also have been *hi*.

ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

The Delhi Mirat Pillar—South Side.—Edict V.



A.—The Edict of the Queens of Devanampiya.



B.—The Kosambi Edict of Devanampiya.



EDICT III.

- 10 Dēvānam=piyē Piyadasi=lājā=hāvam=āhā kayānam . . va=d[ākhā] m .
 11 kayānē=kaṭṭē=ti nō minā=pāpam=dēkhati [i]yam=mō=pāpam=ka[ṭṭē=ti iyam=v . .
 12 āsinavō=nā[mā]=ti⁷ dupaṭivēkhē=chu=khō=āsa hōvam=chu [sā]d[ā]l[ā]khiyē,
 13 [i]māni=āsinava-g[āminī]=nāma atha⁸ chaṇḍiyē niṭṭā-lyō=kākhā
 14 mānē isyā kālānāna=v[a]=hakaṇ⁹ mā=palibha[sā]ṛisa . . . hādhān .
 15 dēkhiyē iyam . . ē=[hidati]khiyē iyam=mō=pālatikāyē [u]

B. West Side.

Edict IV.

- 1
 2 [lājā]chaghamti=[ā]la[dhāyitavē]
 3 tu asva[ṭhō=ho]ti
 4 [viya] li[ha]tavē h[ā]v[am=mamā]
 5 lājā[kā] yō yēna=ētā=a[bhī]tā
 6 asvathā=sam [pa]vatayēvū=ti ētā[na]=mō
 7 . [j]ā[kā]nam atapatiyē=[kaṭṭē]
 8 ichhitavi hāla=samatā=ch[a]=sya¹⁰
 9 damāsa[na] [mā] āvuti bādhana=ba[dhā]nān .
 10 munisāna[m] vadhānam tiṇni=divasāni=[m]ō
 11 yōtē diṇnē payisam[t]i jivitāyē=tānam
 12 nāsantam=vā=ni ti pālatikam
 13 u[pa]vāsam=vā=k[a]¹¹ hōvam=niḷudhasi=[k]ālasī
 14 [p]ālatam=āladhay vadhati vividhā=dhamma=chalanā
 15 samyamā dā [u]

C. South Side.

Edict V.

- 1 [a]v . dh . y .¹² p . t . k . -pi=cha=kāni
 2 kō [vadhi]=kukupō nō=kaṭṭaviyē tūṣā=sa[ṭ]vō
 3 [taviyē] davē ana[ṭh]āyē¹³=vā vihiṣāyē=vā=n[ō]
 4 [jhāpētaviyē] jivēna jivē nō=pusitaviyē tisu chātammāsīsu¹⁴
 5 Tisāya[m]=pu[m]namā[sī]yam tiṇni=divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṇṇaḍasaṃ
 6 paṭipadā . =dhuvāyē=cha anupāsatham machhē=avadhiyē nō=pi
 7 vikāṭaviyē ātāni=yēva=divasāni nāga-vanasi kēvaṭa=bhōga-
 8 [yā] . =[a] . [ni]=pi jiva=nikāyāni¹⁵ nō=[ha]ntaviyāni
 9 aṭham[ṭ] . . . yē¹⁶ chāvudasaṃ paṇṇaḍasaṃ Tisāyō
 10 Punāvasunē tisu=chātammāsīsu sudivasāyē g[ō]nō
 11 [nō=ni]la[khi]tavi[y]ō ājakō ājakō sūkalō āvā=pi
 12 am[nō] nīlakhiya[ti] [nō]=nīlakhitaviyē Tisāyē Punāvasunē
 13 chātammāsīyē chātu[m]mā[sī]pakhāyē asvasā gōnasā lakhanō
 14 nō . . viyē yēva=saḍvīsati=[va]sa abhisitāna=mō ātāyē
 15 amālikāyē paṇṇavi[sā]ti bādhanā-mōkhāni kamṭāni [u]

II. THE QUEEN'S EDICT.

- 1 Dēvānam piyashā vaohanānā savata mahāmātā
 2 vataviyā ē hāta dutiyāyē dēviyō dānē

⁷ Possibly the reading may have been *adma*.⁸ There is a stroke on the left of the *tha*, which seems to be accidental.⁹ Possibly *chā-si* to be read.¹⁰ The letters of this word and of the next have lost their tops.¹¹ Read *chāvudasaṃ*.¹² The quantity of the vowel of the third syllable is uncertain.¹³ Possibly *vō* to be read.¹⁴ An abrasion makes this look like *ka*.¹⁵ This may also have been *saṭhā*.¹⁶ Looks like *'kha*.

- 3 ambā-vaḍikā¹⁷ vā ālamē¹⁸ va dāna-ga[hā vā ā vāpi]¹⁹ amnā
 4 kīchhi ganiyati tāyē dēviyē shē nāni . [va] ²⁰
 5 dutāyāyē dēviyē ti Tivala-mātu²¹ Kaluvākiyē [u]

III. THE KOSAMBI EDDIOT.

- 1 yē [ā]napayati Kōsambiya maham[ā]-ta
 2 ma . . saṅghas[i] n[a]chi yē
 3 [Saṅghas bhō]khati bhikhu-va bhi[khu]nī-vā . [pī] chā [ō]
 4 dā[tā]ni [d]usāni . nam dhāpayitu āna[pō]sa . . v . . y . y

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 32.—THE FOUR GOOD MAXIMS.

Second Variant.

In a certain country there lived a famous but poor soothsayer, who had an only son whom he loved very much. Suddenly he fell ill, and thinking that his end was approaching, called his son to his bedside, and, taking out an inscribed palm-leaf from underneath his pillow, thus addressed him:—"My son, do not be vexed with me that I bequeath to you no property. If you take this palm-leaf to some king or other, he will amply reward you." Thus saying the poor old soothsayer died, and his son, not troubling much about his father's words at the time, put the palm-leaf in the thatch and attended to the last rites of his departed parent.

After some days had passed, wishing to test his father's statement, he proceeded with the manuscript to a King and, explaining its history, asked for a reward, and the King, who was a very prudent man, promised payment in due time. His object, of course, was to test the truth of the four maxims he found in the palm-leaf, before paying for it. They were:—

- (1) Do not travel without money or jewels in hand to help you in necessity.
- (2) Do not send your wife for a long while to her parents.
- (3) Do not seek your sister when you are in misery.
- (4) Seek always your friend when you are in misery.

The King, in order to test these four maxims, called his minister to his side and, explaining his intention, made over his kingdom to his charge for a time. He then assumed the garb of a poor peasant, but hid in his loin's cloth a diamond ring of very great value to serve him in need, remembering the first maxim of the soothsayer's son.

Now, a long while before this affair he had sent his wife to her parent's house, and desired to follow her there and examine her conduct. To disguise himself, he placed a bundle of fire-wood on his head and appeared in this guise in the streets of the town in which his wife lived. He had not far to walk before he discovered his wife engaged in playing dice with a neighbour-

¹⁷ It is unnecessary to write 'vāḍikā', because the original Sanskrit form 'vāḍikā', 'surrounded by a hedge' (vāḍi) may become in Prakrit 'vāḍika' and 'vāḍika', and further 'vāḍikā' or 'vāḍikā'.

¹⁸ This is probably not a mistake, but a vicarious form for 'dāśa', compare 'grāha' and 'grāha' and similar double forms.

¹⁹ Among the bracketed letters 'ā' is tolerably plain and perfectly certain. Less distinct, but still probable are 'vāpi', while 'vā' is conjectural.

²⁰ One letter has been lost before the tolerably distinct 'va', or 'vam' (in case the following dot is not accidental) and three or four after it.

²¹ The bracketed letters are more or less uncertain.

ing musician, in the verandah of whose house she was openly sitting. Wishing to examine further, the King in his disguise stood before the house and said, "Fire-wood to sell! Cheap fire-wood! Who will buy my fire-wood." The musician was attracted by the voice, and demanded the price of the bundle. The King, whose object was to stand there for a time and see what passed, demanded a low price at which he knew his wares would not be rejected. The musician, thinking the price very cheap, ordered him to take it inside the house and throw it on the wood heap. The apparent wood-seller obeyed the order and returned to demand the price. "Wait a moment, you fool, you are a rude fellow that does not know when to speak; wait," said the master. And our hero, glad at heart at the opportunity afforded him to test his wife, gladly consented, saying, "My master, why should you be so much enraged at a poor wood-seller who is ever ready to obey your orders; I will wait the whole day, if you order me to do so." So saying, he sat down below the verandah, looking as if he were waiting for the price of his wood.

In Hindu society, the mere fact of a respectable woman sitting with a musician and playing dice with him would be enough to make a man suspect her character. The familiarity of her speech and other things that followed gave ample proofs of his wife's conduct to the disguised King. The day was almost approaching to its close, and yet the pair had not left off playing. At twilight the lady said she would be absent for only a few *ghatikās* and return to him during the night. When the wood-seller heard this, he praised his good fortune for the opportunity thus offered him of witnessing his wife's conduct. The musician, in the hurry of parting with his lady-love, forgot all about the wood-seller, who remained complacently waiting outside.

Before the first watch of the night was over, the King's wife returned, and in passing into the house trod over her own husband sitting in the dark verandah! Said she, "Who are you, sir, sitting here in the dark?" "Your humble wood-seller whom the master of the house has not yet paid," replied he. She then chided the musician for not having already paid the man and sent him away. But he excused himself by saying that he had no change, and that he intended to give the poor fellow some food for the night and then send him away. "Do me that favour, my lord; that is more than payment to me," cried our hero most piteously.

Food was hastily given him, and then the musician and the King's wife entered their sleeping apartment. Our hero, after eating a little, took his bed in the outer verandah, apparently to sleep, but really to keep himself awake and examine his wife's conduct still further. In this he was very successful, overhearing enough of the conversation that passed between the musician and the lady to give him a clear idea of the latter's character.

Next morning, when the King's wife was returning home, she had suspicions about the wood-seller, who was still asleep in the outer verandah. She had not closely watched him the previous day, and his disguise was not easily to be seen through. But in the morning, when his limbs were fully stretched in the profound sleep that came upon him after his long wakefulness, she, notwithstanding the clever disguise assumed, strongly suspected him to be her husband. The King now suddenly awoke and, still pretending to be a wood-seller, said, "My good lady, the food that the master of the house gave me last night stretched me senseless in this verandah. May God give you long life. I go now." And so saying he made off.

His wife, half suspecting that he was her husband, but hoping that after all he was only a wood-seller closely resembling her husband, returned home hastily, and sent for two murderers, promising them a good reward if they would only fly after the person she described and murder him. They agreed, and she ascended with them to the topmost storey of her house and watched in the direction in which the pretended wood-seller had gone. It had not been very difficult for her to point him out, nor had it been in any way a matter of difficulty to the murderers to mark him down. Then she hastily sent them away, and these ruffians vanished like hawks after their game.

When the King had met his wife face to face in the morning he feared that, being a

cunning woman unfaithful to her husband, she might have read through him, and so he fled out of the town as fast as he could. The ruffians, however, soon came to him and, seizing him by the hair, said that they had been ordered to murder him. "What have I done to deserve this sort of treatment at your hands," demanded our hero. "Nothing to us, but something to a lady who has promised to reward us amply," replied they.

Seeing it was vain to argue with them, the King slyly dragged the ruffians into a conversation and, after praising them, promised to reward them with a jewel worth the three worlds if they would only spare him. Money was their first object in life, and they did not care from whom they got it. And besides, what cause would the lady have to disbelieve them if they said that they had killed the man and demanded the reward of her too? In this way they would be doubly rewarded. Thus argued they, and demanded from the King what he had to give. Then our hero taking a diamond of unparalleled lustre and value from his loin cloth gave it to them, on condition that they let him escape. They agreed to do so, on condition on his part that he never came back to that city. Our hero, who was always careful to turn every event to his own advantage, promised them a thousand times never more to go in that direction and took his leave.

He had thus examined his wife's character and in that way had tested the truth of the second maxim—Send not the wife long to her parents' house. He had also examined the truth of the first maxim — Not to travel without money or jewel in hand, — for it was the diamond that saved his head.

He had now to examine the truth of the other two maxims, and so he turned towards his sister's town. She had been married to a rich *samfadar* at about ten *kos* distance from the city he had just left. He had an easy road to walk, but not an easy mind, for his wife's conduct pierced his heart, and his only consolation was that he had no issue by her. It was about midday when he reached the city his sister lived in. The sun was still high in the heavens, and the previous night's wakefulness and the morning walk after escape from the ruffians brought upon our hero such thirst and hunger that he was almost fainting. He was, however, fortunate enough to reach the big tank at the entrance of the town and, getting into it hastily, drank half a dozen handfuls of water. Then he went on to the bank, and sitting below a shady banyan-tree, rested his exhausted limbs. A poor Brāhman happened to pass by, and calling him to his side, our exhausted hero mentioned to him the name of his sister, which was well known throughout the city, as she was a very wealthy lady. The disguised King then explained to the Brāhman who he was, and requested him to inform her of his arrival, so that she might send him some food as he was almost dying with hunger. The Brāhman ran off all the harder when he heard that the person he had been talking to was a King, and duly communicated the news to the King's sister. She enquired of him whether her brother had come with all his royal paraphernalia.

"No," replied the messenger; "he is as it were a beggar, half famished now by hunger." She now thought that her brother, by some misfortune or other, had lost all his kingdom and wealth, and instead of being still the more hospitable to him in consequence of his adversity, she, in her pride of wealth, disdained all knowledge of her brother, in his beggar's condition. But she was at least kind enough to send him a plateful of cold rice several days old, not even fit for dogs to eat. The unfortunate King received this through the kind Brāhman who, pitying his fate, brought better food cooked in his house to his royal guest. The King thanked him for his kindness, but said that his sister's food was more tasteful to him, and, after partaking two or three mouthfuls, requested the Brāhman to preserve the plate with the cold rice in it for a few days in his house, telling him that he would have occasion to call for it.

He then left the Brāhman and went to another city where he had a good friend. They had been playmates from their boyhood and had read in the same school and under same teachers; and so to that friend our hero went. He was extremely poor, but for all that, on seeing the

King approach his dwelling, he ran to him with a most welcome face, enquired the reason which had turned his royal friend into a beggar, and wept over his troubles as if they had been his own. The King, whose object was to test the four maxims, invented a tale for the nonce that his kingdom had been taken away by an enemy, and that he was really a beggar. His friend shed tears in profusion and requested him to live in his house as if it were his own palace till better days should come. Though he was poor, he tried his best, as far as his means admitted, to give rich meals to his royal guest, and instructed his wife in the following manner:—
 "My dear, you must know that our guest is a royal personage who has seen better days. Although he is now a beggar, you must not on that account lessen your respect for him. All that we have in the house we must devote to feeding him. Though we may eat without *ghā* or curds, you must give these to him in abundance."

She, being an extremely well-behaved and virtuous woman, obeyed her husband's words to the letter, and our hero, though he was living in a poor man's house, had every kind of hospitality shown to him. Language had no bounds to express his obligation to them. He tested his friend for more than a fortnight, and on no occasion did he see their care of him diminish.

The King was greatly delighted to see that all the four maxims of the soothsayer's son had proved true, and was now bent upon returning to his country and rewarding the person who had offered them on payment. So first he explained to his friend that he had come in that disguise to test him, and that he was still the lord of his kingdom. He then sent for his royal paraphernalia, and with all the usual pomp and circumstance made a royal march to the city where his sister dwelt. At a distance of a few miles, he sent messengers, with badges and other outward signs of royalty, to announce to his sister that he was coming to her house for supper. She prepared a grand feast for him, and soon the King and his party arrived. The King's friend came, too, and almost all the noblemen of that city were gathered that night in the King's sister's house to join the royal party, and the party had all sat before their leafy plates for supper, the dishes were being served and everything was ready; when, just as each guest began to eat, the King demanded from his sister the cold rice she had given him in his apparent adversity. She hung her head for very shame, and then he explained to the whole assembly the history of the cold rice, and hastily took his leave, refusing to taste even a single mouthful in his sister's house.

He then proceeded to the town where his wife lived. There also his father-in-law and others made preparations for his visit. He called them all together, including his wife and the musician and explained before them all how he had discovered the illicit love of his wife. He then had his wife and her unlawful companion impaled, and returned to his country. He rewarded his minister for his good government during his absence and gave him for his assistant the friend who protected him in his misery. After taking upon himself the kingdom our hero gave a *śāṭṭh* for each maxim to the poor soothsayer's son who gave him the palm-leaf containing the four maxims.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 85.

In the copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Rājārāja II., from Korumelli in the Rājamahāndri District, Madras Presidency,¹ which I have edited, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 48ff., the date of his accession is given in the verse (line 65 ff.), — *yō*

¹ The original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, are now, I understand, in the British Museum.

rakṣhituṃ vasumatīm Śaka-vatsarāḥ vād-āmbu-rāśi-nidhi-varttāḥ Simha-gē-rikṣē kṛishṇa-dvij-tiya-divavas². Uttara-Bhadrikāyām vārē Gurōr-Vṛaṇijī lagna-varē-bhishiktāḥ ||, — "who was anointed to protect the earth in the Śaka year that is constituted by the Vēdas (four), the oceans (four), and the treasures (of Kubēra) (nine), when the sun was moving in Simha, under the Uttara-

² Read *dīvas*; the *va* was repeated by mistake.

Bhadrikā (i.e. Bhādrapadā) *nakṣatra* on the second day of the dark fortnight, on Thursday, during the excellent Vanij *lagna* (i.e. the rising of the sign Tūlā)."

Here, again, the given Saka year, 944, is not distinctly specified either as current or as expired. But correct results can be obtained only by applying it as an expired year.

In Śaka-Samvat 944 current, the *sankranti* or entrance of the sun into Siṃha occurred on the 26th July, A.D. 1021, at about 38 *ghaṭṭa*. 8 *pala*s, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And the dark second *tithi* which occurred while the sun remained in Siṃha, was the *amānta* Śrāvana² *kṛishna* 2, which ended, not on a Thursday, but on Friday, 28th July, at about 33 *gh* 45 *p*, after mean sunrise. Nor can the *tithi* here be connected with the Thursday, as a current *tithi*; for, at sunrise on the Thursday, the *nakṣatra* was Dhanishthā, No. 23, by all three systems; and Uttarā-Bhādrapadā, No. 26, did not occur at all on that day.

In Śaka-Samvat 945 current (944 expired), however, the results work out quite satisfactorily. In this year the sun entered Siṃha on the 26th July, A.D. 1022, at about 58 *gh*. 40 *p*. The dark second *tithi* which occurred while the sun was still in Siṃha, was the *amānta* Bhādrapadā *kṛishna* 2, which ended on Thursday, 16th August, at about 24 *gh*. 50 *p*. At sunrise on that day, there was the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra*, by all three systems; and it ended, according to all three systems, at about 16 hrs. 25 min., = 41 *gh*. 25 *p*, after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that there was the Vanij *lagna* from about 7 *gh*. 8 *p* to 12 *gh*. 27 *p*. after apparent sunrise for Rājamahēndri.⁴

Accordingly, the date of the accession of Rājārāja II. was Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022.

This grant of Rājārāja II., and the Chellār grant of Kulōttunga-Chōladeva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff.), give the following duration of reigns:—

Amma II.	25 years
His elder half-brother, Dānārnava . . .	3 ..
A time of anarchy ⁵	27 ..
Saktivarman, or Chālukya-Chandra, son of Dānārnava	12 ..
And his younger brother, Vimalā- ditya	7 ..
Total.....	74 years

We have found (page 103 above) that the actual date of the accession of Amma II. was Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, corresponding to the *amānta* Mārgaśīraṣa *kṛishna* 13 of Śaka-Samvat 868 current. Adding to this year the above seventy-four years, we are brought to Śaka-Samvat 942 current, for the accession of Rājārāja II., the son and successor of Vimalāditya. It really took place, however, as we have just seen, in Śaka-Samvat 945 current. And this difference of three years in seventy-four, with only four intervening reigns,—or, including the time of anarchy, five intervening periods,—is instructive, in indicating the extent to which we may go in the way of adjustment, in determining the dates of the Eastern Chalukya kings from the duration of the reign of each of them as given in even years in the grants of this dynasty

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

OMENS.

In Bihār.

(1) The quivering of the left eyelid is very unlucky, but that of the right means the return of an absent relative or friend, or happy news during the day.

(2) Letting a shoe lie upside down, or letting one shoe fall on the other, means a journey.

(3) It is a lucky thing to hear a crow cawing on the roof after breakfast, as it portends the

return of a long absent friend. What the crow caws is *tāṭa*, 'place,' and means that he knows where the absent friend is. If the friend turns up you must feed the bird with curds and rice for its information. But it is unlucky to see a kite, owl or vulture on the roof at such a time, as it means calamity and especially the fall of the house. The people say that the Māhārāja of Darbhanga abandoned a newly-built palace, merely because early one morning he found a kite sitting on it.

at 40 *gh*. 41 *p*. according to the equal-space system; both these times being after apparent sunrise for Rājamahēndri.

⁵ In the Chellār grant, these twenty-seven years are included as part of the reign of Dānārnava, which is thus made out to have lasted for thirty years.

² Or the *pāṇamānta* Bhādrapadā. I quote, however, the *amānta* month, because that is the correct arrangement for the period and locality in question; see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142.

⁴ This calculation is by the present *Sārya-Siddhānta*. And according to the same authority, the *tithi* ended at 38 *gh*. 1 *p*., and the Uttarā-Bhādrapadā *nakṣatra* ended

(4) It is unlucky, on rising from your bed, to see a miser or any wretched creature.

It is unlucky to name at such a time, or hear named, a miser or any wild animal (except perhaps the lion). If such a misfortune occurs, you must beat the ground with your shoes as hard as you can, as a sign of your contempt for the creature named.

It is also unlucky to name the monkey, owl or bear, on rising. If you do, or if you happen to hear one of them named, you must say *ba halqa-i-Hettim*. Hattin Tâi being one of the generous heroes of Muhammadan story (*vide* the '*Ardish-i-*

Mahfil) it is a good thing, in order to counteract the evils arising from any of the above mishaps, to mention his name, or that of any other person, living or dead, remarkable for his generosity.

Another safeguard against seeing an unfortunate face in the morning, is to look at your own face the first thing in a looking-glass; and against hearing unfortunate names, is to mutter a prayer containing the name of God or of a great saint before rising.

After breaking your fast, there is no more danger.

Gaya.

SAYYID KHAIIRAT AHMAD.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE DIARY OF WILLIAM HEDGES, Esq. (afterwards Sir William Hedges), during his agency in Bengal, as well as on his voyage out and return overland (1081-1087). By Col. Sir Henry Yule. Hakluyt Society, London, 1889. Vol. III. Containing Documentary Contributions to a BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS PITT, Governor of Fort St. George, with collections on the Early History of the Company's Settlement in Bengal and on the Early Charts and Topography of the Hugli River.

We have before us here one of the last, if not actually the last, completed work of the great writer who has so recently passed from among us, worked out with his customary skill, exactitude, and detail. In general interest it is not surpassed by any of its many famous predecessors, for it is mostly devoted to the elucidation of the curiously obscure and difficult history of the well-known Thomas Pitt, the original holder of the Pitt Diamond and ancestor of more than one personage of supreme importance in the history of England.

In the Diary of William Hedges we find repeated reference to a Captain Pitt or Pitts (as he is called indiscriminately), a prominent and notorious interloper, who pursued his commercial adventures in defiance of the Company's claim to exclusive trade, and was only too successful in seducing from their fidelity and involving in his own quasi-contraband business a number of the Company's servants in "the Bay." Beside these notices Col. Yule gives us a long series of independent letters tracing Pitt's history as an interloper from 1675 to 1695, when he left Bengal for England, and he then sets himself to answer the following questions. Was this Captain Thomas Pitt, interloping adventurer, identical with Captain Thomas Pitt, Member for Old Sarum, who in the end of 1697 was appointed by the Court of the East India Company to the Government of Fort St. George, an office which he held with eminent reputation for more than eleven years; who was the owner and sponsor

of the Famous Pitt Diamond; who was the progenitor of several families holding peerages; and who (above all) was the grand-father and great-grand-father of two of the greatest of English Statesmen?

In great detail Col. Yule shows that Pitt the interloper and Pitt the Member for Old Sarum are unquestionably one and the same person, and that it was the Member for Old Sarum that became Governor of Madras in 1697. He also shows that it is true, however improbable it may seem, that Pitt actually held his seat for Old Sarum, 1689-1695, while he was interloping on the Hugli! In 1690 he bought the Manor of Stratford (and Old Sarum) from James, 3rd Earl of Salisbury, and represented that borough in the three Revolution Parliaments. Finally the crucial evidence as to whether Pitt the Governor was Pitt the interloper (there is no doubt that Pitt the M.P. was Pitt the Governor) is afforded in a remarkable letter from Pitt as Governor to his cousin John Pitt, King's Consul, Company's Agent, and President on the Coast of Coromandel at Masulipatam, dated November 12th, 1699, in which he says:—

"And for the Supporting my Credit, I dont remember I was indebted or Concern'd in anything what ever that could be Censured by any, unless it was interloping, which I never repented of to this day."

"*Habemus confidentem remum*," cries Col. Yule in his satisfaction at the discovery.

Further confirmation from Pitt's correspondence is afforded in passages from three other letters, which are worth quoting here as documentary evidence of a notable historical point.

(1) Letter from Governor Pitt to John Pitt at Masulipatam, dated 5th January 1699-1700:—

"I wonder with what face you can say I carry'd the ballance of your account with me to Bengall in the Seymore."

(2) Letter from Governor Pitt to Sir R. Littleton, President at Hôglî in the Bay, dated 2nd April 1700 :—

"When I was in Bengal last on the Seymore."

(3) Letter to Mr. John Beard of the Old Company in Bengal, dated April 21st, 1700 :—

"I am advis'd that Agent Eyre sold two Gunns belonging to the ship Seymore, which I left in the hands of Mr. Geoye Guy."

This point settled, the rest is plain sailing, and, apart from the side-lights thrown on contemporary history and manners, the remainder of Col. Yule's remarks are mainly interesting as proving in detail the main statements.

Pitt was the second son of the Rev John Pitt, Rector of Blandford St. Mary, Dorset, and was born on July 5th, 1658. His first appearance in India was, when he was only 21, in 1674, and from that time for 20 years he appears to have "interloped" at intervals in India. In 1697, his quarrels with the Company having been gradually patched up since 1693, he came out as its representative, and not only of it but of the New Company and then of the United Company, till 1711, when he finally returned to England. For the remainder of his long life, for he died in 1726, aged 73, he lived mostly in his native country a well-known man and Member of Parliament. In 1716 he was actually appointed Governor of Jamaica, affairs in that Island having got into a dangerous condition, but he never took up the appointment, and gave way to Sir Nicholas Lawes.

In summing up his character, Colonel Yule says of him that he was bold, decided and shrewd, frank and unrestrained in the expression of his sentiments and a master of "merciless and rasping chaff," a good hater, by no means delicately scrupulous, but a man who lived up to his own standard of duty and honour: hardly an attractive but a most forcible character.

We may now glance at the truth as disclosed in the pages before us about the "abusive story" of the great Pitt Diamond, in which our hero was accused of having used his power as a Governor to become the possessor thereof. The stone was really bought at Madras by Pitt in February or March 1699 after a long haggle, lasting over two months and more, for 48,000 *pagodas*, from Jaurchund (P Jawâhir Ohand), "one of the most eminent diamond merchants in those parts." He kept possession of it till 1717, when it was sold to the Regent, Duke of Orleans, as a jewel for the French Crown. The price was 2,000,000 *livres* (about £134,000), of which £40,000 was paid down and the balance, which was never paid, was (P) covered by a deposit of jewels belonging to the

Crown of France. It cost £8,000 to cut, but the chips were worth more than this, and as its original price could not have exceeded £21,000, it may be looked upon as a good investment in any view of the case.

From the French Crown it passed to the National Assembly and is mentioned in the inventory of the crown jewels taken in August 1792. It was stolen with the Sancy and many other valuables and stones from the Garde Meuble between the 11th and 17th September 1792, and recovered on 10th December 1793. It was then pawned in 1796 by De Parseval as security for the cost of horse-furniture for the national army and redeemed by him in 1797. In 1798 it was again pawned by De Parseval to Vandenberg of Amsterdam and released by Napoleon in 1802. In 1804 it appeared among his crown jewels, whence it passed into the possession of Louis XVIII. and continued as part of the French crown jewellery till 1870, when it became a Government deposit in the Bank of France, where it still lies as the finest diamond in the world.

As to Pitt's descendants and family; his second son, Colonel Thomas Pitt, became Earl of Londonderry, mainly, it seems, from his marriage with the daughter and co-heir of Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry. His daughter, Lucy Pitt married the first Earl Stanhope, whose grandson, the third Earl, married his relative, Lady Hester Pitt, a great-granddaughter of Thomas Pitt, as he himself was a great-grandson. This lady was the mother of the celebrated Lady Hester Stanhope.

The eldest son of Thomas Pitt, by name Robert Pitt, was the father of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, who by his marriage with Hester Temple was the father of John, the second Earl, and William Pitt. Their sister was the Lady Hester Pitt (Countess Stanhope) already mentioned. The same Robert Pitt's eldest son, famed Thomas Pitt, was the father of Thomas Pitt, first Lord Camelford.

Another daughter of the great Thomas Pitt, Essex Pitt, married Charles Cholmondeley and was the grandmother of Thomas Cholmondeley, first Baron Delamere.

From Sir William Pitt of Iwerne, Dorset, and Strathfieldsaye, Hants, great-uncle of Thomas Pitt, was descended George Pitt, first Baron Rivers, from whose daughter is descended General Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers, the founder of the great Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford.

Such in brief outline is the story of a remarkable man, the progenitor both in the male and female lines of a remarkable family.

THE RÔMAKA SIDDHANTAS.

BY SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT; DHULIA.

IN this paper I purpose chiefly to show that the *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta as represented in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, and the *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta of Śrīshêṇa, are different and separate works. The point of the age of both these Siddhântas will also be discussed; and it will be shown incidentally that Lāṭa is not the author of the former. The present *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta also will be noticed. Owing to the discovery of the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, means have been made available by which we can know something at least, definitely, about the five Siddhântas treated of, though only succinctly, by Varāhamihira. Also copies of the *Brahma*-Siddhânta of Brahmagupta are now available. And fortunately these two writers, not confining themselves strictly to the special subjects treated of, have occasionally allowed themselves to be free in alluding to previous writers. Consequently we are not left only to speculations; and we need not grope in the dark for the points that are to be considered.

It is clear from the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* that only one *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta was known to Varāhamihira; and I shall call this the original *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta, for the sake of convenience, and to distinguish it from Śrīshêṇa's work. Śrīshêṇa's name occurs nowhere in the *Pañchasiddhântikâ*. Brahmagupta alludes to the *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta in three places, but in them he does not allude to Śrīshêṇa; while he does allude to Śrīshêṇa's work, by his own name, in twelve places, which will be quoted further on; but in none of them, except perhaps in one, does he use the word *Rôma*ka. It seems, in fact, that Brahmagupta does not call Śrīshêṇa's work a *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta. But, from a quotation from his commentary on the *Brahma*-Siddhânta given by Dr. Thibaut,¹ Prithūdaka seems to have called Śrīshêṇa's work a *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta; and, for the sake of convenience, I will call it Śrīshêṇa's *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta.

First I quote from the *Brahma*-Siddhânta the three places where there are allusions to the *Rôma*ka-Siddhânta, and the twelve places in which Śrīshêṇa's name occurs, with their translation:—

The first three references are —

(a)

युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः ।

अस्मान्न रोमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यौ रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥ 13 ॥ Chapter i.

"The Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, are said in the Smṛiti to be the standards of (measuring) time; and because they are not (found) in the *Rôma*ka, therefore the *Rôma*ka stands outside the Smṛitis."

(b)

पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहेषु बज्र्योक्तं ।

तत्र सञ्चानवर्गं नार्जुनदोक्तं तदुक्तिरतः ॥ 46 ॥ Chapter xiv.

"That method of finding out *nakshatras* which is stated in the Paulīśa, *Rôma*ka, Vāsisṭha, Saura, and Paitāmaha (Siddhântas), is not stated by Āryabhaṭa; therefore its statement (is made by me)."²

(c)

युगपद्युगादिरुदये बान्धवा मास्करस्व वारुणा ।

राश्वधोऽसौम्यामस्तमबाधिनदलद्विधा ॥ 2 ॥

अजमेव कृतः सूर्येण पुलिस्तरोमकवासिष्ठवचनाद्यैः ।

अस्मान्न तस्मादेकः सिद्धांती प्रथमचमान्वा ॥ 3 ॥ Chapter xxiv.

¹ Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 201.

² With this introduction, Brahmagupta gives the unequal-space system of *nakshatras*, which I have named the *Brahma*-Siddhânta System, and have described in my paper on the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, (ante, Vol. XVII. p. 4 ff.)

“(2) The commencement of the Yuga (*takes place*) at one and the same time, at the rising of the sun in the south, at midnight in the west, at the setting (*of the sun*) in the north, and at noon in the east. — (3) Because the same (*commencement of the Yuga*) is made by Sūrya, Indu, Pulīṣa, Rōmaka, Vasiṣṭha, Yavana, and others, therefore (*there can be only*) one Siddhānta; (*i.e.* no matter by whose name they may be called, all Siddhāntas must be one and the same in respect of their fundamental principles); any other work is a mere putting together of words.”

And the remaining twelve references are :—

(d)

(i) मन्त्रगतिं वीक्ष्य श्रीपैतृमन्त्रविष्णुचंद्रज्ञाः ।

सदसि न भवन्मनुष्याः सिंह इष्टा यथा हरिणा ॥ 6 ॥ Chapter i.

“Seeing one who has learned the mean motion (*from the Brahma-Siddhānta*), those who know (*only the works of*) Brishēṇa, Āryabhata and Vishṇuchandra, do not come before (*him*) in an assembly; just as the deer, seeing a lion (*cannot stand before him*).”

(e)

मेघादितः प्रवृत्ता नार्यभट्टस्य स्फुटा युगस्वामी ।

(ii) श्रीपेयस्य कुजाद्याः पूर्वाद्या विष्णुचंद्रज्ञ ॥ 46 ॥

(iii) ब्रह्मटाः स्पष्टाः श्रीपैतृमन्त्रविष्णुचंद्रेषु ।

ब्रह्मास्कुजादबस्त्येषु न विवृणोतेऽस्वस्मात् ॥ 47 ॥ Chapter ii.

“(46) (*All*) the apparent (*planets in the work*) of Āryabhata, Mars and others of Brishēṇa, and the sun and others of Vishṇuchandra, are not (*made to*) start from the beginning of Mēsha at the commencement of the Yuga. (47) Because the apparent Mars and others in (*the works of*) Brishēṇa, Āryabhata, and Vishṇuchandra have gone far astray, therefore the learned have no respect for them.

(f)

(iv) कृत्वापि दृष्टिकर्म श्रीपैतृमन्त्रविष्णुचंद्रोक्तं ।

प्रतिदिनमुदये ऽस्ते वा न भवति दृग्गणितयोरैक्यं ॥ 13 ॥

भट्टमृगज्जाधानां Chapter x.

“Although the *drishtikarmas*, told by Brishēṇa and Āryabhata and Vishṇuchandra, is calculated every day, there is no coincidence between the observation and calculation, either about the rising or setting of the *nakshatras*, the Muni (Aṅgastya, Canopus), or Mrigavyādhā (Sirius).

(g)

(v) पंचज्याया बतौ ऽर्कमहर्ष श्रीपेयविष्णुचंद्रकृतं ।

आर्यभट्टोक्तान्यन्योरर्कमहर्षवृत्तानि ततः ॥ 31 ॥ Chapter xi.

“Because Brishēṇa, and Vishṇuchandra have calculated solar eclipses by means of the *pañchajyā* (sines of five kinds), therefore the faults stated (*by me*) in connection with Āryabhata (*are applicable*) to both of them also.

(h)

(vi) श्रीपेयविष्णुचंद्रप्रभुत्वात्तद्विज्ञानं ।

महर्षादिविज्ञानात् प्रविशितं सिद्धमकुतलं ॥ 46 ॥

युक्त्यार्यभट्टोक्तानि प्रत्येकं वृत्तानि बीजानि ।

(vii) श्रीपेयप्रभुत्वात् कानिचिद्व्यामि वक्ष्यामि ॥ 47 ॥

लाटासूत्रसंज्ञां मन्त्राविष्णुचंद्रप्रपातौ च ।

कुजबुधनीग्रहस्थासितधीग्रहमैत्र्यान् मन्त्रान् ॥ 48 ॥

युगजातवर्षमगणान् वासिष्ठान् विजयनसिद्धवृत्तान् ।

मंशोच्चपरिधिपातस्यटीकरणाद्यभट्टोक्तं ॥ 49 ॥

(viii) श्रीपेयैव गृहीत्वा रत्नोच्चकोटयः कृतः कथा ।

एतान्येव गृहीत्वा वासिष्ठो विष्णुचंद्रेण ॥ 50 ॥ Chapter xi.

“(46) The incompleteness of Śrīṣhṇa, Viṣṇuchandra, Pradyumna, Āryabhata, Līta, and Siṃha, is proved every day, by the discordance of their eclipses and other things. — (47) The faults declared (by me) with reference to Āryabhata, can, by the exercise of skill, be applied (and explained away, so that they need not be repeated here) in the case of each one (of the other writers whom I have mentioned). I will (now) describe certain other faults of Śrīṣhṇa and others. — (48, 49, 50) Śrīṣhṇa has made the Rōmaka, (which was) an eminence of jewels, a tattered garment; having borrowed the mean sun and moon, the moon's apogee and node, the mean Mars, the mean *śigra* of Mercury, the mean Jupiter, the mean *śigra* of Venus, and the mean Saturn, from Līta; (having taken) the *yuga-yāta* and *varshabhagaṇa* belonging to the *Vāsishtā-Siddhānta*: (having used) the *pādas* employed by Vijayanandin; (and having borrowed) the method of finding the apparent places of the planets and other things from Āryabhata. Viṣṇuchandra has done the same to the *Vāsishtā*, by borrowing the same.

(i)

(ix.) तस्युगवधो महायुगमुक्तं श्रीषिपविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ॥ 55 ॥ Chapter xi.

“The multiplication of those Yugas is pronounced a Mahāyuga by Śrīṣhṇa, Viṣṇuchandra, and others.”

(j)

(x.) ब्रह्मष्टे ग्रहणे श्रीषिपार्जुनविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।

ब्रह्मणिविचित्राः संवत्सराः काकतालीनं ॥ 36 ॥ Chapter xvi.

“The (calculation of) eclipses of Śrīṣhṇa, Āryabhata, and Viṣṇuchandra having gone far astray, (there is now) a discordance between the observation and calculation (of them); the agreement (sometimes obtained, is only) accidental.

(k)

.. न तयो राहुकृतं ग्रहणमर्हति ।

(xi.) एवं वराहमिहिरश्रीषिपार्जुनविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।

लोकविद्वद्भूमिहितं ॥ Chapter xxi.

“So Varāhamihira, Śrīṣhṇa, Āryabhata, Viṣṇuchandra, and others, have said, that an eclipse of the sun or the moon is not, therefore,¹ effected by Rāhu; which is against the (belief of the common) people.

(l)

(xii.) आचार्यैरज्ञातः श्रीषिपार्जुनविष्णुचंद्राद्यैः ।

गोलो जस्मात् तस्मात् ब्राह्मे गोलः कृतः स्पष्टः ॥ 72 ॥ Chapter xxi.

“Because Śrīṣhṇa, Āryabhata, Viṣṇuchandra, and other *Āchāryas*, have not understood the *gōla* (the sphere), therefore the *gōla* has been explained in the *Brāhma-Siddhānta*.”

On reading these passages, we can hardly fail to see, firstly, that Brahmagupta, except perhaps in the 50th verse in (h), does nowhere connect Śrīṣhṇa's name with the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; and secondly, that while he refers to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* in support of his own statement in two out of three places where he alludes to it, he mentions Śrīṣhṇa in all the twelve places only to find fault with him. Thirdly, the very wording of the first half of the 50th verse in the passage (h) convinces us of a distinction which Brahmagupta was making between an original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* and that of Śrīṣhṇa. He compares the former with a mountain of jewels, stating that it was already so; and the latter with a tattered garment.

My fourth argument is as follows: — There was not in the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* such a Yuga-system as is found in the *Sūrya* and other *Siddhāntas*; on the other hand, there was such a system in Śrīṣhṇa's work. I can prove the former assertion directly from the *Pāṇchāsiddhāntikā*. For that purpose we require to know the number of revolutions, in a Mahāyuga of 4,320,000 years, of the sun and moon and of the five planets, and their places at

¹ ततः has a connection with the previous part of the passage.

the beginning of the Kaliyuga or any other Yuga. The calculations of the five planets according to the original *Rāmaka-Siddhānta*, are not given in the *Pāñchariddhāntikā*. There we find the method of calculating the mean places of only the sun and the moon and of the moon's apogee and node, together with their *kshēpakas* for Śaka-Saṃvat 427 expired. The verses relating to this have been explained by Dr. Thibaut, but only partially; the *kshēpakas*, with which also we are here concerned, being left unconsidered by him. So I now give them fully including a few necessary emendations :—

रोमकसूर्यो द्युगपात्सतिथिमात्रं पंचकर्तुं परिहीनात् ।
सप्तदशकसप्तकर्तुं त्रिबोद्धतान्मध्यमः क्रमशः ॥ 1 ॥
स्वस्वरूपाद्युगपात् कृतादनवकैकवर्जितात् द्युगपात् ।
विषयमांकस्वकृताद्यापरिबुद्धान्मध्यमशीतांशुः ॥ 4 ॥
सूर्य्यैकैकाब्जस्तावदधुन्यवसांस्त्वित्ताहिनसमूहात् ।
रूपमित्युगमस्तात् कैत्रं शशिनोऽस्तगमवर्त्ता ॥ 5 ॥
अष्टकगुणिते दद्यात्सर्तुमपदकपंचकान् राशौ ।
भवकपाग्न्यादिद्वते क्रमावुत्तांशोऽप्यते^४ वक्त्रं^५ ॥ 8 ॥ Chapter viii.

Translation.—“(Verse 1) The mean sun, according to the *Rāmaka*, (is found) in succession (of revolutions, signs, &c.) from the *dyugana* (sum of days) multiplied by the sky (nought) and the *tithis* (fifteen) (i.e. by 150); (afterwards) it is diminished by five and the seasons (six) (i.e. by 65), (and) divided by the (numerals) seven, eight, and seven, (the Yugas headed by) Kṛita (four), and the organs of sense (five) (i.e. by 54,787). — (4) The mean moon (is found) from the *dyugana* multiplied by the sky (nought), the sky (nought), form (one), (the numeral) eight, and the qualities (three) (i.e. by 38,100); (afterwards), it is diminished by (the Yugas headed by) Kṛita (four), and (the numerals) eight, nine, and one (i.e. by 1,984), and is divided by (the numeral) three, the objects of the organs of sense (five), the figures (nine), the sky (nought), (the Yugas headed by) Kṛita (four), and the directions (ten) (i.e. by 1,040,953). — (5) The moon's *kāndra* for the time of sunset at Ujjain (is found) from the sum of days multiplied by nought, and (the numerals) one and one (i.e. by 110), (and then) it is increased by the (numeral) nine, nought, and the juices (six) (i.e. by 609), and is divided by form (one), (the numeral) three, the sky (nought) and the qualities (three) (i.e. by 3,031). — (8) Add the juices (six), the seasons (six), a couple, and (the numerals) six and five (i.e. 56,266) to (the *ahargana* after it is) multiplied by three times eight (i.e. 24); (afterwards, it being) divided by the Bhavas (eleven), form (one), the fires (three), and (the metre) *ashṭi* (sixteen) (i.e. 163,111), (the result) is stated to be the month (of Rāhu).”

Some other particulars of the *Rāmaka-Siddhānta*, which we can deduce from the first two of these verses, are given expressly in the following verse, and therefore I quote it :—

रोमकद्युगमर्कैर्होर्वर्षाण्यकाशपंचवसुपसाः ।
खेत्रिवादिषोऽधिरासाः स्वरकृतविषयादयः प्रलभाः ॥ 15 ॥ *Pāñchariddhāntikā*, Chapter i.

“The sky (nought), (the numeral) five, the Vasus (eight) and the fortnights (two) (i.e. 2,850) years, relating to the sun and moon, (form) a Yuga (cycle) of the *Rāmaka*. (In that time there are) the sky (nought), the organs of sense (five), and the directions (ten) (i.e. 1,050) intercalated months, and the notes (seven), (the Yugas headed by) Kṛita (four), the objects of the organs of sense (five), and (the metre) *ashṭi* (sixteen) (i.e. 16,547) expunged *tithis*.”

^४ Here the syllables *वुत्तांशोऽप्यते* seem to be corrupt. I have taken *उप्यते* as a real word, but am not certain that I am right in doing so.

^५ My copy reads *वक्त्रं*, and Dr. Thibaut also read *वक्त्रं* where I have read *वक्त्रं*, which is undoubtedly the original reading. The tradition about Rāhu's mouth and tail is well known; and in the *Pāñchariddhāntikā* itself we find words meaning ‘mouth’ and ‘tail’ used respectively for the ascending and descending nodes of the moon. In verses containing information according to the *Pāñchariddhānta*, we meet with the words *मुख*, ‘mouth,’ and *वदन*, ‘mouth,’ for the ascending node, and twice with the word *पुच्छ*, ‘tail,’ for the descending node.

From the first verse of the eighth chapter, given above, we see that 180 revolutions of the sun are performed in 54,787 days; then one revolution takes 365 days, 14 gh., 48 p. (= 365 days, 5 hours, 55 minutes, 12 seconds), which is therefore the length of the year according to the original Rômake-Siddhânta. It is corroborated by the 15th verse of the first chapter, just given. From the fourth, fifth, and eighth verses of the eighth chapter, given above, we see that 88100, 110, and 24 revolutions respectively of the moon, the moon's anomaly, and the moon's node, are performed in 1,040,958, 8,081, and 168,111 days. Subtracting the moon's anomaly from her mean motion, we get her apogee. The revolutions of the sun and moon, and of the moon's apogee and node, in a Mahâyuga of 4,320,000 years, as well as in the Rômake-Yuga of 2,850 years, derived from these verses, together with some other elements are given in the accompanying Table. Taking the *akergana* to be nil, we find, from the four verses of the eighth chapter given above, the *kshôpakas* of the sun, moon, and moon's apogee and node, for Saka-Samvat 427 expired; they also are given in the accompanying Table. It is proved as will be seen from my paper on the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta* (page 45 ff. above), that the *kshôpakas* in the *Panchasiddhântikâ* according to that Siddhânta are for the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdâśī, Saka-Samvat 427 expired, which ended on Sunday, 20th March A. D. 505. And comparing them⁶ with the *kshôpakas* according to the original *Rômake-Siddhânta*, there remains no doubt that the latter also are for the same day; and from the expression अस्तमवर्त्त, *astagam=Avasthyâk*, "for the time of the sunset at Ujjain," at the end of the fifth verse of the eighth chapter given above, it appears that they are for the time of sunset at Ujjain on that day.

The sun's *kshôpaka* is 11 signs, 29 degrees, 34 minutes, 22.4 seconds. He was then short of the mean Mâsha-Samkrânti by only 25 minutes, 37.6 seconds. Taking the above ascertained length of the year, he takes exactly 26 *ghatis* to traverse this distance. Therefore, the mean Mâsha-Samkrânti of Saka-Samvat 427 expired, occurred, according to the original *Rômake-Siddhânta*, at 56 *ghatis* after mean sunrise at Ujjain on the *amânta* Chaitra kṛishṇa chaturdâśī, Sunday, 20th March, A. D. 505; the current apparent *tithi* at that time being the *amâvâsyâ*. Calculating back, we find that, according to the original *Rômake-Siddhânta*, the mean Mâsha-Samkrânti of Kaliyuga-Samvat 1 current, — i. e. the commencement of the Kaliyuga, if such a thing were contemplated at all in that Siddhânta, — took place at 27 gh. 12 p. after mean sunrise on Saturday, 2nd April, B. C. 3102; viz. 43 days, 42 gh., 12 p., after that of the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. This time is neither sunrise, noon, sunset, nor midnight. This point, together with the moon's place, which was not, as will be seen from col. 4 of the accompanying Table, at the beginning of Mâsha at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, and the number of revolutions and *Sôvana* days &c. in a Mahâyuga given in the same Table, which are not whole numbers, show clearly that in the original *Rômake-Siddhânta* there was not such a Yuga-system as is found in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and similar other works. We have also Brahmagupta's testimony to this. In the passage (a) above, he censures the Rômake for having no Yuga-system in conformity with the *Smṛitis*.⁷

On the other hand, we see from the 46th verse of passage (c), from the 49th verse of passage (h), and from passage (i), that there was such a Yuga-system in Śrīshâpa's work. I must admit here that I am not at present able to understand fully the force of the expression युगवर्त्तवर्गमण, *yugavartavarsha-bhagana*, in passage (h), and of some verses preceding and following passage (i). But in these last verses the word महायुग, *mahâyuga*, occurs twice again; and from all these three passages taken together, I am convinced that in Śrīshâpa's work

⁶ They will be found in column 2 of the Table on page 49 above.

⁷ From the passage (c) above, a doubt is likely to arise, viz. that there was in reality a Yuga-system in the original *Rômake-Siddhânta*. But, in the first place, that passage is to be taken as true only in a general way. And secondly, we have seen above that there was a sort of Yuga in the original *Rômake-Siddhânta*, consisting of 2,850 solar years, and that Yuga must be taken as commencing either at sunrise or some other fixed time. And the passage (c) is not inconsistent with (a).

there was such a Yuga-system at least as was different from that in the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, if it was not such as is employed in the *Sârya* and other *Siddhântas*.

Fifthly, we see from passage (h) that Śrīshēṣa borrowed the method of finding the apparent places of the planets from Āryabhaṭa. The method of finding the apparent place of the sun according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, is found in the following verses of the *Pañcha-siddhântikā*, which I give as they stand in my copy :—

रविशशिनोः स्फुटकरणं खल्वेदुमवमार्धसमितैः खरैः ।

तत्कमवाच्य पुनस्तैर्मियुनइलं शोभते ऽर्कस्य ॥ 2 ॥

तियिमनुइशकसहितारसमनुहीनामविशतिहीना ।

धृतिविषयोना द्विश्राष्टिधृतिषु वृष्टिः कलाविरकला ॥ 8 ॥ Chapter xviii.

The passage is very corrupt; and I must state that I do not understand it fully. Nevertheless I can say that the method in it is certainly not similar to that of Āryabhaṭa; the last words in the second verse alone, establishing the difference between the two *Rômaka-Siddhântas*.

The expression *Mithuna-dalash śādhyaś śrkasya*, "the half of the sign Mithuna is to be subtracted from the sun," — shows that the longitude of the sun's *uchcha* according to the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta* is 75 degrees, while according to the *Ārya-Siddhânta*, — the published work of the first Āryabhaṭa, — it is 78 degrees.⁸ Brahmagupta, who has strictly followed Āryabhaṭa in writing the first part of his *Khaṇḍakhādya*, gives it 80 degrees, in the following words, — *bhāgāśtir-inśochcha* (v. 14, chap. i.), — "the *uchcha* of the sun is eighty degrees." And this may be taken to be the sun's *uchcha* according to the other work⁹ of the first Āryabhaṭa. Śrīshēṣa must have borrowed one of these two; and both of them are at variance with the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*.

Sixthly, the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, as represented in the *Pañchasiddhântikā*, contains the calculations of only the sun and the moon; while Śrīshēṣa's work had, as is seen from passage (h) above, the calculations of the planets also. This, again, shows their difference.

Lastly, in addition to Varāhamihira, the divine authors, and the Rishis, the following names of previous writers on astronomy, occur in Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Siddhânta*, — Pradyumna, Lāta, Simha, Vijayanandin, Āryabhaṭa, Śrīshēṣa, and Vishṇuchandra.¹⁰ And these names, except those of Śrīshēṣa and Vishṇuchandra, occur also in Varāhamihira's *Pañchasiddhântikā*. This circumstance tends to show that Śrīshēṣa and Vishṇuchandra did not precede Varāhamihira, but followed him.

All these proofs, taken collectively, if not severally, show clearly that the *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, treated of in the *Pañchasiddhântikā*, which I have called the original *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, and Śrīshēṣa's *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, were different and separate works. Śrīshēṣa's date lies somewhere between Śaka-Samvat 500¹¹ and 550 expired (A.D. 578 and 628). At any rate he flourished after Varāhamihira and before Brahmagupta.

I may state, by the way, that almost all of the foregoing remarks, except the fourth argument, apply to Vishṇuchandra; that he flourished after Varāhamihira and before Brahmagupta; and that his *Vārishtha-Siddhânta* is different from the original *Vārishtha-Siddhânta* in the *Pañchasiddhântikā*. The latter point is proved even by passage (h) alone.

⁸ See *Dhātukhyāna*, verse 7.

⁹ See my paper on the original *Sârya-Siddhânta*, page 43 ff., above.

¹⁰ All these names will be found above in passages (d) to (h). The 56th verse of the 11th Chapter of the *Brahma-Siddhânta* runs thus :—*अंकाविति विजयनदिमपुत्रादीनि पादकरणानि*; where *अंकाविति* may be the name of an author. But it does not occur anywhere else in the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, nor is it met with in the *Pañchasiddhântikā*; and therefore I am not certain of it.

¹¹ I give this limit, on the assumption that Varāhamihira died in Śaka-Samvat 500 (A.D. 587). I have, however, some doubt about it.

Table of the Elements of the Original Rômake-Siddhanta.

	In a Yuga of 2,850 years.	In a Mahâyuga of 4,320,000 years.	Places at the beginning of the Kaliyuga.				Kalkîpakas (mean places) on amânta Chaitra kṛd̥h̥ya caturdāśī, Saka- Samvat 428 current (427 expired), ending on Sunday, 20th March, A.D. 505			
1	2	3	4				5			
	Revolutions.	Revolutions.	S	°	'	"	S	°	'	"
Sun	2850	43,20,000	0	0°	0'	0"	11	29°	34'	22"
Moon	88,100	577,51,578 $\frac{18}{19}$	5	25	38	0	11	29	18	50
Moon's Apogee	322 $\frac{208}{361}$	4,88,228 $\frac{13708}{8750}$	8	4	26	34	9	16	58	53
Moon's Node	153 $\frac{30000}{123111}$	232,165 $\frac{100008}{123111}$	5	11	34	40	7	25	49	3
	Number.	Number.								
Sâvâna days	10,40,953	15,778,65,600								
Solar months	84,200	518,40,000								
Intercalated months	1,050	15,91,578 $\frac{18}{19}$								
Lunar months	85,250	53,431,578 $\frac{18}{19}$								
Tithis	10,57,500	16,029,47,368 $\frac{9}{19}$								
Expunged tithis	16,547	250,81,768 $\frac{8}{19}$								

The length of the solar year 365 days, 14 ghatis, 48 palas.

Dr. Thibaut, after trying to explain many inconsistencies, seems to have come to the conclusion that "the *Rômake-Siddhanta*, in that shape at any rate which was given to it by Śrīkṛṣṇa, ... was most probably composed in 505 (A.D. = Saka-Samvat 427 expired)." But I think everyone will now be convinced that Saka-Samvat 427 is not the date of Śrīkṛṣṇa's *Rômake-Siddhanta*, which is later than that. Also, some other writers on Hindu astronomy, either not knowing or not making any distinction between the original *Rômake-Siddhanta* and Śrīkṛṣṇa's work, seem to hold that Saka-Samvat 427 expired (A.D. 505) is the date of the *Rômake-Siddhanta*. The reason of this supposition is nothing but the fact that Saka-Samvat 427 is the epoch of the *Pañchariddhantikâ*, and that, particularly in his method of calculating the *akarpas* according to the *Rômake-Siddhanta*, Vardhamihira has taken that year as the starting-point. But this reason proves to be a fallacy on the face of it; and the supposition founded on it falls to the ground. If that be the date of the *Rômake*, which is only one of the five Siddhantas treated of by Vardhamihira, why should we not say that it is the date of the original *Sârya-Siddhanta* also? The *kalkîpakas*, according to the *Sârya-Siddhanta* given in the *Pañchariddhantikâ*, are proved to be for Saka-Samvat 427 expired; and a superficial reader might easily take it to be the date of the *Sârya-Siddhanta*. And similarly we might go so far as to say that it is equally the date of all the five Siddhantas, not excluding even the *Pañcāmāha*, which, I can say on the authority of the *Pañchariddhantikâ*, has the greatest

resemblance to the doctrines promulgated in the *Vidāṅga-Jyōtiṣha*, and which, therefore, is undoubtedly the oldest of the five. Similarly, that Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired is a starting-point in the method of calculating the *akṛgaṇa* according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* in the *Pañcharīd-dhāntikā*, proves nothing. Varāhamihira had to give that method; and, as it would have been a little superfluous to give it according to all the five Siddhāntas, he chose the Rōmaka for it; and there is no special reason for his selecting it. It would be foolish to ask why he did not select any other Siddhānta for it. No one can show that he was compelled of necessity to use no other. Instead of the Rōmaka, he might just as well have given the method according to any other Siddhānta. And in that case, and even if he had given the method according to all the five Siddhāntas, he would have chosen no other year but Saka-Saṁvat 427. And Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, therefore, is not the date of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, as it is not of any of the other Siddhāntas in the *Pañcharīd-dhāntikā*.

Moreover, there is decisive evidence to show that Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired is not the date of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*. The Yuga of the Rōmaka, comprising 2,850 years, was a luni-solar Yuga. The *kṛtṣpakas*, in the *Pañcharīd-dhāntikā*, of the sun and moon for Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, are given in the 5th column of the accompanying Table. Calculating from them, with the mean motions of the sun and moon according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, I find that the mean *amāvāsya* ended 1 *ghaṭi*, 16.5 *palas*, after the time of the *kṛtṣpakas*, i.e. at 31 *gh.* 16.5 *p.* after mean sunrise; and at that time the longitude of the sun and moon was 11 signs, 29 degrees, 35 minutes, 38 seconds. I do not know yet the method of calculating the apparent places of the sun and moon from the mean, according to the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; but taking their mean places and *śukras* from the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, and applying the method of other Siddhāntas, I find that the apparent *amāvāsya* ended about 36 *gh.* after the time of the *kṛtṣpakas*, i.e. at 6 *gh.* after mean sunrise on the next day; and at that time the apparent longitude of the sun and moon was 2 degrees, 16 minutes, 1 second.

It is seen from these calculations that, at the end of either the mean or the apparent *amāvāsya*, the sun and the moon were not at the beginning of Mēsha; and that neither the mean nor the apparent *amāvāsya* ended either at sunrise, noon, sunset, or midnight. Whatever be the method of calculating the apparent places of the sun and moon according to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, any one familiar with practical astronomy will be convinced, from their *kṛtṣpakas*, that, when they would be together, i.e. at the end of the apparent *amāvāsya*, they would not stand at the beginning of Mēsha, nor would their coming together take place either at sunrise, noon, sunset, or midnight. And consequently the Yuga of the Rōmaka cannot have commenced in Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired. The original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* was evidently not a Karapa, but a Siddhānta; and therefore, its starting-point for calculating the *akṛgaṇa* cannot be Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, unless that is the year of the commencement of its Yuga, which cannot be the case, as we have just seen. And, therefore, Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired is not the epoch of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* for calculating the *akṛgaṇa* and other details.

It might still be urged that the author of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* may have given the date of its completion specifically, and that this was Saka-Saṁvat 427. But even if it be so, what influence would that date have had with Varāhamihira? Brahmagupta wrote his *Brakma-Siddhānta* in Saka-Saṁvat 550; but the epoch of his own Karapa, the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, is Saka-Saṁvat 587 expired (A.D. 665). Bhāskara-chārya wrote his *Siddhānta-Tīrthamāni* in Saka-Saṁvat 1072 expired (A.D. 1150); but he employed Saka-Saṁvat 1105 expired (A.D. 1183) as the epoch for his own Karapa, the *Karapavārtakāla*. It is most unlikely that Varāhamihira should have chosen the year of the composition of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* for the epoch of his Karapa, the *Pañcharīd-dhāntikā*. The year Saka-Saṁvat 427 expired, which is the epoch of the *Pañcharīd-dhāntikā*, has nothing to do with the date of the composition of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; and it must be very near to the date of the composition of the *Pañcharīd-dhāntikā*, if it is not the very year of its composition.

At present we have no means of determining the age of the original Rômake-Siddhânta with much certainty. But I am of opinion that it is much older than Saka-Samvat 427 (A.D. 505) I proceed to give my reasons.

In the introductory verses of the *Pañchariddhântikâ*, Varāhamihira states:—

पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहास्तु सिद्धांताः ।

पञ्चमी हावायो व्याख्यातो लादेवेन ॥ Chapter i., verse 3.

"The Paulîsa, Rômake, Vâsishtha, Saura, and Paitâmaha (are) the Siddhântas; of these five, the first two have been explained (*with commentaries*) by Lâdêva." It is clear from this that the Paulîsa and Rômake, which are two of the five Siddhântas treated of by Varāhamihira, are the same with those commented on by Lâta; and that Lâta preceded Varāhamihira. And therefore the *Rômake-Siddhânta* commented on by Lâta must be, taking only this point into consideration, at least fifty years, if not more, older than Saka-Samvat 427, the epoch or date of the *Pañchariddhântikâ*. Before proceeding further, I must dispose of some assertions by Dr. Thibaut; coming from so high an authority, they require consideration. He says about Lâta,¹³ referred to in the above verse:—"I think it much more likely that he (Lâta) preceded him (Āryabhaṭa). A doubt concerning Lâta's position might arise from the introduction of the *Pañchariddhântikâ*, in which it is remarked that the Paulîsa and Rômake were "*vyākhyāta*" by Lâdêva. This Lâdêva is either to be considered as a writer altogether different from that Lâta to whom Śrîshêpa was indebted for a part of the elements of his Siddhânta, or else we must suppose that Śrîshêpa's *Rômake-Siddhânta* was merely a re-cast of an older *Rômake-Siddhânta* which was written or commented on by Lâta." This is a good example of the difficulties that occur in dealing with the inconsistencies arising from the supposition that the *Rômake-Siddhânta* treated of by Varāhamihira is the same with that of Śrîshêpa, and that its date is Saka-Samvat 427. If the Lâta from whom Śrîshêpa borrowed, were different from the Lâta who had "written or commented on" the *Rômake-Siddhânta*, which undoubtedly forms one of the five Siddhântas in the *Pañchariddhântikâ*, it follows that Śrîshêpa's work was different from the Rômake of the *Pañchariddhântikâ*; a fact which Dr. Thibaut seems to deny, but which is established without the necessity of supposing that there were two Lâtas. Besides, there are no reasons for believing that there were two Lâtas. As to the second assertion, it will be seen clearly from passage (A) above, which Dr. Thibaut also has taken into consideration (p. 290 f. of his article), that Śrîshêpa's Rômake was not merely a re-cast of an older Rômake "written or commented on" by Lâta. In the above quotation itself, Dr. Thibaut admits that to "Lâta Śrîshêpa was indebted for a part of the elements of his Siddhânta." He writes to the same effect in another place also (p. 289, line 5, of his article). Now, I have demonstrated above that the two were different and separate works. I have to show here chiefly that the *Rômake-Siddhânta*, treated of in the *Pañchariddhântikâ* was not 'written,' but only 'commented on' by Lâta. In the above verse व्याख्यात cannot mean anything but 'commented on.' But supposing it does mean 'written,' we must apply it to both the Paulîsa and the Rômake Siddhântas. But I can prove conclusively that these two were not written by Lâta. The method of calculating the mean place of the sun according to the *Paulîsa-Siddhânta*, is given in the following verse of the *Pañchariddhântikâ*:—

आर्कोमे ऽभिहताद्यनमयास्व कृपामिषसुहतायकृतेः ।

इत्या कमादिनेद्यौ मयः...

"Taking away the fires (three) and the fires (three) (i. e. 33) from (*the āhargana*) multiplied by the sky (nought) and the suns (twelve) (i. e. by 120), and dividing it by form (one), the fires (three), the Vasus (eight), the fires (three), and (*the yugas headed by*) Kṛita (four) (i. e. by 43,831); (*the result is*) the mean lord of days (the sun) in succession (*of revolutions, signs, &c.*)"

Here we see that 120 revolutions of the sun are performed in 43,831 days. Then one revolution takes 365 days, 15 *ghaṭas*, 30 *palas*, which is therefore the length of the year according to the

¹³ Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. LIII. Part. I. p. 291-292.

Paulika-Siddhānta, and which is 42 *palas* in excess of the year of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*. It is clear, therefore, that these two Siddhāntas differ much from each other in the most fundamental principle; and it is impossible that they can have been written by one and the same Lāṭa. They were, therefore, only commented on by Lāṭa, and are evidently much older than him and than Varāhamihira.

On reading the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and Brahmagupta's *Brahma-Siddhānta*, anyone will see at once that both of them make a clear distinction between the five Siddhāntas, — Paulika, Rōmaka, Vāsiṣṭha, Saura, and Paitāmaha, — on the one hand, and on the other, the works of Āryabhaṭa and others. Neither of them gives the names of the authors of the five Siddhāntas, but they treat them as of divine origin. Such is not the case with other works. I have given above (page 138) seven names of human authors as occurring in the *Brahma-Siddhānta*. But Brahmagupta mentions them all, only to find fault with them. The same may be said of Varāhamihira. He mentions five of the above seven who preceded him, and does not hesitate to censure them, though he is much less severe than Brahmagupta in his attacks. On the other hand, the very fact that the chief object of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is to give the purport of the five Siddhāntas, and that Brahmagupta mentions them, as is seen from passages (b) and (c) above, to support his own statement, shows in what respect and reverence they were held in those times. The very names Saura and Paitāmaha, — 'the works which have come from the Sun (as a god) and Brahman,' — show the belief of their divine origin. And it could not be the effect of few years. Some centuries must have elapsed before their real authors were forgotten, and they came to be regarded as divine works.

The length of the year of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* is certainly that of Hipparchus. And there is reason to believe that this *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* was based on his theories and tables of the sun and moon. It was Ptolemy who "established the theory of the planets in accordance with the principles of that astronomer (Hipparchus)."¹³ And the fact that the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, as represented in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, contains calculations of only the sun and the moon, and not of the planets, greatly tends to show that its author did not know Ptolemy's work on astronomy; an inference that could, I believe, be proved also by comparing the elements of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* with those of Ptolemy, though at present I am not able to make the comparison. Ptolemy's work cannot have come into existence in the time of the author of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*; otherwise, instead of the work of Hipparchus, that of Ptolemy would have come to India, and would have become the basis of the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*. It may even be said that probably Ptolemy's work never came to India at all in early times. At any rate Hipparchus's length of the year, and his principles of calculating the places of the sun and the moon, must have come to India before the time of Ptolemy. And my present conclusion is that the latest possible date for the original *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, — which itself, as shown by some indications, is the latest of the five Siddhāntas, — is A.D. 150.

A Rōmaka or Rōmaka Siddhānta is extant in the present day. But I cannot say at present whether it is the same as, or different from, Śrīśhṛṅga's work. I have a copy of it. It contains about 375 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre, divided into 11 chapters called Adhikāras. In almost all its elements it agrees with the present *Sārya-Siddhānta*.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.S., M.R.A.S., O.I.E.

No. 186. — BALAGAMVE STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VINAYADITTA.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment M. N. I., in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and

¹³ See Grant's *History of Physical Astronomy*, Introduction, p. iii.; also p. 469.

copper from various places in the Maist̃r territory. A print from his negative has been published in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 152. And I have made brief references to it in this Journal, Vol. VI. p. 94, and in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 10, 28. Also, Mr. Rice has given a translation of it in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 186; but, owing partly to the blurred and indistinct nature of the photograph, his version of it, except in the first three lines, is but very little in accordance with its real purport. It is now edited in full for the first time, from ink-impressions made in 1885 by my own man. I have also had before me a double photograph, sent to me in 1886 by Dr. Burgess, of two estampages made by one of his subordinates. On one side there is shown a photograph of the untouched estampage, which represents the original very well, though it has been of no use to me over and above the ink-impressions. On the other side there is a photograph of an estampage which has been touched up with the object of bringing out the writing more clearly; in doing this, some of the letters have been spoilt.

Balagāhva, Balagāmi, or Belagāve, is a village in the Shikārpūr Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Shimoggā (properly Sivamoggā) District, Maist̃r; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42, it is entered as 'Balagauee,' in Lat. 14° 24' and Long. 75° 18'. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 1' 10" broad by 8' 6" high, as to the position of which I have no exact information.

The emblem at the top of the stone is an elephant, standing to the proper left, very well depicted. — The writing covers a space of about 1' 7½" broad by 2' 8½" high, and seems to be on a slightly countersunk surface. It has suffered considerably from the weather; but it is quite legible throughout, and there are but very few *aksharas* in it which are at all doubtful. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record belongs. The size of the letters varies from ¼" to 1¼". The engraving is bold and good. — The language is Old-Kanarese throughout; and the whole record is in prose. It belongs to a period for which, owing to the want of a complete and reliable dictionary, the language presents many difficulties; so that the translations which I put forward can, for the present, as I have remarked on at least one previous occasion, only be regarded as more or less tentative. But in the present case, the only word that has remained unintelligible, is that which I read as *alavasa* in line 5-6. We may note that in *alavalliyya*, line 8, *avdugiyā*, line 10, and *avilliyā*, line 10-11, the genitive ends in the long *ā*; on the other hand, in *valliggaṃmeyara*, line 6, and *amaliyara*, line 7, the termination is the short *a*. — In respect of orthography, the only point that needs to be noticed, is the use of *v* for *b* in *vīṣṭa*, line 6; *vittidalli* and *veṣyāde*, line 16; *veṣa*, line 18; and *valliggaṃmeyara*, line 6. In other inscriptions, the name included in this last word is almost always written with *b*. And in the other words, since they are not in composition, the use of the *b* would have been at least more regular.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chalukya king Vinayaditya, and to a time when his feudatory, the Mahārāja Pogilli, of the Sēndraka family, was governing a part of his dominions. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the remission of certain fees and duties by an official named Kāndarba, at the time of his accession to office. It is not dated; but, from Vinayaditya's other records, it is known to belong to the period between A.D. 680 and 696. In this inscription, to the name of Vinayaditya there is attached the *bīruda* or secondary name of *Rājākraya*, "the asylum of kings." This is accounted for by the copper-charters (e. g. No. 187 below, line 16), which say that he was "like (the epic hero) Bharata, through being the asylum of kings (*rājāśrayatvat*)."

Several places are mentioned in this inscription. First we are told that the Mahārāja Pogilli's government comprised the Nāyarkhaṇḍa (district) and Jedugūr or Jeḍugūr.¹ For

¹ During this period of the alphabet, and for a long time afterwards, it is often impossible, in Old-Kanarese names of persons and places, to distinguish between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, and to decide whether the vowels *e* and *o*,

the second of these names, I have not been able to obtain any other reference; but it is possibly represented by the modern Jedda, in the Sorab Taluk, Shimoggâ District, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42, Lat. 14° 35', Long. 75° 7'. Nāyarkhaṇḍa is evidently a Prākṛit form of the name of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa, or " (territorial) section of the Nāgas," of other inscriptions, in which it is described as a division of the Banavāsi Twelve-thousand, and is called sometimes the Nāgarakhaṇḍa kampa, and sometimes the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy (e.g. *P. S. and O.-K. Insers.* No. 120, lines 41-42, 44). Valliggāme is one of the forms of the name of Balagāme itself; and is probably the nearest ancient approximation to the modern name. Other Kanarese forms are Balligāve (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 181), Balligrāme (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 49), Valligrāme (*P. S. and O.-K. Insers.* No. 166, line 39), and Valligrāma (*id.* line 42). Also we have the Sanskritised form Balipura (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 18); and in *P. S. and O.-K. Insers.* No. 166, line 42 ff., the town is likened to the capital of Bali (*Bali-rājadhāni*). But I have not met with any other instance of the use of the double *gg* in the third syllable; here it is very distinct; and the second *g* must be taken as a Prākṛitic assimilation of the *r*. Of the other places mentioned in this record, Vedevali (or Vedevali), which might appear elsewhere without the initial *v*, may perhaps be identified with the modern Vedevali in the Lakkavalī Taluk, Maistūr, in Lat. 13° 37', Long. 75° 34'. Anḍugi (or Anḍugi)³ seems to be the modern 'Undega' of the map, close to Sorab, in Lat. 14° 29', Long. 75° 14'. And Nirilli may perhaps be the modern Nirali, the 'Nerulgee' of the map, in the Hāngal Taluk, Dhārwad District, in Lat. 15° 53', Long. 75° 19'. For the names of Amali, Alavalli or Alamvali, and Nāvali, I cannot find any representatives in the part of the country to which this record belongs. In lines 11 and 15, mention is made of the two districts (*nāḍi* = *nāḍ*), and, more specifically, of the two Seventies. These, plainly, are the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, and either the Jiddulige Seventy or the Eḍenāḍ Seventy, which are sometimes mentioned in close connection with it (e.g. *P. S. and O.-K. Insers.* No. 158, lines 64, 66, 68).

TEXT.³

1	svasti	Sri-Vinayāditya-Rajāsraya-triprithi-
2	vi(vf)vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-	
3	tāra-prithi-rājyam-keye [1*]	śrī-Pogilli-Sandra-
4	mahārāja-Nāyarkhaṇḍamun	Jedugur-Algeyan-Alu-
5	ttu [1*] Kādarbor-adhikārigal-āge	pāriyā osageyūn a-
6	lavaṇavūn ⁴	aputraka-porajumān-viṭṭar-Valliggāmeyara
7	dāsadiyūn Amaliyara	dēvadiyūn Vedevaliyarā
8	dēvadiyūn Alavalliyarā ⁵	Ravichandanun Sorkka-gāmuṇḍa-
9	rūn ⁶	Edeya-gāmuṇḍarūn Molejarāmaṇiya-gāmu-

and sometimes *ḍ*, are short or long, unless some idea can be formed as to the etymology or identification of them. In such cases, it is my practice, with names that remain doubtful, to use the dental *ḍ* and the short vowels, because the distinguishing marks can be subsequently added so easily, if required. This should be taken as a general note, which will avoid constant annotation and repetition. It applies also to a few ordinary words, not names, which cannot be found in dictionaries, or cannot be connected with words that are to be found in them.

³ There is never any confusion between the simple *ḥ* and *ḍ* (represented by *ḍ*). But, when they occur in composition with the nasal *a*, it is often impossible to decide whether the compound means *nḥ* or *nḍ*; except, of course, in well-known words, such as the Sanskrit *manḍala*, and the Old-Kanarese *gāmuṇḍa*.

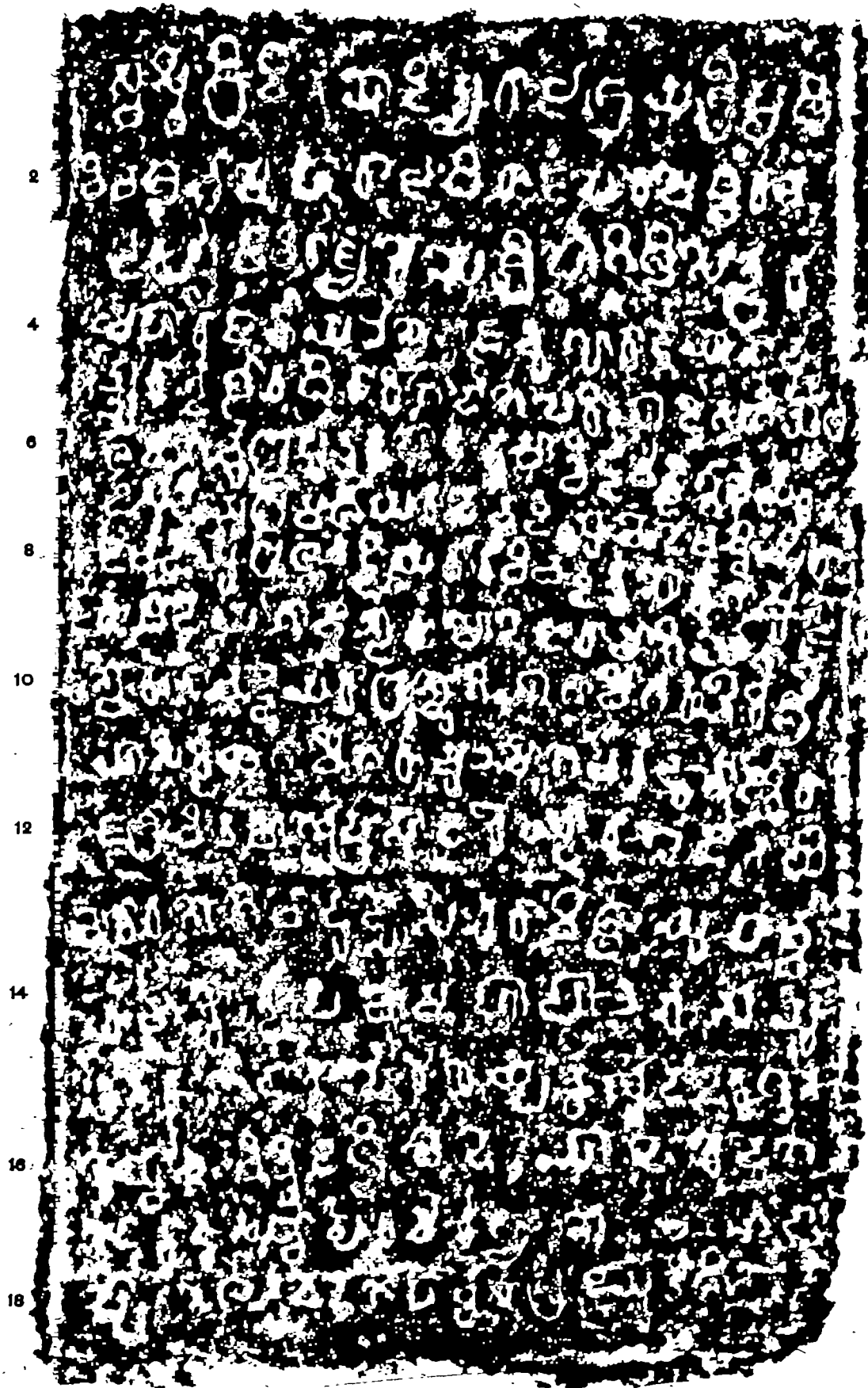
⁴ From the ink-impressions, two copies. The lithograph has been prepared from that copy which is the best taken all round.

⁵ The initial vowel of this word lies close up on the edge of the inscribed surface, and it is just possible that the long vowel *ā* was intended. Also, over the second syllable there is a mark which may perhaps be the *au*-vowel. It is therefore possible, that the crude form is *alawana*, *alawana*, *alawana*, or *alawana*. It seems to me, however, that most probably the word is *alawana*.

⁶ Or perhaps *alawalliyarā*, with the *au*-vowel in the second syllable.

⁷ In four instances we distinctly have here the long *ā* (*rāḥ*); but in the remaining two, the short *a* (*raḥ*). The latter is, I consider, the more correct form. The copulative long *ā* was adopted, or *aḥ* any rate became habitual, only at a much later period, when the *au*-vowel was abandoned.

Balagamve Inscription of the time of Vinayaditya.



- 10 pāram Nāvalliyarum Andugiyā⁷ gāmigartum Nīrillī-
 11 yā Sinderā-gāmigartum mukhax-āge eraḍum-nālke⁸ [1*]
 12 ja-srāvitam-āge prasādam-keydār [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]
 13 von-Vāraṇasivadu⁹-sāsira [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]
 14 rumāṭṭakondā [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]
 15 ktaṇ-akkum [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]
 16 keyvonā [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]
 17 idānekādu [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]
 18 ppar [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*] [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious Vinayaditya-Bajāsraya, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Mahārājādhirāja, the Parambhāra, the Bhāṣṭra, is resigning over (the earth) (and) while the illustrious Pogillī, the Sāndrakal Mūhācāja, is administering the Nāyarkhanda (district) (and) the government of Jēdugūr:—

(Line 5)—Kādarba, on becoming the officer in charge, remitted¹⁰ (the fees leviable at) the festivity of attaining puberty,¹¹ and the *alavaṣa*,¹² and (the duty leviable in the case of) a man dying without a son; (and thus) he conferred a favour, in the shape of a royal proclamation, upon the two districts headed by the guild of the *Deśas*¹³ of Valliggaṇa, and the establishment of the temple of the people of Amali, and the establishment of the temple of Veḍevalli, and Ravichanda, of the people of Alāvalli, and Sorkagāmunḍa, and Edeyagāmunḍa, and Moḷejāmaniyagāmunḍa, and the people of Nāvallī, and the *Gānigā* of Andugi, and Sinderagāniga of Nīrillī, and the people of Nāvallī, and the *Gānigā* of Andugi, and

¹⁰ Or perhaps *carayā*; see note 2 above.

¹¹ This is rather a peculiar form of the locative of *varasā*. We should expect *varasāyā* (e.g. ante, Vol. VIII. p. 286, line 5) or *varasāyā*. But we have elsewhere the genitive *varasāyāda*, where we should expect *varasāyā* (ante, Vol. X. p. 107, No. 106, line 5); and probably also *varasāyāda* (ante, Vol. VIII. p. 286, line 5).

¹² The first two syllables of this word are rather damaged. But the first of them is undoubtedly *ti* or *ti*; and I cannot see how the second is to be read, except as *ti* or *ti*. But the first of them is undoubtedly *ti* or *ti*; and I cannot see how the second is to be read, except as *ti* or *ti*. From meaning 'to give up to,' this verb is constantly used in the sense of 'to grant, bestow,' being then synonymous with *karu* 'to give.' But in that sense, either it is always accompanied by a dative case, which we have not here, or else the context shows plainly what its meaning is. Here it has only the accusative case, and can hardly be taken except in the sense of 'remitting.' And I think that the obvious meaning of the whole passage justifies and necessitates the words that I have added in brackets. Mr. Rice translated 'presented for the decoration of (the god) Parivāḍa.' But this is due only to misreading the initial *o* of *oḍa*, and failing to note the copulative termination, *va*. I have an instance of the use of the causal *ti* in the same sense of 'remitting,' in an inscription at Devagiri in the Karaṇḍīyā District of a Mahāśāhāyaka named Sāntarvamaḍya, which purports to be dated Śaka-Samvat 523, the Kālyāṇī, and belongs really to a later period, and which, unfortunately, I cannot at present edit satisfactorily, because I can obtain no explanation of the Old-Kanarese word used to denote that which was remitted.

¹³ Anyone who has resided in India will be familiar with the festivity that attends the attainment of puberty by a girl.

¹⁴ This word (see note 4 above) requires explanation. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that it may possibly stand for the Sanskrit *dhāra*, and may have a technical meaning like that of the *Māthī* *dhā*, for *dhā* is funeral lament, singing the praises of the dead, denoting some domestic ceremony of which singing was the chief feature. It looks to me, however, like a purely Dravidian word. And I should say that the second component is *paṇa*, and that the word denotes something similar to the *cravasa*, which was a six-paisa tax or rent on *cravasa* lands. The only other words that I can suggest as possibly connected with it, are *balavā*, *balavā*, 'a wife's dowry,' and *balavā*, 'to miscey.'

¹⁵ *Alavaṣa* is caused by the king to be heard. The same term occurs in one of the Alhole inscriptions, ante, Vol. VIII. p. 286, line 4, where we have also *alavaṣa*. A somewhat similar term, but not quite so technical in its ultimate meaning, is *alavaṣa*, protected by the king, which we have had in the Bellary inscription, ante, Vol. VIII. p. 274, line 87.

¹⁶ I cannot explain the suffix in *dhā* and *dhā*, but the meaning of the terms seems obvious. In other Old-Kanarese records I have found *dhā* used in the sense of an establishment or a temple of a god. Also the names of gods are used in the neuter in the same way, e.g. *dhā* *dhā* *dhā* 'to the north of the temple of Maṅgalya' (Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 230), a *dhā* *dhā* *dhā* 'to the north of the temple of Maṅgalya' (Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc. Vol. XI. p. 230).

(L. 12.) — Whosoever destroys this, (*being like*) one who has killed a thousand tawny-coloured cows and (a thousand) Brāhmanas at Vāranaṣi, let him become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins! He who, appropriating this, practises agriculture in the two Seventies, — let that (*which he sows*) rot, without sprouting, as soon as it is sown (or, there where it is sown)! He who behaves so as to preserve this, — they¹⁵ shall become worthy recipients of the most extreme good fortune! Let the earth be fruitful! Let both the Brāhmanas and the subjects enjoy satisfaction!

No. 187. — SORAB COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VINAYADITYA.
SAKA-SAMVAT 614 EXPIRED.

This inscription, again, was originally brought to notice by Colonel Dixon, in his photographic collection. A print from his negative has been published in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 16. And I have given a brief notice of its contents in this Journal, Vol. VI. p. 94. Also, Mr. Rice has given a translation of it in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 240 ff. But it is now edited in full for the first time.

The original plates are in the possession of someone residing at Sorab, the chief town of the Sorab Talukā or Sub-Division of the Shimoggā District, Maisūr, in Lat. 14° 23' and Long. 75° 9', Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42. I have made several attempts to obtain them for examination, but without success, the owner of them being always represented as absent from his village. And on one occasion of reference, Mr. Rice sent me a transcription of the text, in Kanarese characters, which had been made for his own use. But I edit it now from the photographic negative, which has been preserved in the India Office, London, and which is, at any rate, more legible than the prints that can be made from it.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; as is shewn by the uniformity, on each side of the second plate, of the slit by means of which the ring was removed from them. The edges of them seem to have been fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed parts, so as to serve as rings to protect the writing. And the inscription is evidently for the greater part in a state of excellent preservation. At the beginning of some of the lines I have had to mark certain letters in square brackets, as being destroyed or illegible; in some cases this is due to the damage done to the plates in abstracting the ring, and in others, apparently to the plates not having been properly cleaned before photographing them; the letters thus marked, however, can all be supplied with perfect certainty; with the exception of two at the beginning of line 19. For some reason or other, — probably, because the record would have ended on the outer side of a plate, and the writing there would have been specially exposed to corrosion and other damage, — the lower half of the second side of the second plate was left blank. At a subsequent time, this space was utilised for an Old-Kanarese endorsement, of which there are five lines here, and two on the third plate. But, even with the help of the transcription sent by Mr. Rice, I cannot edit this without an examination of the original plates. — The plates were originally connected by a ring, passing through ring-holes near the proper right end of each plate. But the ring and seal of this grant are not now forthcoming; having at some time or another been abstracted from it. This was effected by a fairly clean slit in the second plate; but with the other two plates the same amount of care was not taken, and small portions of them were broken away, in pulling out the ring from them. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record belongs. They are fairly well formed; and they are of much the same standard with those of the grant of the same king, dated Saka-Samvat 611 expired, of which a lithograph has been given in this Journal, Vol. VI. p. 86. The characters of the Old-Kanarese endorsement belong to exactly the same class of alphabets; but they are of a later date, probably by a century or more; and they are not very well

¹⁵ This change of construction from the singular to the plural, is not infrequent in Old-Kanarese inscriptions.

formed. — Of the record itself, the language is Sanskrit throughout. There is a standard verse in praise of Vishnu in line 1; and three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 27 to 31; with these exceptions, the record is in prose. — In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the *anuvāra* instead of the proper nasal, in *anastara*, line 11; *kāśhā*, lines 11 and 12; *tridāśya*, line 12; *nurājanah*, line 15; and *pipābhutā*, line 16; (2) the use of the Dravidian *ḷ* and *ḷ* in *chōḷa* and *kōḷa*, line 12, *śūpēndra*, line 20; and *edevōḷa* or *ēdevōḷa*, line 23; (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *praniveddha*, line 6; *vāḷḷanda*, line 14; *valam*, twice, line 14; *vāḷḷa*, line 24; and *vakubhir*, line 27; (4) the doubling of *k* before *r*, once, in *paridhram*, line 5; (5) the doubling of *śh* after *r*, in *varshaka*, line 30; and (6) the omission to double *t* after *r*, in *kārtikēya*, line 8, where the second *t* is etymologically necessary, and in *kṛti*, twice, line 6, where the doubling is customary, though not necessary; in the same word in line 10, the *t* is doubled as usual.

The inscription is a record of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya, who had the *Virada* or secondary name of *Setyākṛāya*; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from his victorious camp at the village of Chitrasedu. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village to a Brāhman, which was made at the request of the Mahārāja Chitravāha, the son of the Ālupe king Gunasagara.

The local places mentioned are, the village of Chitrasedu, at which Vinayāditya's camp was, when he made the grant, and which is specified as being in the Toramara viśaya; and the granted village, Sālvoga, which is defined as being in the Edevōḷa viśaya in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of the town of Vaijayanti. This last word, Vaijayanti, is a name of the modern Banavasi, in the Sirsi Tāluka, North Kanara, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 42 (see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 7, note 2, and p. 8, note 3), which is also mentioned under the names of Vanavasi in line 6 of this record, in a standard passage, and of Banavasi at the beginning of the Old-Kanarese endorsement; another of its names was Jayantipura. The names of Edevōḷa, or Edevōḷa, for which some other references are given in the second of the notes quoted above for Vaijayanti, and of Sālvoga, which in the Old-Kanarese endorsement has the later form of *Sālvoga*, remain to be identified.

The details of the date on which the grant was made, and which is of interest because it gives the earliest mention but one of a week-day in an inscription from Southern India,¹ are: — Saka-Samvat 614, distinctly specified as expired; the Dakṣiṇāyana-Saṅkṛānti or summer solstice, which is to be taken as represented by the Karka-Saṅkṛānti or entrance of the sun into Cancer; the Rōhini nakṣatra; and Sanāśobharavāra or Saturday. The lunar month, and the *tithi*, or the civil day, are not given. With Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that in Saka-Samvat 615 current, — i. e. applying the given year as an expired year, in accordance with the text, — the Karka-Saṅkṛānti occurred on Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692, at about 2 *ghaṭi*, 26 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Banavasi.² Any rites and ceremonies connected with the *saṅkṛānti*, would be performed on this day. And this is evidently the correct English equivalent of the given date. On this day there ended, at about 2 *ghaṭi*, 37 *p.*, the *tithi* Sukla 9 of the second or natural Āshāḍha; accepting the statement of the published Tables that in this year the month Āshāḍha was intercalary. But the nakṣatra does not work out correctly. For, by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, at sunrise on the 22nd June, the moon, instead of being in Rōhini, No. 4, was in Āślāḣā, No. 9, by the equal-space system of the *nakṣatras* and by the Garga system of unequal spaces, and in Maghā, No. 10, by the Brāhma-Siddhānta system of unequal spaces. Nor can the *nakṣatra* be intended to apply to

¹ See page 143 above, note 1. In the present name, the first two syllables suggest that the last two are probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *śānti*; but the real name may be Chitrasedu, with the lingual *ṣ* in the last syllable.

² The other instance from Southern India, earlier than this, is in the grant, dated in the second year of the Eastern Chalukya king Viśhṇuvardhana II., *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 189, line 65 ff.; the equivalent English date is in A.D. 664. The only earlier instance, from any part of the country, is in the first pillar inscription of Budha Gupta, dated in A.D. 484, from the Central Provinces; *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 19.

³ The times here are for Banavasi, all through.

the sun; for, his position, at the same time, would be in Punaryasu, No. 7, by all three systems. I should remark here that in *P. S. and O.-K. Inscriptions*, p. 12, and in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 27, note 10, I have given the date of this grant as being "at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north," i.e. at the winter solstice; in consequence of then reading *dakṣiṇdyana-vimukhā*, "when the sun is facing away from the *dakṣiṇdyana*." And it happens that, for the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrānti or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, an almost equally good result is obtainable; though not in any respect a better one. Thus, in the same year, Śaka-Saṁvat 616 current, the Makara-Saṁkrānti occurred at about 41 gā. 48 p., on Friday, 20th December, A.D. 692; and, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, any rite connected with it would probably be celebrated on the next day, Saturday, on which day there was current the *tithi* Pūṣya śukla 8, which commenced at about 56 gā. 21 p. on the Friday, and ended at about 40 *palas* on the Sunday. But, here again, the *nakṣatra* does not work out correctly; for, at sunrise on the Saturday, 21st December, by all three systems of the *nakṣatras*, the moon, instead of being in Rôhīṇī, No. 4, was in Rêvatī, No. 27, and the sun would be in Uttara-Aśvadhā No. 21. From my examination of the negative, I find that, as originally taken by me (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 94), and as given by Mr. Rice in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 241, note, and as given also in the transcription sent to me by him, the reading undoubtedly is *dakṣiṇdyana-abhimukhā*; indicating the summer solstice, when the sun was commencing his progress to the south.

There is a slight doubt as regards the regnal year that is mentioned in this inscription; and it is chiefly on this account that I have desired to obtain a sight of the original plates. In the Kanarese transcriptions sent to me by Mr. Rice, it is given as the eleventh year (*ekādāśī*); while in his published translation it is shewn as the twelfth year (*dodāśī*), but with a query attached to it. And in my original notice, as well as in my subsequent references to it, I took it to be the thirteenth year (*trayodāśī*). The word stands at the beginning of line 19. The syllables *dāśī* are quite distinct; and for this reason, as well as for others, the possibility of the fourteenth year (*catvordāśī*) is excluded. What stands before them is almost quite illegible in the negative, and is perhaps much damaged in the original. But there is ample space for two *akṣaras*; which seems to exclude the reading *ekādāśī*. On the other hand, the space is not properly sufficient for the *trayō* of *trayodāśī*. While, such traces as can be made out, certainly indicate the *ekā* of *ekādāśī*. And this, accordingly, is the reading that I have now adopted. Unfortunately, the point cannot be determined by means of Vinayāditya's other dated records. We now have (1) the Lakshmēshvar inscription (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112), apparently engraved on stone at some later period from an original record on copper, in which the full-moon of Māgha, Śaka-Saṁvat 608 expired, is stated to be in either the fifth or the seventh current year of his reign; here the reading in the tracing sent to me, seemed to be *pāñchamā*; but I suggested then that it might perhaps be *saptamā*; and I think now, that when a proper impression can be obtained, this will be found to be really the case. (2) The Togarohēdu grant (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 85 ff.; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 231 ff.); in which the full-moon of Kārttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 611 expired, is unmistakably stated to be in the tenth current year of his reign. (3) A grant from the Kanūl District (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 88 ff.) in which the full-moon of Māgha, Śaka-Saṁvat 613 expired, is unmistakably stated to be in the eleventh current year of his reign. (4) The present Sorab grant, in which the second Aśvadhā śukla 2, Śaka-Saṁvat 614 expired, is indicated as being in, as I take it, the eleventh current year of his reign. And (5) the Hatihar grant (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 91 ff., and Vol. VII. p. 800 ff.) in which the full-moon of Kārttika, Śaka-Saṁvat 616 expired, is unmistakably stated to be in the fourteenth current year of his reign. These dates point to some day between Aśvadhā śukla 2 and Kārttika śukla 15, Śaka-Saṁvat 602 expired, for the accession of Vinayāditya and the commencement of the first current year of his reign. But, whether the current year in the present record is taken to be the eleventh, or the twelfth, or the thirteenth, it is impossible to find an initial day for the regnal years which will satisfy the conditions of all these five dates. And, what is more remarkable, two of them, in which the readings are unmistakable, and in which

the same lunar day is quoted; are distinctly not in accordance with each other; for, if (No. 2) the full-moon of Kārttika, Saka-Samvat 611 expired, fell in his tenth current year; then (No. 5) the full-moon of Kārttika, Saka-Samvat 616 expired, ought to fall in his fifteenth current year; not in the fourteenth, as recorded. Even if we should assume that the actual day of his accession was itself the full-moon day of Kārttika, Saka-Samvat 602 expired; still, to reconcile these two dates, we should have also to assume that the day was used in No. 2 as the first day of his tenth current year, but in No. 5 as the last day of his fourteenth current year; which is not a very satisfactory solution of the question. Perhaps the means of settling the difficulty may be obtained hereafter. For the present, I can only draw attention to the existence of it; adding that, of Vinayaditya's records, the only one of which the authenticity can fairly be questioned, is the Lakshmeshwar inscription, which is at any rate not the original record of the matter, set out in it; for, it stands on the stone below an inscription, dated Saka-Samvat 651 expired, of Vinayaditya's son and successor, Vijayaditya, and also below an intervening Western Gāṅga inscription, dated Saka-Samvat 890 expired.

A curious point about this inscription is that it omits to mention Vinayaditya's grandfather, Satyāśraya-Pulikēśin II. The charter follows the usual form of the Western Chalukya grants. But, after mentioning Pulikēśin I. in line 5, and Kirtivarman I. in line 6, it proceeds *tary-ātma-jas-samarasasakta-sakalottarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavaraddhana-parājaya-ś-pālā-b-dhā-paramēśvar-āparānāmadhēya-Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭarakasya*; thus, if we allow for the change of construction from the nominative to the genitive, making Vikramāditya I., instead of his father Pulikēśin II., the son of Kirtivarman I. and the conqueror of Harshavaraddhana. The text should properly run *paramēśvar-āparānāmadhēyas-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārāja-dhārāja-paramēśvaras-tat-prija-śulasya Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭarakasya*. There are, however, no apparent grounds for looking on the grant as other than a genuine one; and the omission must be attributed to pure carelessness on the part of the official who prepared the draft from the standard form.

TEXT⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasti. [1*] Jayātya-śvishkṛitām Viśvānōr-vvārāham kshōbbhit-ārṇavam dakṣiṇ-
- 2 [Śrī]matāma sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagotrānām Hariti-putrānām
- 3 [pā]pā-saptalōkamatibhīṣṭ-sa- Kārt[t*]ikēya-parirakṣhapa-prāpta-kalyāna-param-
- 4 [sa]mādāya-parānām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-śrī-mahārāja-śrī-mahārāja-śrī-
- 5 [r-śvame]dh-ā[va]bhīṣita(tha)-śnāna-pavitrikṛita-gātrasya śrī-Pulikēśi-vallabha-mahā-
- 6 [navā]śy-ādi-pāra-nripati-maṇḍala-praṇiṣa(ba)ddha-viśuddha-kīrti śrī-Kirtivarman-
- 7 [ja-sa]śy-ātma-jas-samara-samsakta-sakal-ottarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavaraddhana-parājaya-
- 8 [para]-nāmadhēya⁶ śrī-Vikra(kra)māditya-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭarakasya mati-sahāya-sāha-

⁴ From Colonel Dixon's photographic negative.

⁵ It is rather doubtful whether the symbol for this word was engraved; but there seem to be indications of it, a little to the left above the line of script.

⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

The proper form of this name is Polakēśi or Pulikēśi. Here, however, there is no vowel-sign removing the inherent 'a', attached to the 'l'.

⁷ For the omission here, see the last paragraph of the introductory remarks.

- 9 ja-vañśa-samuchita-chita-rājya-vibhavasya vividha-rasita-sita-samara-mukha-gata-ripu-
narapati-vijaya-
10 samupalabdhā-kṛtti-sa(pa)tāk-āvabhāsita-digantarasya himakara-kara-vimala-kula-pari-
bhava-vi-
11 laya-hētu-Pallavapati-parājay-ānamtara-parigrihita-Kāthohipurasya prabhāva-kulīfa-
dalita-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 Ohōja-Pañḍya-Kēraja-dharapdhāra-tū(tra)ya-māna-māna-śringasya an-anya-samavanata-
Kāthohipati-mapi-makuta-[ku]-
13 ta-kirana-saṁlī-ābhīśhikta-charapa-kamalasya tri-samudra-madhyavartti-bhuvana-maṇḍal-
ādhīśvarasya sūnu[h]-
14 [ava*]-pitur-ājñayā Vō(bā)lēnduśōkharasy-ēva Sōnānir-Ddaitya-va(ba)lam-ati-samud-
dhatañ trainājya-Pallava-va(ba)lam-avashtabhya
15 samasta-vishaya-prāśamanād-vihita-tan-manō-nuramjanah atyantavatsalatvāt Yudhish-
thira-iva Brāmatvā-
16 [d-Vā]sudeva-iva nripāmkusātāt-Parasurāma-iva rājāśrayatvād-Bharata-iva
Vinayāditya-Satyākṛaya-śri-
17 [prithivī]vallaḥḥa-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaras-sarvān-ēvam-ājñāpayati [i*] Vid-
tam-astu-nvō-smā-
18 [bhīś-cha*]turddas-ōttara-shaṭ-ohhatōshu Saka-varshēshv-attitēshu pravarddha-
māna-vijaya-rājya-sahvatsarē
19 [ākā]dase¹⁰ varttamānē Toramara¹¹-vishayē Chitra¹²sedu-grāmam-adhivasati
vijaya-akandhāvārē dakshinā-
20 yan-ābhīmukhē bhāgavati bhāskarē Rōhini(nī)-nakshatrē Sanātschāra-vārē
Gunasagar-Āpūndr-ātmaja-śri-
21 Chitravāha¹³-mahārāja-vijñāpanayā Dēvarāta-Kauśika-sagōtrāya Rīgveda-pārāgya
Nāga-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 22 sarmmaṇah paṇḍriya Saṁkarasarmmaṇa[h*] putrāya Divākarasarmmaṇē śri-Vaija-
yatti(nti)pur-ō[pakanthē] pūrvv-ō-
23 ttara-vi(di)śāyām Edevolal-nāma-vishayē Sālvoge¹⁴-nō(nā)ma-grāmas-ōḍakam
sa-hirāṇḍyam¹⁵-a-karam-a-bha-
24 ta-pravēśam sa-sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārē dattaḥ [i*] Tad-āgāmibhir-asmad-varṇasyair-
anyais-cha rājabhir-ayur-aiśvaryy-ā-

* The following syllables, *turddasōttara*, are so distinct that there is no doubt whatever about the letters which, being illegible, have to be supplied here.

¹⁰ As regards the reading here, see the introductory remarks.

¹¹ This name was originally read by me (*op. cit.*, Vol. VI. p. 94) as either Toravara or Toramara. But, in the negative, the third syllable is distinctly *ma*.

¹² In this *tra*, add also in the *trē* of *nakshatrē* in the following line, the lower part of the *t*, instead of being left open, is closed up, so that the character is an anomalous one, between *t* and *r* or *r*.

¹³ This name was originally read by me (*loc. cit.*) as Chitravāha. The *ka* is rather damaged; but the *va* is quite distinct; and there can be no doubt that the real name is as now given by me, as also in the transcription sent to me by Mr. Rice, though in *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 241, note, he has marked it as doubtful. — As regards the *trā*'s name, I originally read *Gunasagar-Āpūndr-ātmaja*, as also has Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*), which gave the name of Upendra. But there is no doubt, in the negative, about the correctness of the reading now given by me.

¹⁴ I originally read this word as Sālvoge. Mr. Rice read it as Salsvoge (*loc. cit.*); but it is given as Sālvoge in the transcription sent by him. In the first syllable, the long vowel *ā*; and in the second, the long vowel *ē*, are quite distinct. As regards the consonant in the second syllable, it is badly formed, and is intermediate between *l* and *ṭ*, which latter occurs in *ttara-ōpādhāra*, line 7. But, as we distinctly have *sālvoge* *koṭṭa* *śāma* in the second line of the later addition, it seems to be meant for *l* here.

¹⁵ Read *sa-hirāṇḍyam*.

- 25 dīnām vilasitam-achirāṃśu-chaśohalam-avagachohhadbhiḥ ā-chandr-ārka-dhar-āṃṇava-
sthiti-samakālam: yasa-
26 a-chichishubhiḥ sva-dattī-nirvviśāham paripālaniyam u Uktān-cha bhagavatā veda-
vyāsena Vyāsena [1*].

Third Plate.

- 27 Va(ba)hubhir¹⁶-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis-tasya
28 tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ (11) Svan-dattam su-mahach-ahhakyam duḥkham-anyasya
pālanam dānam vā pā-
29 lanam v-etti(ti) dānāch-ohhrēyō-nupālanam (11) Sva-dattam para-dattam vā yō
harēti(ta) vasu-
30 [ndharām] shashṭi-varahsha-sahasrāpi viśṭhāyam jāyatē krimiḥ [11*] Mahā-
31 sāndhivigrahika-āri-Rāmapunyavallabhena likhitam-idam śūsanam [11*]

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (the god) Vishṇu; which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk!

(Line 2.) — Of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pulakēśin (I.), the favourite, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *astamālha*-sacrifice; — who adorned the family of the *Chalukyas*, who are glorious; who are of the *Mānavya* gōtra, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are *Hārītiputras*; who have been nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the seven mothers of mankind; who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour of (the god) Kārttikēya; (and) who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the crest of a boar which they acquired through the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyaṇa, — the son (was) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Kirtivarman (I.), the favourite of the earth, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavasi and other (cities), that had been invaded by (his) prowess.

(L. 7.) — His son (was) [the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, *Satyakṛaya* (Pulakēśin II.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth¹⁷], whose other title of 'Supreme Lord' (*paramēśvara*) was acquired by defeating the glorious Hārshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 8.) — Of [his dear son¹⁸], the *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaddraka*, *Vikramāditya* (I.), — who, only by (his) impetuosity, assisted by (his) intellect, attained (again) the appropriate accumulated regal power of his own family; who irradiated the distant regions with the banner of (his) fame, praised in various ways and white, that was acquired by victory over hostile kings who marched in the van of battle; who received (by surrender) the city of *Kaśīpura*, immediately after defeating the lord of the *Pallavas*, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of the family (of the *Chalukyas*) which was as pure as the rays of the moon; ¹⁹ whose excess of self-confidence rent open, with the thunderbolt that was (his) prowess, the self-confidence of the three mountains which were the three kings of *Chōla*, *Pāṇḍya*, and *Kēraḷa*; who had the water-lilies, that were (his) feet, besprinkled with the water that was the rays of the watering-pot of the jewelled diadem of the lord of *Kāśī*,

¹⁶ Metro, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

¹⁷ As regards the omissions here, see the last paragraph of the introductory remarks.

¹⁸ Pulakēśin II. had two other sons; *Ādityavarman*, and *Chandrāditya*. The expression "his dear son" seems to indicate the special selection of *Vikramāditya* I. as his successor on the throne. See *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12. note 1, for similar instances of selection in the Early Gupta Dynasty.

¹⁹ This is probably an allusion to the tradition, expressed more clearly in later grants (e.g. ante, Vol. XIV. p. 50. line 2), which attribute the *Chalukya* lineage to the *Samarahā* or *Lunar* Race.

who had bowed down before no other, (*but who performed obeisance to him*); (*and*) who was the supreme lord of the (*whole*) extent of the earth included within the three oceans, —

(L. 13.) — The son (*is*) the *Mahārājadhirdja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Vinayāditya-Satyakṛaya*, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, who, just as (*the*) god, *Sēnāni* (*Kārttikēya*) (*at the command*) of (*his father*) *Bālendusēkhara* (*Siva*) arrested the power of the *Daityas*, at the command of his own father arrested the extremely exalted power of the *Pal-lavas*, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions, and (*thus*) gratified his father's mind by bringing all countries into a state of quiet; (*and*) who is like *Yudhishthira* through being of an excessively affectionate disposition, like (*the*) god, *Vāsudēva* (*Vishnu*) through being the beloved of (*Śrī*) the goddess of fortune, like *Parasurāma* through being a very elephant-goad to kings, (*and*) like *Bharata* through being the asylum of kings. He thus issues a command to all people: —

(L. 17.) — "Be it known to you! By us, when there have expired six hundred *Saka* years, increased by fourteen, in the current eleventh year of (*Our*) augmenting victorious reign; while (*Our*) victorious camp is located at the village of *Chitrasedu* in the *Tōramāra* *vishaya*, — when his radiance the sun is facing towards the *dakṣiṇāyāna*, under the *Bōhini nakṣatra*, on Saturday, — at the request of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Chitravāha*, the son of the *Ālupa* ruler *Guṇasagara*, — to *Divākarasarma*, of the *Dēvārta-Kauṭika gōtra*, who is thoroughly acquainted with the *Rig-Vēda*, (*and*) who is the son's son of *Nāgasarma* (*and*) the son of *Saṁkarasarma*, there is given the village named *Sālivoḡa*, in the *vishaya* named *Hdevolā*, in the north-east quarter in the vicinity of the famous city of *Vaijyanti*, with libations of water, free from taxes, not to be entered by the regular soldiery, (*and*) with exemption from all drawbacks.

(L. 24.) — "Therefore, by future kings, whether they belong to Our lineage or are of other families, who bear in mind that the charms of life, riches, &c., are as evanescent as lightning, (*and*) who are desirous of accumulating fame that shall endure as long as the moon and sun and earth and oceans may continue, (*this grant*) should be preserved, precisely as if it were a grant made by themselves; —

(L. 26.) — And it has been said by the venerable *Vyāsa*, the arranger of the *Vēdas*: — The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with *Sagara*; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs; at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continues it*), it is very easy to give one's own property, (*but*) the preservation (*of the grant*) of another is difficult; if the question is whether giving or preserving (*is the more meritorious*), the preservation is more meritorious than giving. Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, — he is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years.

(L. 30.) — This character has been written by the *Mahāsādhivigrahika*, the illustrious *Rāmapuṇyavallābha*, heretofore edited by the *Mahāsādhivigrahika*, the illustrious *Rāmapuṇyavallābha*.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

COLLECTED BY
BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 15. — The Wonderful Tree.

In a certain country there lived, once upon a time, a powerful *Rājā* who had seven daughters, but no sons. The eldest of these daughters however had one son, and the second of them had two, but the *Rājā* bestowed all his affection on the two sons of the younger daughter, and totally neglected the son of her elder sister, although he was much wiser, braver, and altogether a better lad than they. Perhaps his quiet, retiring nature had

something to do with his not being liked by his grandfather, for, though made of better stuff than his cousins, he was thoroughly unassuming in his manners; while the other two Princes, though they did but little, made a show of doing much and used continuously to boast of their exploits.

Be that as it may, the poor lad took the old King's cold treatment of himself much to heart, and longed for some opportunity of doing him some signal service whereby he might win his approbation, for, be it mentioned, that the lad entertained a sincere regard for his grandsire.

Now, one day it happened that the Rājā was enjoying a noonday siesta from which his *wasir* awoke him rather abruptly. At this the Rājā was very angry and frowned upon him in such a manner that the poor old man began to tremble, and falling upon his knees, asked his sovereign's forgiveness, for having so thoughtlessly disturbed his rest. But the Rājā's wrath was too great to be appeased by this mark of his *wasir*'s repentance, for by being thus rudely disturbed from his slumbers he had lost something much more precious than his noonday rest.

"You have not the slightest idea," cried the monarch fiercely, "what this folly of yours has cost me. Just at the moment you called out to me to awake, I was in the midst of such a very delightful dream as seldom falls to the lot of mortals to dream. I found myself in a strange country where, among other strange things, I saw a wonderful tree rising up to the skies, whose trunk was made of a solid silver, whose branches were of gold, and whose leaves were nothing but large bright emeralds, while thousands of peerless pearls were hanging on it in place of fruit!

Whilst I was wrapt in admiration at this wonderful sight, somebody was just going to tell me how I could obtain possession of that magnificent tree, when you so rudely snatched me away from dream-land, and the glorious vision vanished, leaving me in the dark as to how I was to become the happy possessor of such a grand work of Nature. I charge you, therefore, to go this instant and bring me just such a tree, on pain of forfeiting not only all your worldly goods, but your hoary head as well!"

The poor *wasir* was ready to faint with fear and gave himself up for lost, for he knew not where to go in search of such a object as the Rājā had dreamt of. But the two favourite grandsons of the Rājā, who had been attracted there by the noise, went to their grandfather and begged hard to be allowed to go in search of the marvellous tree, instead of the old *wasir*. Now these two crafty young fellows had hardly courage enough to undertake any ordinary enterprise, let alone going in search of such an unheard of object, but they hoped by these means to get a lot of money in their hands so that they might go abroad and enjoy themselves. The Rājā, however, believed them, and giving them great praise for what he called their pluck, handed them as much gold as they asked for and sent them away well equipped and supplied with ample provisions. No sooner were the two young men out of their grandfather's city, than they fell into bad company and began to squander the money away to their hearts' content.

Whilst the two brothers were thus enjoying themselves, their cousin, the only son of the Rājā's eldest daughter, also, coming to hear of his grandfather's remarkable dream, got his mother to scrape together some gold, and with it started quietly off in search of the wonderful tree.

After wandering about from one country to another for some time, he at last found himself in the midst of a large forest. He journeyed through it for some distance, when one day he encountered a huge *nāg* (serpent) who lay stretched at full length in his way, and arrested his further progress. The young Prince, however, was not daunted by this sight. He mustered up all his courage, and drawing his sword, boldly attacked the fierce monster which was in reality a demon in the shape of a serpent and was known far and wide by the name of *Lāl*. This demon,

it was said, guarded the forest against all strangers, and was believed to be invincible. But our hero fought with him so bravely and dexterously, that in a short time he cut him into pieces and killed him. As soon as the breath left the body of his foe, the youth found before him a broad path leading right into the heart of the forest. He walked boldly on for some time till he came in sight of a large garden, so charmingly laid out as evidently to appear to be the abode of fairies. Just then, a very beautiful little fairy came out of a recess, and looking with great astonishment at the youngster said, "What could have brought you here? Surely nothing short of my father's death could have opened the way for a stranger to enter our home!" With this she fell a-weeping, and began to tear her hair and rend her clothes.

The young man tried to soothe her and said, "Although I have killed your father, my little fairy, I have done so in self-defence, and I promise you I will not harm a hair on your head; but on one condition, *viz.* that you tell me where I can find the tree with the silver trunk, golden branches, emerald leaves, and pearls for fruit; for I have come in search of it and am determined to have it."

"Oh! that I can easily do, young man," she said, "for I myself, who am called the silver *pari* (fairy), together with my sisters, the gold *pari*, the emerald *pari*, and the pearl *pari*, form the tree you are speaking of, and if you only manage to bring us all four together, you will soon see the tree before you."

"Tell me then, where to find your sisters," said the Prince eagerly, "and I shall lose no time in bringing them to you."

"Well then take this silver ring and go straight on till you find my sister, the gold *pari*, and give it to her." The youth did as he was bid, and soon catching sight of the gold *pari*, handed her the silver ring and asked her to accompany him to her sister.

The gold *pari* knew why the youth wanted her, so she said, "Before I go with you, you must find out two more of my sisters; so here take this gold ring and go further on till you find my sister, the emerald *pari*. He did so, and the emerald *pari* in her turn gave him an emerald ring and sent him on to her sister, the pearl *pari*, and that lady, at once recognising the token, received the youth with great kindness, and gave him a sword, which, she told him, when held in a particular position, was endowed with the power of bringing the four sisters together and changing them into the wonderful tree with the silver trunk, golden branches, emerald leaves, and pearl fruits; while, as soon as its position was reversed, the tree separated into the four little fairies again.

In order to satisfy himself that the fairy's words were true, our hero tried the experiment there and then, when lo! there stood before him just such a tree as his grandfather had expressed his wish to obtain, and his young heart leapt with joy at the thought of how the old Rājā would love him and load him with favours, for having been instrumental in realizing his dream. He, therefore, instantly converted the tree into the four fairies once again, and started off with them for his native country.

After a few months' journey, the young Prince one day found himself in a large city, where he fell in with his two cousins. They were holding high revel there with a number of companions like themselves, and were very much surprised to see him. The poor youth, in his innocence, recounted to them his adventures in the forest, and showed them the four fairies, and the magic sword, with which they could be converted into the tree which was the object of their grandfather's desire. This awoke a feeling of jealousy in the heart of those ill-natured young men, and they fell to devising some plan by which to put an end to our hero's life and take possession of his magic sword and his fairies. They, however, thought fit to disguise their feelings for a time, and offered to accompany him to their native country.

After a few days' journey, the three cousins halted for the night on a cool spot near a well, and after taking their meals went to sleep. About midnight one of the two brothers aroused our hero from his slumber, and pretending to be ill, entreated him to fetch a draught of cool

water from the well to quench his thirst. The unsuspecting lad, seeing nothing extraordinary in this request, ran at once to the well, leaving his magic sword under his pillow where he had placed it for the night. The two wicked brothers thereupon followed him stealthily, and just as he was bending over the well to draw water, they seized him by the legs and threw him in, head foremost. This done, they went back to the place where they had pitched their camp, took possession of the magic sword, and telling the fairies that their cousin had gone away in advance to apprise their grandfather of their coming, and to prepare him for giving them fit reception, made arrangements for resuming the journey. The little sprites, however, at once suspected foul play, but seeing that they were in the power of those unscrupulous young men, said nothing at the time, and quietly went away with them. But as they marched along they took the precaution of throwing large tufts of their lustrous hair here and there on the road, so that, should their young captor be still alive, he might find no difficulty in following them.

The two brothers journeyed home direct and in due course arrived there. They were received with great joy and delight by their indulgent grand-parent, who was in a fever of impatience to behold the wonderful tree. The two wicked young men soon found however that, though they had become possessed of the magic sword, they did not know how to use it so as to convert the fairies into the magnificent tree.

They, therefore, turned the sword about in several ways, passed it backwards and forwards over the heads of the fairies, and tried diverse methods of bringing about the transformation, but in vain, till at last the old Rājā was very much enraged with them and rebuked them severely for thus imposing upon his credulity.

In the meantime our hero, who had been taken out of the well by a passing stranger, had speedily found his way home guided by the tufts of the fairies' hair. So one day, just as the Rājā, being fairly tired of the lies with which his younger daughter's sons were putting him off from day to day, was about to question the fairies themselves as to the truth of their story, the young Prince rushed into the garden where the court was assembled, and stood before his aged grandfather. As soon as the fairies spied him, they all cried out with joy "Here's the brave young hero, who killed our father, Lāl, and brought us away from fairy-land, and he alone knows the secret of converting us into the tree with the silver trunk. These others are murderers and robbers, for they robbed their cousin and tried to kill him."

At these words of the fairies the Rājā ordered those two grandsons of his to deliver up the magic sword into the hands of their cousin, which they did with crestfallen and downcast looks. Our hero immediately waved it about in the proper way, when behold, there stood the magnificent tree in place of the beautiful little maidens!

The old Rājā was overjoyed at his dream being at last realized, and embracing his eldest daughter's only son with great warmth, he there and then proclaimed him his heir, and on hearing from him of the treatment he had received at the hands of his cousins ordered them to instant execution.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 38.

In a stone inscription of the time of the Hoysala king Virā-Ballāla or Ballāla II., on a tablet which, at the time of my visit, was standing against the outside of the south wall of the courtyard of the temple of the god Trīkūṭśvara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag Taluk in the Dhārwad District, Bombay Presidency, the date (from the photograph, *Pali*,

Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions, No. 99, line 31 ff.), runs — Saka-nripa-kālātita-samvat-sara-fatahgaḷa 1121neya Siddhārthi-samvat-sarada pratham-Āshāda(ḍha)-śukla-pakṣa-Āsh-ṭami-Bṛhaspativāra-Bya(vya)tipāta-punya-dina-dāś Bya(vya)tipāta-nimittah, — "on a meritorious day, (combining) Thursday and the Vyatipāta (yōga), which is the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha of the Siddhārthi samvatsara, which is the 1121st

(year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king; on account of that same Vyatipāta (yōga).” The following portion of the record is rather indistinct in the photograph. But, combining with the photograph the transcription given in the *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. II. p. 290 ff., it appears that on this occasion, while the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Rāya-dēva was residing happily at Haḷḷaharadakuppe, and, on account of some victory, was bathing and was making gifts to the goddess Tungabhadra-dēvi, with the sacred water of the Tungabhadra he washed the foot of Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇa, the *Siddhānticharya* of the god Svayambhūprasannatrikūṭēśvara, and gave a grant of land for the purposes of the rites of that god.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Siddhāntin saṁvatsara coincided with Saka-Samvat 1122 current, i.e. with the given year as an expired year. In this year the intercalary month, according to the Tables of Mr. Cowasjee Patell and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, was Jyēṣṭhā. But the record indicates Āṣāḍha as the intercalary month. And, with Prof. K. L. Ohlstrom's Tables, the given tithi, sukla 8 of the first Āṣāḍha, — the intercalated month, according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended on Thursday, 3rd June, A.D. 1189, at about 57 *ghaṭṭis*, 41 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay);¹ beginning at about 57 *ghaṭṭis* 53 p. on the Wednesday. With Prof. Jacobi's Tables the results are very nearly the same; being, for the beginning-time, 23 hrs. 46 min. (for Ujjain), = 59 *ghaṭṭis* 22.5 p., on the Wednesday; and for the ending-time, 23 hrs. 32 min., = 58 *ghaṭṭis* 59 p., on the Thursday. And at sunrise on the Thursday there was the Vyatipāta yōga, ending at 14 hrs. 3 min., = 35 *ghaṭṭis* 7.5 p., after mean sunrise. The given tithi is here quoted with the week-day on which it ended; in accordance with the rules in the *Nirṇayasindhu* and the *Dharmasindhu*; of which the purport, so far as the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight is concerned, is that for any ceremony it is to be taken with the week-day on which it is joined by the ninth tithi. In the present instance the date is distinctly that of the ceremony of making the grant; not that of writing or preparing the record.

This date is of interest in including a distinct specification of the intercalary nature of a given month; and also in giving an instance in

which the contemporaneous record differs from the published Tables, in respect of the name of the intercalated month.

No. 37.

Another instance from Southern India, in which the intercalary nature of a given month is distinctly specified, is a stone inscription of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijayapāṇḍya-dēva at Davangere, in Maisūr; in which the date (from the photograph, *P. S. and O.-K. Insors.* No. 141, line 16 f.) runs — śrī-mat-Saka²-varṣhade 1091neya Virōdhi-saṁvatsarade dvitīya-Śrāvana-suddha-puṇṇami-Soma-vārad-aṁdu, — “on Monday, the full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight of the second Śrāvana of the Virōdhi saṁvatsara, which is the 1091st of the glorious Saka years.” The record states that on this day there were given again, to the god Avimuktēśvara, some lands which had formerly been granted and had been confiscated.

The original passage is perfectly clear; and it cannot in any respect be read otherwise than as I have given it above. But nevertheless, the details of this date do not work out satisfactorily.

By the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one that can apply in this case, the Virōdhi saṁvatsara coincided with Saka-Saṁvat 1092 current, i.e. with the given year as an expired year. And for this year the Tables, as well as the contemporaneous record, show Śrāvana as the intercalary month. But the given tithi, the full-moon of the second Śrāvana, — the natural month according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended, not on a Monday, but on Saturday, 9th August, A.D. 1169, at about 33 *ghaṭṭis*, 30 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay).

There is, however, no apparent reason for doubting the authenticity of the record. And some explanation or other should be found for the discrepancy in the result. Of course the full-moon tithi of the first Śrāvana in this case could not possibly end on a Monday, for the reason that it must have fallen twenty-nine or thirty days before the Saturday on which the full-moon tithi of the second Śrāvana ended; and as a matter of fact it ended on Thursday, 10th July, at about 54 *ghaṭṭis* 43 p. Again, though it may be noted that the full-moon tithi of the next month, Bhādrapada, did end on the given week-day, viz.

difference for the locality to which a record belongs, causes, or might cause, a difference in the resulting week-day; or unless for any other special reasons.

² Read śrī-mat-Saka.

¹ The times here are for Bombay, all through. For Gadag, they would be about 26 *palas* later. In future calculations I purpose quoting only the times for Bombay or Ujjain, according to the Tables that are used; unless the

Monday, 8th September, A.D. 1169, at about 1E gh. 24 p., yet I do not see how this *tithi* could possibly come to be taken as belonging to the second Śrāvāṇa. I do not think that there can be any mistake in respect of the given month. Nor can there well be a mistake in the given *tithi*; since it is written in full, instead of being denoted by its number. I feel more inclined to think that we have here a genuine mistake in respect of the given week-day, arising from a confusion between the day on which the grant was made, and the day on which the record was written, or the engraving of it, which must have taken some little time, was completed. I suspect that probably the grant was made on the full-moon *tithi* of the second Śrāvāṇa, which ended on Saturday, as noted above; and that the record was written, or the engraving of it was completed, on the following Monday, 11th August, on which day there ended the *tithi* *kṛishṇa* 2 of the same month, at about 41 gh. 21 p. I would not, however, propose this as a final settlement of the date. In the inscriptions of the Kanarese Country, there are many similar instances, in which correct results apparently cannot be obtained. And possibly an examination of a fair number of them might disclose some uniform rule, by which the results can be adjusted without our having to assume any mistakes in the records.

No. 38.

The only other instance that I can at present give of the distinct specification of the intercalary nature of a month in a record from Southern India, is a stone inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Siṅghana II., at Kōlār or Kōlhār¹ in the Bāgewāḍi Tāluka, Bijāpur District, in which the date (from an ink-impression, line 9 ff.) runs — Śaka-varuṣada² 1145de(dā)neya Svabhānu-saṁvachohharada³ dvitīya-Bhādrapada-suddha⁴ 5-Su(ṣu)kravārad-aṁḍu, — “on Friday, the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the second Bhādrapada of the Svabhānu saṁvatsara, which is the 1145th (year) of the Śaka years.” The inscription records that on this date, while Siṅghana II. was reigning at the *śeleṭṭa* or capital of Dēvāndragiri (sic, line 8), the *Mahājenas* and others of Kōlāra gave certain grants of land &c., for the purposes of a temple of the god Śiva under the name of Mallikārjuna.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Svabhānu saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat

1146 current; i.e. with the given year as an expired year. The Tables agree with the contemporaneous record in respect of the intercalary month, Bhādrapada. The *tithi* *sukla* 5 of the second Bhādrapada, — the natural month according to the present custom of Southern India, — ended on Friday, 1st September, A. D. 1223, at about 14 gh. 35 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And this is plainly the correct English equivalent of the given date; though this instance seems to be an exception to the general rule (of the *Dharmasindhuśāra*, at any rate; see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 817), for the use of the fifth *tithi*, for a religious ceremony, with the week-day on which it commences.

J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 20.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society. Vol. III. No. 4.

(a) *Meeting of Sept. 29th (Oct. 11th) 1888.*

An Essay on Urmān Bāg was received from N. P. Ostrofmov at Tashkand to be published in the *Transactions*. He also forwarded a Turcoman talisman against cholera.

S. I. Ohakhotin sent 23 coins given to the Society by the Consul at Priserend, I. S. Yastrebov. These coins on examination appeared to be mostly Byzantine.

Some copies of a work by V. V. Radloff, V. P. Vasiliev and K. G. Saleman, entitled “A Memorandum on the necessity of establishing an Alphabet for transcribing foreign languages on the basis of the Russian letters,” were presented by V. V. Radloff.

N. E. Brandenburg offered, in the name of Mr. Alexandrovich, some antiquities from Mariapol and 14 Coins of the Golden Horde, found in excavating *kurgans*.

(b) *Meeting of 11th (23rd) Nov. 1888.*

E. Th. Kahl gave the numismatic collection of the Society 376 coins acquired by him in Turkistan, some of which are rare and unpublished.

(c) *Qalmuq Tales with translation* occupy pp. 307-364 of the *Transactions*.

(d) *Precursors of the great Qalmuq Settlement on the Volga*, by N. Veselovski. Towards the close

¹ With the occasional introduction of *k* into this name, we may compare the case of Kōlāpur (the ancient Kollāpura), the chief town of the Native State of the same name. It is often written ‘Kōlhāpur,’ and it is

explained as meaning ‘the town of jackals’ (Mardh, *hākhā*)!

² Read *varshada*.

³ Read *saṁvachchharada*, or *saṁvatsarada*.

⁴ Read *suddha*.

of A.D. 1613 the Tsar Michael sent an embassy to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia. Among other things he wished to complain of the succour granted by the Persians to the second false Demetrius at Astrakhan. The route was a difficult one, as the direct way to Persia by the Caspian Sea was closed to the travellers. The documents concerning this journey are preserved in the Russian Archives. They prove the existence of (Kalmucks) Qalmāqs on the Volga. The Muscovite Government did everything that it could to guarantee the safety of the embassy. Many merchants from Khiva and Bokhārā were detained in Russia as hostages, and in case the ambassadors arrived safely in Persia these merchants were promised exemption from excise-duties. There had been ambassadors to Khiva and Bokhārā from Russia as early as A.D. 1578. As it was thought that Tikhonov the ambassador might come into contact with the Nōges or Qalmāqs, he carried letters in the Tātār language, which was used by them at that time and long afterwards. It seems that the Qalmāqs made their appearance on the Russian confines between A.D. 1606 and 1610 in large numbers, and were anxious to become Russian subjects. Till the time of the discovery of this document it has always been confidently asserted that the first Qalmāqs with Kho-Urliuk at their head came to the banks of the Volga about A.D. 1630 or 1632. It thus appears that they were found in those parts much earlier. In A.D. 1648 the Russian general Plestshev defeated them at Saratov.

(c) *Minor Notes.*

(1) *Numismatics*, by V. Tiesenhausen. (i.) Fraehn mentions on page 414 of his *Reconsio*, a silver coin, struck in the year 884 A.H. (= 1479-80 A.D.) by the Crimean Khān Mengli Ghiri. He could not however decipher the name of the place where it was coined. But a hoard of coins sent to the Imperial Archaeological Commission has enabled the writer of the paper to fix the place. The similar coins of Mengli Ghiri of the same hoard shew that the name of the mint town must be read Kirk-ler (i.e. Chufut Kaleh). There are many more specimens of this coinage in the hoard.

(ii.) Among the Crimean Coins of the XVI. century published by the late V. V. Grigoriev in the first volume of the *Transactions* of the Odessa Historical and Antiquarian Society, there is a badly preserved silver coin of Gazi Ghiri II struck in the year 997 A.H. (= 1589 A.D.) or 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.). The name of the place is difficult to decipher. Grigoriev thinks the coin must have been struck somewhere in Slavonic countries, as Gazi Ghiri was at that

time absent on a campaign. His ancestors frequently coined money on their expeditions, as the inscriptions on them testify, e.g., "struck in the horde," i.e. "in the camp." He thought as the money was coined in 997 A.H., the year of an expedition to Poland, it might have been struck at Rakov in the palatinate of Lublin, and also suggested other places. But the writer on seeing in 1887 a well-preserved specimen of the same coin thinks that Grigoriev mistook an ornament on the piece of money for a letter. The real mint-town is Gealev, or Koslov, the present Eupatoria. In all probability, there were also struck three coins of Gazi Ghiri, which are now preserved in the Museum of the Odessa Historical and Archaeological Society.

(iii.) Among the coins of the Khān Shādī Bāg (1399-1407 A.D.) of the Golden Horde, some are of silver and of very bad workmanship. The name of the mint-town offers great difficulties. Fraehn suggests Keferda and others, but the writer, from recent specimens furnished to him thinks that the name is New Kaffa, now Theodosia. Historically the appearance of such an appellation is easily understood, in consequence of the mischief done by Yedigei to Kaffa in the year 799 A.H. (= 1396-97 A.D.)

(iv.) The writer thanks M. Miednikov for his correction of a mistake with reference to a fuls of Al Mansūr. There is a great deal of confusion about the Khordāsān viceroys of the time in two almost contemporary Arabic writers, Al-Yaqūb and Al-Tabarī. Did the governors of Khordāsān receive their powers from Al-Mahdi, and were they styled his viceroys?

(v.) A classification is given by V. Tiesenhausen of the coins, amounting to 376, presented to the Society by M. Kahl. Among them are some rare coins and such as up to the present time have not been published; as, for instance, the Sassanī silver coin of Fīrūz, an 'Abbāsī fuls of the year 143 A.H. struck at Samargand; a Tahiri fuls of the year 207 struck at Merv; a Sāmānī fuls coined at Bukhārā, apparently in the year 388; an Ilak dirham, struck in the year 407, in the town Osrushna, the name of which mint, so far as the writer knows, appears on a coin for the first time; a fuls of a Khwārizmī Shāh with the name of 'Alī, the son of Māmūn; Shāibānī silver coins of Abū-Sa'īd struck in Bokhārā and Samargand; of Kuchkunji Khān, coined at Mashhad; of Sayyid Burkhān, Bahādur Khān, coined in Bokhārā; and of Ahmad Timūr, coined in Tashkand.

(2) *The especial meaning of the verb داشتن in the Persian spoken language*, by V. Zhukovski.

In the Persian spoken language, also as in some contemporary Persian dialects, the verb داشتن, besides the customary meaning 'to have' and its auxiliary use to form verbs out of substantives, has also meanings, which, as far as the author knows, have not got into the literary language. (a) The Aorist of this verb, standing before the present of any verb, gives to the latter a future sense, as if the thing would be quickly accomplished, something like the French *aller* with the infinitive, — *je vais faire*. (b) The past tense of this verb standing before the past tense of another verb gives to the latter the sense of a past action only just accomplished: as in French, — *Je viens de parler*.

(3) *Description of a Persian MS. of the Four Gospels*, by N. Marr. In the Library of the Society for the Diffusion of Education among the Georgians at Tiflis, under No. 16, is preserved a copy of the Four Gospels in the Persian language, written in Georgian civil characters. The manuscript is on paper in leathern binding. The text is written in black ink: the headings in red. The scribe is not mentioned by name. The manuscript is without date, but probably belongs to the seventeenth century. The transcription has been carefully made. The writer of the article gives specimens of the translation and adds that the text of this MS. differs remarkably both in vocabulary and construction from the Persian translation published by the English Bible Society, and furnishes material for the study of Persian phonetics. The only other similar work which the writer has seen is a small Georgian-Arabic-Persian glossary, also compiled in the seventeenth century.

(f) *Criticism and Bibliography.*

(1) D. Pestchurov. *Supplement to the Russian-Chinese Dictionary*, St. Petersburg, 1888. A valuable work and an excellent supplement to the dictionary of Prof. Vasiliev.

(2) N. L. Gondatti. (i) *Traces of heathen customs among the Manses*, from the Transactions of the Moscow Anthropological and Ethnological Society. (ii.) *Worship of the Bear among the natives of North-Western Siberia*. Russian literature is fairly rich in works of this kind, but we must make haste, as many barbarous races are disappearing and others becoming Russified. Shamanism either gives place to Christianity or changes its appearance under its influence. In 1835 M. Gondatti went to North-Western Siberia and turned his attention to the religious belief of the Manses (called among the Russians Ostiaks and Voguls), living on the banks of the

Souva, the Sigva, and their tributaries. M. Gondatti gives a description of their gods and heroes, their views of a future state, and their burial customs. They have traditions about the creation of the world and the deluge. In the stories about the creation of man, the influence of Christianity can be traced. The worship of the bear among the natives of North-Western Siberia serves as a convincing proof how beliefs are changed into mere formalities, and how difficult it is now to seek out the origin of this or that cultus. He describes the religious festivities in honour of a bear which had been killed. These are accompanied with songs and dances.

(3) A. L. Ivanov. *Routes to India: a short Sketch of the Development of Commercial Relations with the Remote East*, with the addition of a Map. St. Petersburg, 1889, pp. 32. The title of this work is misleading, because the author does not take us any further than the Amu Daria, and that is still a good way from India. Some things which he describes as an eyewitness are interesting; but some of his statements are open to dispute, e.g. that at the close of the Eighteenth Century there were about 30,000 Russian prisoners in Bokhara. Caravans go through Kizil Kuma to Kasalinsk and by this route merchandise from Bokhara is brought to Orenburg in 45 days, whereas to take them from Tashkand to Orenburg 50 is required.

(4) S. Umanets. *A Sketch of the Development of Religious and Philosophical Thought in Islam*. A poor book, chiefly compiled from Dozy. It is best where the author copies him most closely, as he is unacquainted with Arabic, and therefore working at second-hand. The reviewer exposes some of the many mistakes which the work contains, but, as the author is quite young, hopes that he will eventually produce something worthy of notice.

(5) Dr. H. Fleischer. *Kleinere Schriften, Gesammelt, Durchgesehen und Vermehrt*. 3 Bde. 1835-1888. These three volumes contain the smaller essays of this great scholar, who died in 1883. The reviewer pays a tribute to his generosity of character, and speaks of him as an ideal professor. This collection of his smaller works, the selection and revision of which formed the last labour of his life, will be received by all his admirers with pleasure. The indexes are by his pupil Huber, now also deceased, and his son-in-law, Prof. Muhlau of Dorpat.

(6) *Porta Linguarum Orientalium inchoavit J. H. Peternann, continuavit Herm. L. Strack Pars XI. Türkische Grammatik mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar von August*

Müller unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gies. Berlin, H. Reuther. 1889. This new work has no pretence of being a complete exposition of all the peculiarities and niceties of the Osmanli language, but will make the student acquainted with its structure, giving him complete paradigms of the forms of the declensions and conjugations. The compiler has fully reached his object. The Turkish words are carefully transliterated, and

Prof. A. Müller has had the valuable co-operation of a person who has lived some time at Stambul. The reviewer does not feel satisfied with the treatment of the phonetics in every instance, but wishes the book complete success.

(7) *Continuation by V. Smirnov of the list of Musalman printed works in Russia since 1838.*

W. R. MORFILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SLANG OF TAMIL CASTES.

The following lists of words peculiar to the Pandārams and the Pariahs of Jaffna appeared some time ago in the *Morning Star*, an Anglo-Tamil newspaper, published by the American Mission at Jaffna.

The Pandārams are a class of mendicants who go about from house to house singing songs and accompanying themselves on small hand-drums of a peculiar shape.

It seems that the Kuravas of South India, a colony of whom has for several years past existed at Kachohai, a village on the south coast of the Peninsula of Jaffna, have also a slang of their own, which is more copious than that of the Pandārams and of the Pariahs. Some of the Jaffna people of the higher castes are well versed in Pandāram and Pariah slang.

Probably some of your correspondents can furnish similar lists of slang words from South India, and may be able to derive and explain those in the lists annexed. With the exception of the Pariah numerals I can only find one or two in Winalow's *Dictionary*, and then not with the same meanings that they have among the Pandārams and Pariahs. For instance, *pōkkar*, which in ordinary Tamil means 'a worthless person,' in Pandāram slang means 'a man of the Nalava caste;' *viḍalai*, in Tamil 'a male child,' in Pandāram 'a coconut;' *valaiyam*, which in Pariah means 'money,' is in Tamil 'a ring, an armlet;' the word for 'to give' in Pariah is in Tamil 'to languish.' The Pariah words for the numerals from two to six are given by Winalow as "cant words, secret numbers peculiar to traders." The word for 'two' is also written *twi* and appears to be Sanskrit (*dvī*).

English.	Tamil.	Pandāram.	Pariah.
Rice (boiled)	<i>chōru</i>	<i>pōnam</i>	<i>vilampal</i>
Rice	<i>arisi</i>	<i>taṇḍalam</i>	.....

¹ *varaku*, a kind of dry grain; the same word *paraḍḍai viligal* is used by Pandārams for *adai*, another dry grain.

English.	Tamil.	Pandāram.	Pariah.
Paddy	<i>nellu</i>	<i>bonḍi-viti-yal</i>	<i>periya-rum-pi</i>
Varaku ¹	<i>varaku</i>	<i>paraḍḍai-vitigal</i>	<i>siṅga-rumpi</i>
Pulse, peas	<i>payaru</i>	<i>urukḍaṅ</i>	.....
Brinjal	<i>battarik-kḍy</i>	<i>bḍḍaṅ</i>	.....
Jak-fruit	<i>palak-kḍy</i>	<i>mullaṅ bḍ-ḍaṅ</i>	.....
Coco-nut	<i>iṅ-kḍy</i>	<i>viḍalai</i>	.....
Betel	<i>vēṭṭilai</i>	<i>mullaigaṅ</i>	.....
Areka nut	<i>pḍikku</i>	<i>iṅvaṅ-kḍy</i>	.....
Plantain	<i>valaip-palam</i>	<i>pandil</i>	.....
Tobacco	<i>puḍaiṅilai</i>	<i>vḍḍuṅ</i>	.....
Fish	<i>mīṅ</i>	<i>śrīmal</i>	.....
Prawn	<i>iṇḍi</i>	<i>mūḍakkaṅ</i>	.....
Flesh	<i>iraichchi</i>	<i>asaiyaṅ</i>	.....
Vellāla ²	<i>veḷḷaṅ</i>	<i>veppuḍ-baḷu-baṅ</i>	<i>sullaṅ</i>
Barber	<i>ampaddaṅ</i>	<i>nakarah-baḷuṅ</i>	<i>chōraitaḷḷi</i>
Dhoby	<i>vanṇaṅ</i>		<i>tumpaiggaṅ</i>
Nalava	<i>naḷavaṅ</i>	<i>pōkkaṅ</i>	<i>bōttaiyaṅ</i>
Toddy-drawer	<i>adgaṇ</i>	<i>siramath-baḷuṅ</i>	<i>viṅgiyaṅ</i>
Money	<i>kḍu</i>		.....
One fanam	<i>oru panam</i>		<i>valaiyam</i>
Two fanams	<i>iraṇḍu panam</i>		<i>śōp-pani</i>
Three	<i>māṅgu</i>		<i>twēp-pani</i>
Four	<i>adlu</i>		<i>tilu</i>
Five	<i>aiṇṇu</i>		<i>ḍittu</i>
Six	<i>ḍru</i>		<i>tadda</i>
Seven	<i>ḷḷu</i>		<i>taḍava</i>
House	<i>viḍu</i>		<i>nalaichcha</i>
Beats	<i>adikkiratu</i>		<i>kaṇṇiyal</i>
Comes	<i>varubiratu</i>		<i>ḍaykkiratu</i>
Gives	<i>tarukiratu</i>		<i>neḍubiratu</i>
			<i>chōrukiratu</i>

Ceylon.

J. P. LEWIS.

² Cultivator caste.

³ (sic) This word denotes some caste or occupation. It is not in Winalow.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLHET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 188. — MANTUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA III. — SAKA-SAMVAT 962.

THIS inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it from an ink-impression made for me, in 1882, by Mr. Govind Gangadhar Deshpande, of the Bombay Educational Department.

Mantūr is a village about seven miles to the north-east of Mudhōl, the chief town of the Native State of Mudhōl in the so-called Southern Marāṭhā Country, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Muntoor,' in Lat. 16° 24', Long. 75° 26'. It is mentioned in line 16 under the name of Deyvada-Mantūr. The inscription is on a stone-tablet at a temple of Lakṣmī in this village.

Of the emblems at the top of the stone, the only ones reported to me are a *liṅga* and a cow and calf. — The extant writing covers a space of about 1' 8" broad by 3' 1½" high. With the exception of the last six lines, it is in a state of very good preservation, and is legible very clearly and without any doubt. But after the thirty-fifth line, the remainder of the stone has been broken away and lost. Also from line 21 on the proper right side, and line 9 on the proper left, down to the bottom, parts of the stone have been broken away; so that in line 30 only thirteen letters remain out of about twenty-six; and it is not worth while to offer any transcription of the remaining five lines. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in lines 5 and 6, the decimal figures 2, 5, 8, and 9. The *virāma* is represented only by its own proper sign. The average size of the letters in the first six lines is about ⅓"; but after that it diminishes to about ⅙" at the end of the record. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese. As far as line 21, the inscription is in prose; from there, certainly as far as line 30, and perhaps to the end of the extant portion, it is in verse. — The orthography presents nothing calling for special notice.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha III., who is here mentioned by his *biruda* of Jagadēkamalladēva. And it then mentions, evidently as one of his feudatories, the Rājā Mahasāmanta Hreyyammarasa or Hrega, who also had the name or *biruda* of Sēnana-Garuḍa or 'the Garuḍa of Sēna.'¹ It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record a grant for the purposes of a well.

In addition to mentioning the village of Mantūr under the name of Deyvada-Mantūr, which stands for Daivada- or Devvada-Mantūr, and means 'Mantūr of the demon or evil spirit, or haunted Mantūr,'² this inscription mentions a town named Poṭṭalakere, as a *neleṭṭa* or capital³ of Jayasimha III. This name occurs in other records also. In an inscription at Beḷagatṭive in Maisūr (*Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 155, line 10, and *Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 59), it is mentioned as a *neleṭṭa* of Jayasimha III. himself.⁴ In a

¹ For some similar names, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 188, end of note 1 commencing on p. 186.

² Possibly Mantūr was formerly some such place as now is the well-known Narobāwātī in the Kolāpur State, at the junction of the Kṛṣṇa and the Pañchagangā (it is shown in the map, Indian Atlas, sheet No. 40, as 'Murobā-waree'). Here there is a small but celebrated shrine of Dattatṛeya, with impressions of his feet. Possessed people are placed in front of the impressions, incense is performed, and the spirits with which they are possessed immediately quit them. And though the place is thus full of these spirits (Marāṭhī, *bhāt*; Kanarese, *deva*), its influence is so holy that they do not afflict any of the residents.

³ See *op. cit.*, Vol. XII. p. 110 f.

⁴ In the *Elliot MS. Collection*, the transcription gives *poṭṭalakere*, with the vowel *e* in the third syllable. In the photograph this syllable is a little indistinct; but I conclude that the vowel must be *a*, as is very distinctly the case in the Mantūr and Alimī inscriptions; and I notice that Mr. Race in his translation of this inscription has taken the vowel as *a* (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 146). — The first component of the name, *poṭṭala*, is also written *poṭṭa*, *poṭṭana*, and *poṭṭa*, and seems to be used here in the meaning of 'a kind of syringe used in discharging the *ḍakḍak*.' The latter word, *ḍakḍi*, means (1) a mixture of chunam, turmeric, and water, forming a red liquid which is squirted upon people at a festival; and (2) a ceremony, in which an idol is placed by a vat filled with the above mixture, with which a Brāhmaṇ sprinkles the idol, and dancing-girls &c. sprinkle each other and the spectators.

fragmentary inscription at Almél in the Shindagi Tālūkā, Bijāpur District, it is mentioned as a *neleṭṭu* of a Western Chālukya king who is referred to only by the *viruḍa* of Jagadēkamalla-dēva, but who, though the date of the record is lost, is in all probability Jayasimha III., and not a later Jagadēkamalla.⁵ And in an inscription at Alawaṇḍi in the Nizām's Dominions (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 66), it is mentioned as a *neleṭṭu* of the *Danḍanāyaka* Gaṇamayyanāyaka, an officer of Jayasimha III.⁶ While, in the *Basava-Purāṇa*, chap. li., the name occurs, under the slightly different form of Hoṭalakere, again in connexion with Jayasimha III. When first I brought this place to notice (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 44 and note 2), I was not able to identify it. But a closer examination has enabled me to do so now. The mention of it in the Alawaṇḍi inscription as the *neleṭṭu* of a subordinate officer, whose authority cannot have extended very far, shews that we must look for it somewhere in the vicinity of Alawaṇḍi. And, that it cannot be Alawaṇḍi itself, is shewn by the fact that the latter name, written Alaviṇḍe in the transcription, occurs in the same record. I do not find the actual name of Poṭṭalakere or Hoṭalakere in the maps. But its locality is determined thus:—Alawaṇḍi is a village in the Koppal Tālūkā of the Nizām's Dominions⁷ in Lat. 15° 15', Long. 76° 8'; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 58. About twenty-six miles in a south-easterly direction from it, in Lat. 15° 8', Long. 76° 26', there is, in the Ballāri District, a town or large village, with a very large tank, the name of which is written 'Dunnaikankerra' in the map; the tank has an extreme length and breadth of about two miles, and must cover an area of well over three square miles. In some of the inscriptions, *danḍāyaka* occurs as an abbreviated form or corruption of *danḍanāyaka*; while *kerra* is one of the erroneous methods by which the Kanarese *kera*, 'a tank,' is represented in uncritical maps;⁸ so that, without doubt, this name really represents *Danḍanāyakana-kere*. And taking in conjunction with this, and with the manner in which Poṭṭalakere is mentioned in the Alawaṇḍi inscription, the fact that about six miles south of 'Dunnaikankerra' there is a village the name of which is given in the map as 'Potelacutta,'⁹ I feel no doubt whatever that *Danḍanāyakana-kere* is the modern representative of the ancient Poṭṭalakere.¹⁰

In the mention of Hoṭalakere in the *Basava-Purāṇa*, chap. li., we are told that the place contained seven hundred *basadis* or Jain temples, and twenty thousand Jain saints; and a narration is given of how Dēvara-Dāsimayya, the *Guru* of Suggaladēvi, the wife of king Dēsiṅga, despoiled the *Srāvakas* or Jains, and induced Dēsiṅga to adopt the Śaiva or Liṅgāyat religion. The same story is epitomised in the *Ohannabasava-Purāṇa*, chap. lvii., 10, which

⁵ Here, in line 8, there was at first written *poṭṭalakereye neleṭṭino*, with the vowel *e* in the first syllable of the name; but the syllable was afterwards corrected into *po*, by the addition of a stroke which, because the *ṣa* left no room to form it properly, is rather constrained and faint, so that it might be passed over at first sight.

⁶ Here the transcription gives *poṭṭalakere*, including probably two mistakes.

⁷ This is according to the *Elliot MS. Collection*. I notice that Thornton's *Gazetteer* allots Koppal to the Ballāri District; but the book is not free from mistakes (e.g. 'Kokatnur,' thirty-two miles east of Bijāpur, is entered as being in the Sholāpur District), and this may be one.

⁸ It might perhaps be thought that *kerra*, and still more *kera*, *ksira*, and *ksura*, may stand for *kṛdd*, 'a small village or hamlet,' rather than for *kere*, 'a tank.' And the terminations do occur in the names of some places where tanks are not shown in the map; e.g. the 'Davanakira' of the map, which is the 'Davangere' of Thornton's *Gazetteer* and of the *Railway Traveller's Guide*, in Maidūr, thirty-five miles north-west of Chitaldurg; and the 'Muddykerra' of the map, the 'Maddikera' of the *Gazetteer* and the *Railway Guide*, in the Karpāl District, fifty-six miles south-west of Karpāl. But they certainly represent *kere* in the names of the following places, each of which has attached to it a tank of more or less considerable dimensions; the 'Naraindevakerra' of the map, and the 'Narayanadevarakera' of the *Gazetteer*, i.e. 'the tank of the god Nārāyaṇa,' six miles to the north-west of 'Dunnaikankerra'; the 'Hosakerra' of the map, i.e. Hosakere, 'the new tank,' about nine miles to the south by west of 'Dunnaikankerra'; the 'Kerra Bellagudi' of the map, twenty-four miles due west of Karpāl; the 'Lokakera' of the map, ten miles south of 'Davanakira'; and the 'Holalkera' of the map, the 'Holalkere' and 'Holalkira' of the *Gazetteer*, and the 'Holalakere' of the *Railway Guide*, about eighteen miles south-west of Chitaldurg (here the real name is probably Holalakere, 'the tank of the city.')

⁹ Here *cutta* seems to stand for the Kanarese *kuffa*, in the sense of 'a raised platform round the lower part of the trunk of a tree.'

¹⁰ The first part of the name is not unique; Thornton's *Gazetteer* mentions a 'Danayakan Kottai,' probably 'the fort of the *Danḍanāyaka*,' in the Coimbatore District.

says that Suggale, the wife of the Jinābhakta Dēśinga Ballāla, caused her *Guru Dēvara-Dāsa* to dispute with the Jains, and then, transforming a serpent in a box into a *Viśga* made of the *chandrakānta* or moon-stone, she caused him to conquer, and induced her husband to become a *Sivābhakta*. The *Channabasava-Purāṇa* calls Dēśinga a Ballāla, i.e. a Hoysala; but this is evidently a mistake. Dēśinga is a corruption of Jayasimha; and the coincidence of the other names of Suggale or Suggaladēvi and Hoṭalakere, shews conclusively that the story really refers to the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha III., whose wife was Suggaladēvi.

The date of the grant, in line 5 f., is given as Saka-Saṃvat 962, expressed in decimal figures, and not specified either as current or as expired, the Vikrama *samvatsara*, on the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of the month Mārgaśīra, coupled with Ādityavāra or Sunday. And in this passage we have again the puzzling word *śrāhe*, which we have met with in the Guḍigere Jain inscription (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 39, line 19); and here, as there, we might divide the text in such a manner as to obtain either *śrāhe* or *abhrāhe*. In the Guḍigere inscription, we had the Kanarese locative singular, *śrāheya*; used apparently to denote some particular day, time, or festival. And it occurs in the same way in line 10. of one of the inscriptions on the outside of the temple of Siddhēśvara at Sirūr in the Bāgalkōṭ Talukā, Bijāpur District; where the date is simply *Saka-varsha* 900 *noya* *Kūlaka-samvatsarada śrāheya*. Here, we have the genitive singular; and, from its position, it probably qualifies the name of the month. It may of course qualify either the fortnight, or the *tithi*; but, whereas the given *tithi* happens to be one of the *tithis* for the *nāga-pūjā* or *nāga-vrata*, I cannot see any connection between the word *śrāhe* and any name for that ceremony; moreover, the text contains no reference to that or to any other rite, but simply gives the date as that of the making of a grant, in no religious connection at all, and the results seem to indicate that the given *tithi* is not the correct one. The results for this date are as follows:—

By the southern luni-solar system, the Vikrama *samvatsara* coincided with Saka-Saṃvat 963 current; i.e. with the given year as an expired year. But in this year Mārgaśīra śukla 5 ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 11th November, A.D. 1040, at about 58 *ghaṭe*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and it must also have been an expunged *tithi*, as it began at about 4 *gh.* 17 *p.* on the same day. And in the same year Kārttika śukla 5 ended at about 33 *gh.* 12 *p.* on Monday, 18th October; so that, as there seems no reason for taking the *tithi* as a current *tithi*,¹¹ in which case only, as Kārttika śukla 5, could it be coupled with a Sunday, it does not appear that Śrāheya-Mārgaśīra is to be taken as another name for, or as identical with, the ordinary Kārttika.

In the preceding year, Saka-Saṃvat 962 current, with which the Vikrama *samvatsara* would coincide by the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, if this system can be established and can be carried back so far,¹² and which seems admissible because there is nothing in the text to prevent our taking the given year as current, Mārgaśīra śukla 5 ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Friday, 23rd November, A.D. 1039, at about 19 *gh.* 14 *p.* This result is with the month Āshāḍha intercalary, according to the published Tables. And no better result can be obtained if, instead of that, we take Mārgaśīra itself (or any subsequent month) as intercalary; for then the *tithi* śukla 5 of the intercalated (or natural) Mārgaśīra would end on Wednesday, 24th October, A.D. 1039, at about 51 *gh.* 29 *p.* The unintelligible word, therefore, cannot be used to distinguish the intercalated from the natural month, or *vice versa*. And in this year, even Pausa śukla 5 did not end on a Sunday, but on Saturday, 22nd December, at about 51 *gh.* 42 *p.*

Only in Saka-Saṃvat 964 current, can a Sunday be obtained for the given *tithi*. In this year Mārgaśīra śukla 5 ended on Sunday, 1st November, A.D. 1041, at about 37 *gh.* 40 *p.* But this result can hardly be looked upon as a satisfactory solution; since it necessitates the alteration of the name of the *samvatsara* from Vikrama, No. 14, to Vṛisha or Bhṛiṣya, No. 15, as well as an alteration in the number of the given year.

¹¹ For the rules regarding the *tithi*, see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 817.

¹² See *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 222 f.

In the three years in question, the *Vijñāhika-Saṁkrānti*, which introduces the solar *Mārgaśīra*, occurred respectively on the 26th October, A.D. 1039, at about 39 *gh.* 20 *p.*; on the 25th October, A. D. 1040, at about 54 *gh.* 52 *p.*; and on the 26th October, A.D. 1041, at about 10 *gh.* 23 *p.* And in each year it was the *tithi* śukla 5 of the lunar *Mārgaśīra* that was the fifth bright *tithi* occurring in the solar month. And accordingly the unintelligible word cannot be used to distinguish the solar from the lunar month, or *vice versa*.

This date, therefore, must remain over for further consideration. But I am much inclined to think we have here an instance of a genuine mistake in the original record, arising from a confusion between the day on which the grant was made and that on which the record was prepared; that the number of the *tithi* was wrongly written as 5, instead of 2; and that the real day on which the grant was made is Sunday, 9th November, A.D. 1040, on which day there ended, at about 15 *gh.* 51 *p.*, the *tithi* *Mārgaśīra* śukla 2 of Saka-Saṁvat 963 current, which was the *Vikrama saṁvatsara* by the southern luni-solar system. But here again I can find no special name for *Mārgaśīra* śukla 2, and no rite prescribed for the *tithi*, to help to explain the unintelligible word.

TEXT.¹³

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|---------------------|
| 1 | Om ¹⁴ | Svasti | Samasta-bhuvan-āśre(āra)ya | śrī-pri(pri)thvi-vallabha | ma- |
| 2 | hāṁjādhirāja | | paramāśvara | paramahatṭārakaṁ | Satyā- |
| 3 | kraya-kula-tīlakam | | Chāluky-ābharaṇam | | śrīmaj-Jagadēka- |
| 4 | malladēvar | | Pottalakeṛeya | nelevidināḥ-sukha-saṁtata ¹⁵ -vi- | |
| 5 | rōdadim | rājyaṁ-gēyuttam-iro [i*] | Sa(ka)ka-varsha | 962neya | Vikrama(ma)- |
| 6 | saṁvatsarada | | brahēya ¹⁶ -Mārgaśīra-suddha-5-Ādityavarad-aṁdu [i*] | | |
| 7 | [Sva]ṣṭi | | Samadhigatapamchamahāśabda-mahāśāmantam | | jaya-vadhū- |
| 8 | kāntam | Lattatūr-ppuravar-ōvaram | pratāpa-Lamkēvaram | svarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvajam | |
| 9 | trivale-pareghōṣaṇam | ruparāṅga-bhīṣaṇam | Raṭṭa-varha-ōdbhavam | sindūra-lā[m] | |
| 10 | chhanam | birudara-siṅgam | śānta-bhujamgam | Raṭṭa-mārttaṇḍam | dhaḥa-muṭṭe- |
| 11 | gaṇḍam | gaṇḍa-tala-pra ¹⁷ hāri | maṇḍalam-gāvam | kaligal-Ādityam | deekāra-dē[vaṁ] |
| 12 | gaṇḍar-ōḍ-ajivam | pisuṇṇiṅga-mulivam | vādyā-vidyādharam | sakaḥa-ka[ḥ] | |
| 13 | dharam | Sarasvatī-karṇa-kupḍalam | karppāra-varham | Siṅgana-Garuḍa-nām-[ā] | |
| 14 | di-samasta-prāṣṭi-sahitam | | śrīman-mahāśāmantan-Eṇeyamm-ara[ṣan-i] | | |
| 15 | ral [i*] | Svasti | Yama-niyama-svādhyāya-japa-hōm-ānushāna-parā[ya] | | |
| 16 | ṇar-appa | | Deyvada ¹⁸ -Mātṭūr-ōḍeya | Madhusūdanayya-pra[ma] | |
| 17 | kla | mahājanam | Raṭṭa-samudrayan-agaḥal-aṁdu | paḍeda | dā[n-ā] |
| 18 | rtta(rttha)m-āvud-onḍoḍ-Ūroḥ-ānōdu | | puṭṭida | daṇḍayam-ellam | kereg-i[ttam] |
| 19 | pratisiddhāyadoḥ-ayvattu | | gadyāna | ponn-ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāram | [baram] |
| 20 | undevud-Id-Eṇega-mahā-nri(nri)patiya | | dānam-Innu | saṁ(san)ryyam-e[nt-endo] | |
| 21 | [d]e \|\| | Om [i*] | Śrī ¹⁹ -rāmā-kucha-kāṭa-ghatṭita-viśāḥ-ōra[h*]stha[ī] | | — — |
| 22 | ✓ | Lakshmi-rāmā-ramaṇiya-dakṣiṇa-bhujam | | kirtty-aṅganā-rū(?) | ✓ — — |
| 23 | — — m | | Kalikāla-kānana-surakṣhōṇjan-end-urvarā-bhā | | — — ✓ ✓ |
| 24 | — ✓ | ndāttan-adhikam | ✓ śrī-Raṭṭa-Nārāyaṇam \|\| | Ele ²⁰ | vairi-kahi[tip] — ✓ |
| 25 | — | ja]ya-vadhū-ōrōṇi-kaḥi-sūtramam | | lalit-ōrōṇa-sudhan(?) | ✓ — ✓ ✓ ✓ |

¹³ From the ink-impression.

¹⁴ Represented by a symbol. So also in line 21, where, however, as usual, the symbol is less elaborate than that at the beginning of the record.

¹⁵ Read *saṁtata*.

¹⁶ Here again, as in the Gudigere inscription, line 10 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 30), and in the Śirūr inscription, we might read *saṁvatsarad-āśrīdhēya*. Also, here there is a blur in the impression which renders it just possible, — though I do not think it is actually the fact, — that the vowel *d* was attached, rather badly, to the *d*; in that case we should be obliged to read *saṁvatsarad-dīrdhēya*; and the puzzling word would be *dīrdha*. The other instances, however, do not support this.

¹⁷ This *pra* was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.

¹⁸ Metre, Śāṇḍilavikrānta

¹⁹ I.e. *devāda*, or *devāda*

²⁰ Metre, Mātṭabhavikrānta

26	—	va]ktrābja-kāśmīramuṇi	chala-nētr-ā[m*]janama[m]	lalāṭa-tiḷa	—	—	—
27	—	litam māduvoḍ-appa	kāvu(Ppba)d-adarim	śrī-Raṭṭa-martta[nḍanam ||]			
28	—	[i]dir-anta	virōdhige	Rāmachandran-embudu	Baḷabha[d]ra	—	—
29	—	Vainatēyan-embudu	baḷa-vairiy-embudu	—	—	—	—
30	—	[e]mbu[d]u	Kali-Karṇan-embu[duma(P)]n-e[m*]budu	—	—	—	—
	—	[u]					

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

While the glorious Jagadēkamalladēva-(Jayasimha III.) (line 8), the asylum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramahatṭhāraka*, the ornament of the family of Satyāśraya (l. 2-3), the glory of the *Chāḷukyas*, is reigning, with the delight of pleasing conversations, at the capital of Poṭṭalakeṛe (l. 4): —

On Sunday, the 5th tithi in the bright fortnight of (the month) Śrāheya-Mārgasīra of the Vikrama saṃvatsara, which is the 962nd Saka year (l. 5):—

While there is the illustrious Mahasāmanta Ereyammarasa (l. 14), — a *Mahāsāmanta* who has attained the *pañcamahākāḍa*; who is the lord of Lattalūr, the best of towns (l. 5); who has the banner of a golden Garuḍa; who is heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivāḷ*; who is born in the Raṭṭa lineage (l. 9); who has the crest²¹ of an elephant; who is a very lion among men of distinction; who is the sun of the Raṭṭas (l. 10); who is a hero in the clash of armies; who protects his country; who is a very sun among brave men; who is the very god of fortunate people; who destroys the armies of heroes; who is incensed with tale-bearers (l. 12); who rains down camphor; and who has the name of Sītṅga-Garuḍa (l. 13): —

The *Mahājanas*, headed by Madhusūdanayya, the *Ūroḍa* of the village of Deyvada-Manṭṭūr (l. 16), — saying “Let us dive into the Raṭṭa ocean,”²² — acquired a grant; *viz.* he gave, for the tank, the whole of the (tax called) *daṇḍāya* (l. 18), as much as accrued in the village; (and he also decreed that), as long as the moon and sun and stars may last, there shall continue (to be given) fifty *gadyānas* of gold, out of the (tax called) *pratisiddhāya*. This is the grant of the great king Erega (l. 20).

The rest of the inscription contains mutilated verses, praising the heroism of Ereyamma or Erega, in which he is called Raṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, or “a Nārāyaṇa among the Raṭṭas” (l. 24), and “the sun of the Raṭṭas,” (l. 27), and is likened to Rāmachandra (l. 28), Baḷabhadra, Vainatēya (l. 29), and the Karṇa of the Kali-age (l. 30).

²¹ *Metre*, Champakamīlā.

²² In the remaining five lines there are traces, more or less clear, of respectively fourteen, twelve, eight, six, and three letters. But I cannot make out any intelligible passages in them; nor can I recognise the metre of them. So it is hardly worth while offering any transcription of them.

²³ The *trivāḷ* and *trivāl* of other Raṭṭa inscriptions.

²⁴ *Māchhena*; see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 151, note 4.

²⁵ See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 24, note 24, “according to Kāśirāja, *sindhura* is changed into *sindhira*.”

²⁶ *Raṭṭa-samudravāṇa-gajal-enda*. I cannot find any other meaning for these words.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 40.)

B. — DATES IN DARK FORTNIGHTS.

1. — Dates in the months Kārttika to Phālguna.

(a). — Dates in Current Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

81. — V. 1209. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 97. Date of a MS. of the *Piṇḍaniryukti*: —

Sarvāt 1209 Kārttika-vadi 12 Soma.

V. 1209 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 8 October, A.D. 1151; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Wednesday, 7 November, A.D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 27 September, A.D. 1152.

amānta: Sunday, 26 October, A.D. 1152; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 47 m. before, and ended 20 h. 55 m. after, mean sunrise.

82. — V. 1296. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 207. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II.: —

(L. 19) Śrīmat(d)-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-samvatsara-śatāshu dvādaśasu shatna(na)vaty-uttarāshu Mārggaśīya-kṛishṇa-chaturdaśyām Ravi-vārē śrīśāmkatō spi || Vikrama-sarvāt 1296 varshē Mārgga-vadi 14 Ravav-ady-ēha śrīmad-Aṇahillapātaka

V. 1296 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 7 November, A.D. 1238; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 27 October, A.D. 1239.

amānta: Saturday, 26 November, A.D. 1239; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Expired Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

83. — V. 1043. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 192. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja: —

(Plate i. L. 8) śrīmad-Aṇahillapātaka-śthān-āvasthitair-asmābhiḥ sūryagrahṇa-parvvaṇi . . .

(Plate ii. L. 10) Samvat 1043 Māgha-vadi 15 Ravana.

V. 1043 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 986; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta: Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 986; no eclipse.

V. 1043 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 2 January A.D. 987; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India, 18 h. 22 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 1 February, A.D. 987; no eclipse.

84.—V. 1177. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Virasimhadēva:—

Saṁvat 1177 Kārttika-vadi amāvāsyā¹ Bavi-dinē Sdy = ēha śrīman-Nalapura-mahādurgē . . . paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Virasimhadēvō vijayī . . .

V. 1177 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 6 October, A.D. 1119; the new-moon *tithi* ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 4 November, A.D. 1119.

V. 1177 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 24 October, A.D. 1120; the new-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, visible in India).

amānta: Monday, 22 November, A.D. 1120; the new-moon *tithi* ended 18 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

85. — V. 1208. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 49, and Plate xii. A. Inscription on jamb of Upper Gate at Ajaygaḍh, of the reign of the Chandēlla Madanavarman:—

(L. 1.) . . . Saṁvat 1208 Mārgga-vadi 15 Sa(ṁ)nanu.

V. 1208 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1150.

amānta: Wednesday, 20 December, A.D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 10 November, A.D. 1151; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 9 December, A.D. 1151; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.

86. — V. 1284. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 52. Date of a MS. of the *Daśavaiṭṭika-sūtra*, &c., of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jaitrasimhadēva:—

Saṁvat 1284 varṣhē Phālgun-Amāvāsyā¹ Sōmē ady-ēha śrīmad-Āghāṭadurgē samastā-rajāvalī-samalaṁkṛita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jaitrasimhadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

V. 1284 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1227.

amānta: Friday, 19 March, A.D. 1227.

V. 1284 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 7 February, A.D. 1228; the new-moon *tithi* ended 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 7 March, A.D. 1228; the new-moon *tithi* ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

87. — V. 1296. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V. p. 188, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 119. Inscription in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Kīragrāma:—

(L. 1.) . . . Saṁvat 1296 varṣhē Phālguna-vadi 5 Bavau Kīragrāmē.

V. 1296 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 26 January, A.D. 1239.

amānta: Thursday, 24 February, A.D. 1239.

V. 1296 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 15 January, A.D. 1240; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: the 5th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 26 m. and ended 23 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 13 February, A.D. 1240.

(Professor Bühler translates the word *varṣhē* of the date by 'in the (civil) year,' "because sometimes *laukika-varṣhē* appears in its stead after dates of the Vikrama era." — I have not found the expression *laukika-varṣhē* in any of the dates examined by me).

¹ Dr. Hall has changed this unnecessarily to *amāvāsyā*.

88. — V. 1372. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 54, and Plate xiv. O. Inscription on pillar of gate at Ajaygaḍh : —

(L. 14.) . . . Sa[m]vat 1372 P[au]ṣa-vadi 10 Saṇau.

V. 1372 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 3 December, A.D. 1314.

amānta : Wednesday, 1 January, A.D. 1315.

V. 1372 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 22 November, A.D. 1315 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Monday, 22 December, A.D. 1315.

89. — V. 1451. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 50. Date of a MS. of the *Kammapayadi* : —

Saṁvat 1451 varṣa Phāguṇa-vadi 12 Budhā ady-ṭha Stambhatīrthā . . .

V. 1451 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 29 January, A.D. 1394 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 27 February, A.D. 1394.

V. 1451 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 18 March, A.D. 1395 ; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

90. — V. 1479. — *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S. Vol. XX. p. 553. Date of a MS. of Durgasimha's *Līlāgaritā-vṛtti* (written in a Bengali hand) : —

Bṛi-Vikramasēnasy-ātita-saṁ 1479 Mārgaśīrṣa-badi 14 Śukrā Kapiśā-grāmā likhitam.

V. 1479 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 24 November, A.D. 1421.

amānta : Tuesday, 23 December, A.D. 1421.

V. 1479 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 13 November, A.D. 1422 ; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 13 December, A.D. 1422.

91. — V. 1503. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwālior : —

(L. 1.) . . . Saṁvatu 1503 varṣa Phāguṇa-vadi 10 Śu(ṣu)kra-di[va]śa.

V. 1503 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1446 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : the 10th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 33 m. and ended 22 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 20 February, A.D. 1446.

V. 1503 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 10 February, A.D. 1447 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : the 10th *tithi* of the dark half began 2 h. 16 m. and ended 23 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 11 March, A.D. 1447.

92. — V. 1693. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 174. Date of a MS. of the *Praṇḍha-maṇḍana* : —

Likhitam Vārāṇasī-sthānāt Vyāsa-mādhavaḥ || Saṁ 1693 varṣa Māgha-vadi 1 Ravṣu.

V. 1693 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 13 January, A.D. 1636.

amānta : Thursday, 11 February, A.D. 1636.

V. 1693 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 January, A.D. 1637; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 31 January, A.D. 1637.

93. — V. 1715. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 22. Date of a MS. of the *Suparṇādhyaṃya* : —

Saṃvat 1715 Kārttika-vadi 4 Bhaumā Vārāṇasīyām likhitam.

V. 1715 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 16 October, A.D. 1657.

amānta : Sunday, 15 November, A.D. 1657.

V. 1715 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 5 October, A.D. 1658; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 4 November, A.D. 1658.

94. — V. 1717. — Date of the Deccan College Śāraḍa MS. of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* : —

Śrī-nṛpa-Vikramāditya-rājyasya gat-ābdāḥ 1717 śrī-Saptarāhi-matē saṃvat 36 Pau. [ve.] ti. 3 Ravau Tishya-nakshatrē.sampūrṇā.

V. 1717 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 21 November, A.D. 1659; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 21 December, A.D. 1659.

V. 1717 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 9 December, A.D. 1660; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m., and the *nakshatra* was Tishya up to 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 8 January, A.D. 1661.

95. — V. 1747. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), p. 443. Date of a MS. of Vinayarāma's commentary on the *Kīrtīśrjūṇya* : —

Saṃvat 1747 varāḥ Phālguna(na)-māsē kṛishṇa-pakṣhē aṣṭamyaṁ tithau Kuja-vāsarē likhitam . . . śrī-Karṇapura-varē.

V. 1747 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 22 January, A.D. 1690; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 21 February, A.D. 1690.

V. 1747 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 10 February, A.D. 1691; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 12 March, A.D. 1691.

96. — V. 1875. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarī : —

Tasminn-ēva śakē (i.e. bhāṇa-svara-nāga-bhū-mitē 1875 śakē) Mārga-kṛishṇa-pañchamyaṁ Budhē.

V. 1875 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 29 November, new style, A.D. 1817.

amānta : Sunday, 28 December, new style, A.D. 1817.

V. 1875 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 18 November, new style, A.D. 1818; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 18 December, new style, A.D. 1818.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

97. — V. 1303. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 40. Date of a MS. of the *Loṅkāraṅga-sūtra*, of the reign of the Chaulukya Viśaladēva :—

Saṁvat 1303 varshē Mārga-vadi 12 Gurau ady-ēha śrīmad-Aṇahilapāpakē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Viśaladēva-rājyē mahāmātya-śrī-Tējahpāla-pratipattau.

V. 1303 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 November, A.D. 1245; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 17 December, A.D. 1245.

V. 1303 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 6 November, A.D. 1246.

amānta : Thursday, 6 December, A.D. 1246; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

98. — V. 1315. — *List of Antiquarian Remains*, Bo. Proc., p. 186. Stone inscription at Siyāl Bēt, Bābariawād, Kāthiāwād :—

Saṁvat 1315 varshē Phāgūna-vadi 7 Sansu Anurādhā-nakṣatrē sdy-ēha śrī-Madhumatyām . . .

V. 1315 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 27 January, A.D. 1258; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 26 February, A.D. 1258.

V. 1315 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 January, A.D. 1259; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 15 February, A.D. 1259; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. and the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā up to 19 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

99. — V. 1322. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 109. Date of a MS. of *Aṇaḍa's Viśākṣasūjarī* :—

Chakshur-lōchana-viṣṭap-Ātrinayana-prōdbhūta-saṁvatsarē
māsē Kārtika-nāmnī Chandra-sahitē kṛishṇa-āṣṭami-vāsarē !

V. 1322 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 14 October, A.D. 1264; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 18 November, A.D. 1264.

V. 1322 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 4 October, A.D. 1265; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Monday, 2 November, A.D. 1265; the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

100. — V. 1536. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 168. Date of a MS. of the commentary *Prasāda* on the *Prakriyā-kauṇḍī* :—

Saṁvat 1536 varshē Māgha-vadi śkādāñ Ravau śrīmad-Ānandapura-sthānōttamē . . .

V. 1536 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 18 January, A.D. 1479; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 17 February, A.D. 1479.

V. 1536 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 January, A.D. 1480; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 6 February, A.D. 1480; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

101. — V. 1699. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Third Report* (1883-84), Notes, Corrections and Additions, p. vii.; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 252. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Sūbhāna-stutayaḥ*: —

Saṁvat 16 Āshāḍhādī¹ 99 varshē Phālguna-vadi 11 tithau Sōma-dinē.

V. 1699 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 15 February, A.D. 1642; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Wednesday, 16 March, A.D. 1642.

V. 1699 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 5 February, A.D. 1643; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Monday, 6 March, A.D. 1643; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

102. — V. 1738. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 71. Date of a MS. of the *Bṛīhi-brahmaṇṣa*: —

Saṁvat 1738 varshē Phālguna-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 9 Sōmē Avaraḡgāvāda-madhyē.

V. 1738 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 2 February, A.D. 1681.

amānta: Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1681.

V. 1738 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 22 January, A.D. 1682; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Monday, 20 February, A.D. 1682; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of current years or amānta dates of expired years.

103. — V. 1229. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 84. Date of a MS. of Dharmottaraśāhīya's *Nyāyavindu-śūlā*: —

Saṁvat 1229 varshē Mārga-vadi 9 Sōmē.

V. 1229 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 25 October, A.D. 1171; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Tuesday, 23 November, A.D. 1171.

V. 1229 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 12 November, A.D. 1172.

amānta: Monday, 11 December, A.D. 1172; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

104. — V. 1253. — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 229. Bāwah copper-plate inscription of the Mahā-rāṣṭra Salakhapavarmadēva, of the time of the Chōdi ruler Vijayadēva: —

(L. 18) . . . saṁvatsarāṇāṁ sa[m]vata(t) 1253 Mārgaśīra-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē sapta-myām tithau Sukra-dinē Kakarḍḍyāṁ sthānē.

V. 1253 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 27 October, A.D. 1195; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Saturday, 25 November, A.D. 1195.

V. 1253 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 14 November, A.D. 1196.

¹ Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has informed me that this is the actual reading of the MS.

amānta : Friday, 13 December, A.D. 1196 ; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

(*Loc. cit.* p. 228 I have given only one of the possible European equivalents of the Indian date, probably the wrong one).

105. — V. 1359. — My *Report* for 1880-81. Date of a MS. of Jinadāsagani's *Vīśvanītiha-chuṇṇi* : —

Saṁvat 1359 varshē Mārga-vadi 5 Sōma-vārē.

V. 1359 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 23 October, A.D. 1301 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 21 November, A.D. 1301.

V. 1359 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 11 November, A.D. 1302.

amānta : Monday, 10 December, A.D. 1302 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

106. — V. 1432. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 208. Date of a MS. of Prajñānanda's *Tattvālōka-śikā* : —

Saṁvat 1432 varshē Mārgaśīrshē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē navamyām tithau Sōma-vāsarē ady-
ēha śrīmad-Aṇahillapattana-vāstavyēna Śrīpatinā pustakam-alēkhi.

V. 1432 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 30 October, A.D. 1374 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 28 November, A.D. 1374.

V. 1432 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 18 November, A.D. 1375.

amānta : Monday, 17 December, A.D. 1375 ; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

107. — V. 1535. — Date of a MS. of the *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa* : —

Saṁvat 1535 varshē Pauṣa-māsē kṛishṇa-pakshē 13 trayōdaśyām Budhē sdy-ēha śrī-Vṛiddhanagarē.

V. 1535 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 3 December, A.D. 1477 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 2 January, A.D. 1478.

V. 1535 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 22 December, A.D. 1478.

amānta : Wednesday, 20 January, A.D. 1479 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

2. — Dates in the months Chaitra to Āsvina.

(a). — Dates in Northern Current Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

108. — V. 1202. — *List of Antiquarian Remains Bo. Pres.*, p. 180. Stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāthiāwāḍ, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla : —

Śrīmad-Vikrama-saṁvat 1202 tathā śrī-Sinhā-saṁvat 32 Āsvina-vadi 13 Sōmē.

Northern V. 1202 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday,³ 28 August, A.D. 1144 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

³ I would remind the reader that here I am merely giving the European equivalents of the Hindu dates which are yielded by the ordinary rules and tables. It will be matter for further inquiry, below, whether, in the case of dates like No. 108 and No. 109, the European dates printed in antique type are really the true equivalent of the Hindu dates.

amānta : Wednesday, 27 September, A.D. 1144.

Northern V. 1202 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 16 September, A.D. 1145.

amānta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half began Monday, 15 October, A.D. 1145, 3 h. 58 m., and ended Tuesday, 16 October, 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1202 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 September, A.D. 1146.

amānta : Saturday, 5 October, A.D. 1146.

109. — V. 1256. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 71. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(L. 17) . . . Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-otpādita-saṁvatsara-śatēshu dvādaśasu śhatpāñchāśad-uttarēshu Bhādrapada-māsa-kṛishṇa-pakṣa-āmāvasyāyām Bhō(bhau)ma-vārē str-āmkaṭō spi samvat 1256 lau° Bhādrapada-vadi 15 Bhaumō sayām saṁvatsara -māsa-pakṣa-vāra-pūrvvī-kāyām tithā-ady-ēha śrīmad-Apāhilaṭākaē smāvasyā-parvāpi smātva . . .

Northern V. 1256 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 4 August, A.D. 1198; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. (A solar eclipse, not visible in India).

amānta : Thursday, 3 September, A.D. 1198.

Northern V. 1256 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 23 August, A.D. 1199.

amānta : the 15th *tithi* of the dark half began Tuesday, 21 September, A.D. 1199, 0 h. 34 m., and ended Wednesday, 22 September, 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain).

Southern V. 1256 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 11 August, A.D. 1200.

amānta : Sunday, 10 September, A.D. 1200.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

None.

(b). — Dates in Northern Expired (or Southern Current) Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

110. — V. 960. — *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 202. Stone inscription from Tērahi : —

(L. 1). Sam [11 P] 960 Bhādrapad[a]-vadi 4 Sanaṁ 11 Ady-ēha Madhuvēnyām . . .

Northern V. 960 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 27 July, A.D. 902.

amānta : Wednesday, 25 August, A.D. 902.

In northern V. 960 expired Bhādrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhādrapada lasted from 26 July, 1 h. 45 m., to 26 August, 2 h. 37 m., A.D. 903, and there were new-moons on 26 July, 22 h. 48 m., and 25 August, 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 16 July, A.D. 903, when the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : Monday, 15 August, A.D. 903; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Tuesday, 13 September, A.D. 903.

Southern V. 960 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 8 August, A.D. 904.

amānta : Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 904; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

* In all cases like the above, the day put down for the first month, *amānta*, is of course also the day for the second month, *pūrṇimānta*.

111. — V. 1011. — Professor Bendall's *Journey*, p. 82. Stone inscription at Ambâr in Rājputāna: —

Saṁvat 1011 Bhādrapadā(da-)vadi 11 Su(su)kṛa-dina . . .

Northern V. 1011 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 8 August, A.D. 953.

amānta: Tuesday, 6 September, A.D. 953.

Northern V. 1011 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 28 July, A.D. 954; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Sunday, 27 August, A.D. 954.

Southern V. 1011 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 16 August, A.D. 955; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: the 11th *tithi* of the dark half began 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 14 September, and ended 0 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 15 September, A.D. 955.

112. — V. 1084. — *anta*, Vol. XVIII. p. 35. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārāja-dakṛāja* Trilōchanapālādēva: —

(L. 8). . . adya pūṇyē-hani dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrāntau . . .

(L. 16). . . Saṁ 1084 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 4.

Northern V. 1084 current, —

pūrṇimānta: 6 July, A.D. 1026.

amānta: 5 August, A.D. 1026.

Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti: 25 June, A.D. 1026.

Northern V. 1084 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: the 4th *tithi* of the dark half began 0 h. 55 m. before mean sunrise of 25 June and ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of 26 June, A.D. 1027; and the Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti took place on 25 June, 16 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: 25 July, A.D. 1027.

In southern V. 1084 expired Śrāvāṇa was intercalary; for the solar Śrāvāṇa lasted from 24 June, 22 h. 44 m., to 26 July, 10 h. 1 m., A.D. 1028, and there were new-moons on 25 June, 6 h. 51 m., and 24 July, 15 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Śrāvāṇa was, —

pūrṇimānta: 14 June, A.D. 1028;

amānta: 13 July, A.D. 1028; and of the second Śrāvāṇa, —

amānta: 12 August, A.D. 1028.

Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti: 24 June, A.D. 1028.

113. — V. 1194. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 36, and Plate x. E.; and a rubbing supplied by Dr. Burgess. Inscription in cell near Nilakanṭha temple at Kalāñjar: —

(L. 7). . . Saṁvat 1194 Chaitra-vadi 5 Gurau.

Northern V. 1194 current, —

amānta: Tuesday, 24 March, A.D. 1136.

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 12 February, A.D. 1137; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In northern V. 1194 expired Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 21 February, 20 h. 58 m., to 24 March, 5 h. 6 m., A.D. 1137, and there were new-moons on 21 February, 21 h. 20 m., and 23 March, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. The 5th of the dark half of the first Chaitra was, —

amānta: Sunday, 14 March, A.D. 1137; and of the second Chaitra, —

amānta: Monday, 12 April, A.D. 1137.

pūrṇimānta : Thursday,* 8 March, A.D. 1188; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1194 expired, —

amānta : Saturday, 2 April, A.D. 1188.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 36, has read the name of the week-day *Budhaw*; but the rubbing has distinctly *Guraw*).

114. — V. 1270. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 32 and 33. Bhōpāl copper-plate inscription of the Paramāra Arjunavarmadēva :—

. . . śrī-Bhṛigukacchokha-samāvāsitair-asmābhiḥ saptaśy-ādihika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarē Vaiśākha-vadi amāvāsyaśyām sūryagrahaṇa-parvāṇi . . .

. . . samvat 1270 Vaiśākha-vadi 15 Sōmē.

Northern V. 1270 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 3 April, A.D. 1212; no eclipse.

amānta : Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1212; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India.

Northern V. 1270 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 22 April, A.D. 1213; a total solar eclipse, visible in India, 11 h. 43 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 10 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 21 May, A.D. 1213; no eclipse.

Southern V. 1270 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1214; a solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta : Sunday, 11 May, A.D. 1214; no eclipse.

115. — V. 1306. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81. Date of a MS. of Rāmachandra's *Nirbhayabhāṣa-vyākhyāna*, of the reign of Udayasimhadēva :—

Samvat 1306 varshē Bhādravā-vadi 6 Ravāv-ady-ēha śrī-mahārājakula-śrī-Udaya-simhadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē.

Northern V. 1306 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 12 August, A.D. 1248.

amānta : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1248.

Northern V. 1306 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1249; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1249.

Southern V. 1306 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1250.

amānta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1250; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

116. — V. 1390. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 143, and Plate xxix. A. Inscription on pillar at 'Kevati-Kund' :—

(L. 4).—Samvat 1390 samayē Bhādra[myai?]-vadi 4 Śa(ka)nsau diṇē.

Northern V. 1390 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 10 August, A.D. 1332.

amānta : Wednesday, 9 September, A.D. 1332.

Northern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 31 July, A.D. 1333; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 29 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 20 July, A.D. 1334.

amānta : Friday, 19 August, A.D. 1334; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

* This would also be the proper equivalent for a pūrṇimānta Chaitra of Southern V. 1194 expired.

117. — V. 1581. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V. p. 144, and Plate xli. H. Inscription on pillar at Delhi : —

(L. 1). . . Sa[m*]vat 1581 va° Chaitra-vadi 13 Bhauma-dinô.

Northern V. 1581 current, —

amānta : Monday, 13 April, A.D. 1523.

pûrṇimānta : Thursday, 3 March, A.D. 1524.

Northern V. 1581 expired, —

amānta : Friday, 1 April, A.D. 1524.

pûrṇimānta : Tuesday,* 21 March, A.D. 1525 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1581 expired, —

amānta : Thursday, 20 April, A.D. 1525.

118. — V. 1652. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 229. Date of the composition of Dêvavijayagapi's *Râma-charitra*, of the reign of the emperor Akbar :⁷ —

Saṁvat 1652 varshê Âsvina-mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê dasamyām tithau Guru-Pushya-yôgê śrīman-Marusthalyām jyêshtha-sthityām sthithena paṁ° śrī-Dêvavijayêna śrī-Mâlapura-nagarê śrīmad-Akabhara-râjyê virachitam śrī-Râmâyanam.

Northern V. 1652 current, —

pûrṇimānta : Friday, 30 August, A.D. 1594.

amānta : Sunday, 29 September, A.D. 1594.

Northern V. 1652 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : Thursday, 18 September, A.D. 1595 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 19 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 18 October, A.D. 1595.

Southern V. 1652 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : Tuesday, 7 September, A.D. 1596.

amānta : Wednesday, 6 October, A.D. 1596 ; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise ; *nakshatra* Âślêshâ.

119. — V. 1717. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet (Compare *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 136). Stone inscription at Ohambâ : —

(L. 1). . . Śrīman-nripati-Vikramāditya-saṁvatsarê 1717 śrī-Salivâhana-sakê 1582 śrī-Sastra-saṁvatsarê 36 Vaiśâkha(kha)-vadi trayôdasīyām Vu(bu)dha-vâsarê | Mâshê-rka-saṁkr[â]ntau . . .

Northern V. 1717 current, —

pûrṇimānta : Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1659.

amānta : Sunday, 8 May, A.D. 1659.

Mâsha-saṁkrānti : Tuesday, 29 March, A.D. 1659.

Northern V. 1717 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : Wednesday, 28 March, A.D. 1660 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 37 m., and the Mâsha-saṁkrānti took place 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1660.

Southern V. 1717 expired, —

pûrṇimānta : Tuesday, 16 April, A.D. 1661.

amānta : Thursday, 16 May, A.D. 1661.

Mâsha-saṁkrānti : Thursday, 28 March, A.D. 1661.

120. — V. 1874. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 193. Nepâl stone inscription of Lalitatriparasundarî : —

Tasminn-êva sakê (i. e. vêda-sapta-gaj-êndu-mitê 1874 Vaikramê sakê) Bhâdra-kṛishṇa-navamyām Suklâ.

* This would also be the proper equivalent for a pûrṇimānta Chaitra of Southern V. 1581 expired.

⁷ A.D. 1536 — 1606.

Northern V. 1874 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 17 August, new style, A.D. 1816.

amānta : Monday, 16 September, new style, A.D. 1816.

Northern V. 1874 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 5 September, new style, A.D. 1817; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 4 October, new style, A.D. 1817.

Southern V. 1874 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 25 August, new style, A.D. 1818.

amānta : Thursday, 24 September, new style, A.D. 1818; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

121. — V. 1877. — *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 194. Nepāl stone inscription of Lalitatripurasundarī : —
Pātāla-lōka-vasu-vasumatī-śakē Jyāshṭa(śhṭha)-krishṇa-daśamyām Ravau.

Northern V. 1877 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 19 May, new style, A.D. 1819.

amānta : Thursday, 17 June, new style, A.D. 1819.

In northern V. 1877 expired Jyāishṭha was intercalary; for the solar Jyāishṭha lasted from 11 May, 20 h. 51 m., to 12 June, 6 h. 32 m., new style, A.D. 1820, and there were new-moons on 12 May, 8 h., and 10 June, 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The 10th of the dark half of the first Jyāishṭha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 May, new style, A.D. 1820, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : Tuesday, 6 June, new style, A.D. 1820; and of the second Jyāishṭha, —

amānta : Wednesday, 5 July, new style, A.D. 1820.

Southern V. 1877 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 May, new style, A.D. 1821.

amānta : Monday, 25 June, new style, A.D. 1821; the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

122. — V. 1261. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 45. Date of a MS. of Mānatungastri's *Siddhajayanti-charitra*,* of the reign of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

Svasti śrī-Vikrama-narēndra-samvat 1261 varshē Āśvina-vadi 7 Ravau Pushya-nakshatré Subha-yōgē śrīmad-Aṇahilapāṭakē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhīmadēva-kalyāṇaviyaya-rājyē pravarttamānē . . .

Northern V. 1261 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 30 August, A.D. 1203; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Monday, 29 September, A.D. 1203; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1261 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 17 September, A.D. 1204.

amānta : Sunday, 17 October, A.D. 1204; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 57 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya up to 11 h. 50 m., and the *yōga* Subha up to 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1261 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 7 September, A.D. 1205.

amānta : Thursday, 6 October, A.D. 1205.

* See below, No. 123.

123. — V. 1350. — Professor Bhāṭṭārkar's *Third Report* (1888-84), p. 326. Date of the composition of Jayanta's *Kāvyaprakāśa-dīpikā*, of the reign of the Vāghela Śāraṅgadēva : —

Śrīḥ saṁvat 1350 varahē Jyēṣṭhā-vadi 8 Bavau : ady-ēha Āṣṭapallī-saṁvāsaita-śrīmad-vijayakṣatakē sakal-ārātibhūpāla-maulimukut-ālamkāra-bhūṣhita - pādapaṁkaja - mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śāraṅgadēva-kalyāṇavijayarājyē . . .

Northern V. 1350 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 6 May, A.D. 1292.

amānta : Wednesday, 4 June, A.D. 1292.

Northern V. 1350 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 25 April, A.D. 1293; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 24 May, A.D. 1293; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1350 expired Jyēṣṭhā was intercalary; for the solar Jyēṣṭhā lasted from 25 April, 18 h. 28 m., to 27 May, 8 h. 59 m., A.D. 1294, and there were new-moons on 27 April, 1 h. 17 m., and on 26 May, 13 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise. The 3rd of the dark half of the first Jyēṣṭhā was —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 14 April, A. D. 1294;

amānta : Thursday, 13 May, A.D. 1294; and of the second Jyēṣṭhā, —

amānta : Saturday, 12 June, A.D. 1294, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise.

124. — V. 1553. — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 266. Stone inscription at Borsad stepwell, Khēḍā (Kaira) : —

(L. 1) . . . Saṁvat 1553 varahē Śrāvapa-vadi 13 Bavau ady-ēha śrī-Stambhatārtha-vistavya . . .

Northern V. 1553 current, —

pūrṇimānta : the 13th *tithi* of the dark half lasted from 2 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 19 July, to sunrise of Monday, 20 July, A.D. 1495.

amānta : Tuesday, 18 August, A.D. 1495.

Northern V. 1553 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 8 July, A.D. 1496.

amānta : Sunday, 7 August, A.D. 1496; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1553 expired Śrāvapa was intercalary; for the solar Śrāvapa lasted from 29 June, 4 h. 54 m., to 30 July, 16 h. 11 m., A.D. 1497, and there were new-moons on 30 June, 5 h. 12 m., and on 29 July, 13 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise. The 13th of the dark half of the first Śrāvapa was, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 28 June, A.D. 1497;

amānta : Thursday, 27 July, A.D. 1497; and of the second Śrāvapa, —

amānta : Saturday, 26 August, A.D. 1497, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(c). — Dates in Southern Expired Years.

(A). — Pūrṇimānta Dates.

125. — V. 1192. — *Jour. Bōng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 322; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI, p. 85, and Plate x, D. Rock inscription at Kālāṅjar : —

(L. 4) . . . Saṁvat 1192 Jyēṣṭhā-vadi 9 Bavau.

In northern V. 1192 current Jyēṣṭhā was intercalary; for the solar Jyēṣṭhā lasted from 24 April, 8 h. 41 m., to 25 May, 18 h. 22 m., A.D. 1134, and there were new-moons on 26 April, 1 h. 59 m., and on 25 May, 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. The 9th of the dark half of the first Jyēṣṭhā was, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 19 April, A.D. 1134;

amānta : Saturday, 19 May, A.D. 1184, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Jyāishṭha, —

amānta : Monday, 18 June, A.D. 1184, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise, —

Northern V. 1182 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 8 May, A.D. 1185.

amānta : Friday, 7 June, A.D. 1185.

Southern V. 1182 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 26 April, A.D. 1186; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Tuesday, 26 May, A.D. 1186.

126. — V. 1225. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Phulwariya (?) stone inscription of the Jāpīlyā Nāyaka Pratāpadhavalā :^{*} —

(L. 8). — Saṁvat 1225 Vaiśā(ḥ)kha-vadi 12 Gurau Jāpīlyā-nāyaka-tri-Pratāpadhavalāsyā kī[r]tīr = iyaṁ ||

Northern V. 1225 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 18 April, A.D. 1167.

amānta : Wednesday, 17 May, A.D. 1167; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 7 April, A.D. 1168.

amānta : Monday, 6 May, A.D. 1168.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 27 March, A.D. 1169; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 25 April, A.D. 1169; the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

127. — V. 1240. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 72, and Plate xxii.; and a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription from wall of Fort at Mahōba : —

(L. 15) . . . Vyōm-āṇṇav-ārka-saṁkhyātē Sāhasārthakasya vatsarē . . .

(L. 17) . . . Saṁvat 1240 Āshāḍha-vadi 9 Śo[m]ṣe.

Northern V. 1240 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 28 May, A.D. 1182.

amānta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1182.

Northern V. 1240 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 15 June, A.D. 1183.

amānta : Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1183.

Southern V. 1240 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 4 June, A.D. 1184; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. after mean sunrise.

amānta : the 9th *tithi* of the dark half began 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 3 July, A.D. 1184.

128. — V. 1318. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Stone inscription from the walls of the Fort of Jhānd : —

(L. 19). . . . Saṁvat 1318 Śrāvapa-vadi 2 Vu(bu)ḍha-dinē.

Northern V. 1318 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 June, A.D. 1260.

amānta : Sunday, 25 July, A.D. 1260.

^{*} See below, No. 143.

Northern V. 1318 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1261; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Friday, 15 July, A.D. 1261.

Southern V. 1318 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 5 July, A.D. 1262; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Thursday, 8 August, A.D. 1262; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

129. — V. 1320. — *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 242, and Vol. XVI. p. 147. Verāval stone inscription of the reign of the Vāghēla Arjunadēva: —

(L. 2). Sri-Viśvanātha-pratīva(ba)ddha-tan(nau)janānām vā(bā)dhakara-sāla-Maharh-mada-sarīvat 662 tathā śrī-nripa-[VI]krama-sarī 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-sarī 945 tathā śrī-Siṅgha-sarī 151 varṣe Āśhādha-vadi 18 Ravāv-ady-ēha śrīmat(d). Arjunadēva-pravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājyē iha śrī-Sōmanāthadēvapattanē . . .

Northern V. 1320 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 16 June, A.D. 1262.

amānta: Saturday, 15 July, A.D. 1262; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1320 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 5 June, A.D. 1263.

amānta: Wednesday, 4 July, A.D. 1263.

In southern V. 1320 expired Āśhādha was intercalary; for the solar Āśhādha lasted from 26 May, 9 h. 41 m., to 27 June, 0 h. 20 m., A.D. 1264, and there were new-moons on 27 May, 1 h. 34 m., and on 25 June, 9 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. The 13th of the dark half of the first Āśhādha was, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 25 May, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta: Monday, 23 June, A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Āśhādha, —

amānta: Tuesday, 22 July, A.D. 1264.

130. — V. 1490. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Halāyudha's *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, of the reign of the Sultān Ahamada¹⁰: —

Saṁvat 1490 varṣe Vi(vai)śākha-vadi 9 navamyaṁ tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē | ady-ēha śrī-Vaṭapadra-maṇḍala-karaṇē | suratrāpa-śrī-Ahamada-vijayarājyē | malika-śrī-Mahamada-Īdala-pratipattau ||

Northern V. 1490 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 26 March, A.D. 1432.

amānta: Thursday, 24 April, A.D. 1432.

Northern V. 1490 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 14 April, A.D. 1433.

amānta: Wednesday, 13 May, A.D. 1433.

Southern V. 1490 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 3 April, A.D. 1434; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Monday, 3 May, A.D. 1434.

131. — V. 1503. — Professor Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 70. Date of a MS. of the *Kālachakra-tantra*: —

Paramabhaṭṭarak-ṣṭyādi-rājāvali pūrvavat śrīmad-Vikramādityadēvapādānām-

¹⁰ Sultān Ahmad, A.D. 1410 — 1442; Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, Index.

atita-rājyē saṁ 1503 Bhādra-vadi 13 Budhō . . . likhit-ēyam Magadhadeśīya-Kajhāragrāma-
ś(ś)anika-kārapakāyastha-śrī-Jayarāmadattē-ēti | Kārakī-grām-āvasthitēna ||

Northern V. 1503 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1445.

amānta : Tuesday, 31 August, A.D. 1445 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1503 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1446.

amānta : Monday, 19 September, A.D. 1446.

Southern V. 1503 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 9 August, A.D. 1447 ; the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Friday, 8 September, A.D. 1447.

152. — V. 1538. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 217. Date of a MS. of an *Ākhyā-
tāvacchēri* on the *Haima-vyākaraṇa* : —

Saṁvat 1538 varshē Śrāvāṇa-vadi 1 Sōmē Śārangapūra-nagarē likhitam.

Northern V. 1538 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 23 June, A.D. 1480.

amānta : Saturday, 22 July, A.D. 1480.

Northern V. 1538 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 12 July, A.D. 1481.

amānta : Friday, 10 August, A.D. 1481.

Southern V. 1538 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 1 July, A.D. 1482 ; the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 17 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 31 July, A.D. 1482.

(B). — Amānta Dates.

153. — V. 994. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 176. Stone inscription from Siyaḍḍi : —
(L. 26). . . . Saṁvat 994 Vaiśāk(ś)kha-vadi 5 sa[m*]krāntau.

Northern V. 994 current, —

pūrṇimānta : 16 March, A.D. 936.

amānta : 14 April, A.D. 936.

Māśha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrānti on 22 April, A.D. 936.

Northern V. 994 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 4 April, A.D. 937.

amānta : 3 May, A.D. 937.

Māśha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, and Vṛisha-saṁkrānti on 22 April, A.D. 937.

Southern V. 994 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : 24 March, A.D. 938 ; Māśha-saṁkrānti on 22 March, A.D. 938.

amānta : 22 April, A.D. 938 ; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise ; and the Vṛisha-saṁkrānti took place on the same day, 15 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

154. — V. 1100. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 52, and Plate vi. ; Vol. XX., Plate x. *Ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 10, and a photo-lithograph supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Byānā stone inscription of the prince Vijayādhirāja : —

(L. 6). . . . Nāśam yātu śatam sahasra-sahitam saṁvat-sarāṇām drutam | mā[yāp]-
Bhādrapadaḥ sa bhadrā-padaṁ māsah saṁkrāntu | s-asy-aiva kshayam-ētu Sōma-sa[hi]tā
kṛishṇā dvitīyā tithih . . .

(L. 17). . . . Saṁ 1100 Bhādra-vadi 2 Chaturdśē kalyāṇaka-di[nē].

Northern V. 1100 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 6 August, A.D. 1042.

amānta : Saturday, 4 September, A.D. 1042.

Northern V. 1100 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 26 July, A.D. 1043; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 25 August, A.D. 1043.

In southern V. 1100 expired Bhādrapada was intercalary; for the solar Bhādrapada lasted from 26 July, 13 h. 28 m., to 26 August, 14 h. 15 m., A.D. 1044, and there were new-moons on 27 July, 4 h. 58 m., and on 25 August, 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise. The 2nd of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 15 July, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise;

amānta : Monday, 18 August, A.D. 1044, when the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Wednesday, 12 September, A.D. 1044.

(The date accordingly belongs to the *adhika* Bhādrapada, and this I understand to be indicated by my conjectural reading *māyā-Bhādrapadaḥ* 'the false Bhādrapada').

135. — V. 1225. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XI p. 125, and Plate xxxvii., 2. Pillar inscription at Jaunpur, of the reign of Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj (?): —

(Line 1). — Samvat 1225 Chaitra-vadi 5 Va(bu)dhē.

Northern V. 1225 current, —

amānta : Tuesday, 11 April, A.D. 1167; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 29 February, A.D. 1168; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 23 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1225 expired, —

amānta : Saturday, 30 March, A.D. 1168.

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 18 February, A.D. 1169; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

amānta : Wednesday, 19 March, A.D. 1169; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

136. — V. 1260. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 42. Date of the composition of Malayaprabhasūri's commentary on Mānatūṅgaśrī's *Siddhajayanti-charitra*: —

Dvādaśa-varsha-kāśāhu kṛtī-Vikramatō gāthāhu śhaṣṭitāmē |

varshē Jyēṣṭhē māse Bravaṇe bhē kṛishṇa-paṇchamyaṁ ||

Jivādi-vishaya-saṁśaya-tamō-pahār-aikatarapi-ruchi-ruchirē |

yōgē ch-Aimdrē siddhāv-iyam Jayantī-kathā rachitā ||

Northern V. 1260 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 13 May, A.D. 1202.

amānta : Wednesday, 12 June, A.D. 1202.

Northern V. 1260 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1203.

amānta : Sunday, 1 June, A.D. 1203.

Southern V. 1260 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 21 April, A.D. 1204.

amānta : Thursday, 20 May, A.D. 1204; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 50 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Bravaṇa up to 17 h. 4 m., and the *yōga* Indra up to 14 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

(I believe that the day of Guru or Brihaspati, i. e. Thursday, is indicated by the first half of the second verse of the date).

137. — V. 1298. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 118. Date of a MS. of Hēmaçhandra's *Sabbānuśāsana* :—

Saivāt 1298 varshē dvitīya-Bhādrapada-vadi 7 Gurau . . . Vijāpurē.

Bhādrapada was intercalary in southern V. 1298 expired; for in that year the solar Bhādrapada lasted from 28 July, 19 h., to 28 August, 19 h. 52 m., A.D. 1242, and there were new-moons on 29 July, 6 h. 37 m., and on 27 August, 18 h. after mean sunrise. The 7th of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada was, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 20 July, A.D. 1242 ;

amānta : Tuesday, 19 August, A.D. 1242 ; and of the second Bhādrapada, —

amānta : Thursday, 18 September, A. D. 1242, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

138. — V. 1317. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Viśaladēva :—

(L. 1) . . . Śrīmad-Vikrama-kal-ātita-saptadaśādhika-trayōdaśatika-saṃvatsarē laukika, Jyēṣṭha(śṭha)-māsasya kṛishṇapakṣa-chaaturthyaṁ tithau Gurāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Anahil-lapāṭakē . . . -mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Viśaladēva-kalyāṇavijayi(ya)rājyē . .

Northern V. 1317 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 12 May, A. D. 1259.

amānta : Tuesday, 10 June, A.D. 1259.

Northern V. 1317 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 30 April, A.D. 1260 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 30 May, A.D. 1260.

Southern V. 1317 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 20 April, A.D. 1261.

amānta : Thursday, 19 May, A.D. 1261 ; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

139. — V. 1327. — Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 38. Date of a MS. of the *Sugadāśaga-vṛitti* :—

Saivāt 1327 varshē Bhādrapada-vadi 2 Ravāv-ady-ēha Vijāpurē.

Northern V. 1327 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 16 July, A.D. 1269.

amānta : Thursday, 15 August, A. D. 1269.

Northern V. 1327 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 4 August, A.D. 1270 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 3 September, A.D. 1270.

Southern V. 1327 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 25 July, A.D. 1271.

amānta : Sunday, 23 August, A.D. 1271 ; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise.

140. — V. 1485. — Date of a Deccan College MS. of Jinadēvasūri's *Kriyākalāpa* :—

Saṁ 1485 varshē Vaiśākha-vadi 9 Budhē.

In northern V. 1485 current Vaiśākha was intercalary ; for the solar Vaiśākha lasted from 27 March, 6 h. 3 m., to 27 April, 4 h. 16 m., A.D. 1427, and there were new-moons on 28 March, 4 h. 1 m., and on 26 April, 18 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. The 9th of the dark half of the first Vaiśākha was, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 21 March, A.D. 1427 ;

amānta : Sunday, 20 April, A.D. 1427 ; and of the second Vaiśākha, —

amānta : Tuesday, 20 May, A.D. 1427.

- Northern V. 1485 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 8 April, A.D. 1428; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta: Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1428.
- Southern V. 1485 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 29 March, A.D. 1429.
 amānta: Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1429; the 9th *tithi* of the dark half ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.
141. — V. 1510. — Date of a Deccan College MS. of an *Avachārikā* on Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana-vṛtti*: —
 Samvat 1510 varshā Bhādravā-vadi 14 Banaṇu.
 Northern V. 1510 current, —
 pūrṇimānta: Monday, 14 August, A.D. 1452.
 amānta: Tuesday, 12 September, A.D. 1452.
- Northern V. 1510 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: the 14th *tithi* of the dark half began 1 h. 25 m. and ended 23 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 8 August, A.D. 1453.
 amānta: Sunday, 2 September, A.D. 1453.
- Southern V. 1510 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 22 August, A.D. 1454.
 amānta: Saturday, 21 September, A.D. 1454; the 14th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise.
142. — V. 1526. — Date of Deccan College MS. of Mōkshāśvara's *Kṛidevṛtti*: —
 Samvat 1526 varshā Jyēṣṭhā-vadi 11 Bani-vārā.
 Northern V. 1526 current, —
 pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 18 May, A.D. 1468.
 amānta: Thursday, 16 June, A.D. 1468.
- Northern V. 1526 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 7 May, A.D. 1469; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.
 amānta: Tuesday, 6 June, A.D. 1469.
- Southern V. 1526 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Friday, 27 April, A.D. 1470.
 amānta: Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1470; the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

(d). — Dates which may be either amānta dates of northern current years
 or pūrṇimānta dates of southern expired years.

143. — V. 1225. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 548. Inscription of the *Mahānāyaka* Pratāpadhavaladēva,¹¹ upon a rock denominated Tārāchāṇḍī, in the vicinity of Sahasrām in South Bihār:—

Samvat 1225 Jyēṣṭhā-vadi 8 Budhō Jāpīlādhipati-mahānāyaka-śrī-Pratāpadhavaladēva

- Northern V. 1225 current, —
 pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 9 May, A.D. 1167.
 amānta: Wednesday, 7 June, A.D. 1167; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.
- Northern V. 1225 expired, —
 pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 27 April, A.D. 1168.
 amānta: Sunday, 26 May, A.D. 1168.

¹¹ Compare No. 126, above.

Southern V. 1225 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 16 April, A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 15 May, A.D. 1169; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

(Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 295, gives the date — “Sañvat 1229, Jyēṣṭha badi 3d, Wednesday.” If this were correct, the corresponding date, for southern V. 1229 expired, pūrṇimānta, would be Wednesday, 2 May, A.D. 1173, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise).

144.—V. 1390. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 343, and Plate ix. l. Stone inscription from the Fort of Chunar near Benares :—

(L. 10) . . . Saṁva[t*] 1890 Bhādra-vadi 5 Gurau.

Northern V. 1390 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 11 August, A.D. 1332.

amānta : Thursday, 10 September, A.D. 1332; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 1 August, A.D. 1333.

amānta : Monday, 30 August, A.D. 1333.

Southern V. 1390 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 21 July, A.D. 1334; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 20 August, A.D. 1334.

(Prinsep, *loc. cit.* p. 342, gives Thursday, the 5th August, A.D. 1333, as the corresponding date).

(e). — A date which may be either an amānta date of a northern current year or a pūrṇimānta date of a northern expired or southern expired year.

145. — V. 1315. — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 46. Date of a MS. of Hēmaśhandra's *Saḍānūtāsana-laghuṣṛīti* : —

Sañvat 1315 varṣhē Chaitra-vadi caturthi-dinē Vu(bu)dha-vārē Ṡtambbhatūrthē Ṡ

Northern V. 1315 current, —

amānta : Wednesday, 4 April, A.D. 1257; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 23 February, A.D. 1258.

Northern V. 1315 expired, —

amānta : Sunday, 24 March, A.D. 1258.

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 12 February, A.D. 1259; the 4th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

In southern V. 1315 expired Chaitra was intercalary; for the solar Chaitra lasted from 23 February, 10 h. 36 m., to 25 March, 18 h. 44 m., A.D. 1259, and there were new-moons on 23 February, 17 h. 29 m., and on 25 March, 11 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise. The 4th of the dark half of the first Chaitra was, —

pūrṇimānta : as before, Wednesday, 12 February, A.D. 1259;

amānta : Friday, 14 March, A.D. 1259; and of the second Chaitra, —

amānta : Saturday, 12 April, A.D. 1259.

(f). — Dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of northern expired years or amānta dates of southern expired years.¹³

146. — V. 1332. — My *Report* for 1880-81, p. 4. Date of a MS. of the *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* : — Saṁvat 1332 varṣhē Vaiśākha-vadi 3 Sansu.

¹³ As regards the date No. 146, this is not quite correct, or it is correct only so far as the week-day is concerned, for in reality that date must be regarded as an amānta date of a southern expired year.

Northern V. 1332 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 27 March, A.D. 1274.

amānta : Wednesday, 25 April, A.D. 1274.

Northern V. 1332 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 16 March, A.D. 1275 ; the third tithi of the dark half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 14 April, A.D. 1275.

Southern V. 1332 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 8 April, A.D. 1276.

amānta : Saturday, 2 May, A.D. 1276 ; the third tithi of the dark half ended 16 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

147. — V. 1337. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part i. p. 110, and Plate x. ; and a rough rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. 'Pālam Bāoli' stone inscription from the village of 'Bohar' in the Rohtak District, of the time of the Hammira Gayāsaddīna¹³ : —

(Line 21). — ~~Saṁvatsarē~~ amīn-Vaikramādityē saṁvat 1337 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 13 Vu(bu)dhē.

Northern V. 1337 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 July, A.D. 1279.

amānta : Sunday, 6 August, A.D. 1279.

Northern V. 1337 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 26 June, A.D. 1280 ; the 13th tithi of the dark half ended 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Thursday, 25 July, A.D. 1280.

Southern V. 1337 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 15 July, A.D. 1281.

amānta : Wednesday, 18 August, A.D. 1281 ; the 13th tithi of the dark half ended 17 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

(The published version of the inscription wrongly gives 'saṁvat 1333').

148. — V. 1437. — *List of Archaeol. Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 181. Stone inscription at Dhāmlej, Junagadh, Kāthiāwād : —

Saṁvat 1437 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi 6 Sansu,

Northern V. 1437 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 6 June, A.D. 1379.

amānta : Wednesday, 6 July, A.D. 1379.

Northern V. 1437 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 26 May, A.D. 1380 ; the 6th tithi of the dark half ended 5 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Sunday, 24 June, A.D. 1380.

Southern V. 1437 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 13 June, A.D. 1381.

amānta : Saturday, 13 July, A.D. 1381 ; the 6th tithi of the dark half ended 12 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

149. — V. 1464. — Date of my MS. of the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti* : —

Saṁvat 1464 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi tṛitīyāṁ tithau Manmatha-saṁvatsarē Budhē.

Northern V. 1464 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 5 June, A.D. 1406.

amānta : Sunday, 4 July, A.D. 1406.

Northern V. 1464 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 25 May, A.D. 1407 ; the third tithi of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

¹³ Ghiyās ud dīn Balban, A.D. 1266—1286.

amānta: Thursday, 23 June, A.D. 1407.

Southern V. 1484 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 11 June, A.D. 1408.

amānta: Wednesday, 11 July, A.D. 1408, the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

The year Manmatha, No. 29, lasted, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bhā*, from 19 May, A.D. 1408, to 15 May, A.D. 1409, and with *bhā*, from 24 June, A.D. 1408, to 20 June, A.D. 1409; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 29 April, A.D. 1408, to 25 April, A.D. 1409. Accordingly, Manmatha was actually current on the 11 July, A.D. 1408, but it had not begun yet at the commencement of the solar year (28 March, A.D. 1408); and the 11 July, A.D. 1408, is the true equivalent of the date. By the Tēlinga rule, the 11 July, A.D. 1408, would fall in the year Sarvadhārin, No. 22.

150. — V. 1570.—Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 351. Date of a MS. of Amarasimha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* :—

Sāhvat 1570 varshē Jyēṣṭha(shṭha)-vadi 7 Budhē : ady-ēha Stambhatīrtha-vāstavya . . .

Northern V. 1570 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 8 May, A.D. 1512.

amānta: Sunday, 6 June, A.D. 1512.

Northern V. 1570 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 27 April, A.D. 1513; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Friday, 27 May, A.D. 1513.

Southern V. 1570 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 16 May, A.D. 1514.

amānta: Wednesday, 14 June, A.D. 1514; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 89.

In a stone-inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vijayāditya at the Huchch-malli-guḍi temple at Aihole in the Bijāpur District, published by me, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 284 f., the date (line 2 f.) is — trayōdaka-varahamuh mu(mā)ru-tiṅgaḷu Āsvayuja-pū[r]ṇamāsaduḷ vahupaduḷ¹ — “both (is) the thirteenth year (of his reign), (and) in the third month, ... on the full-moon day of (the month) Āsvayuja, at the (autumnal equinox).”

No reference is made to the year of the Saka era. But the other records of Vijayāditya shew that this date must fall in, or very close to, Saka-Sāhvat 630, current or expired. And the results are: —

Saka-Sāhvat 638 current; in this year the month Āsvayuja was intercalary, according to the published Tables; the full-moon *tithi* of the first

Āsvayuja ended on Monday, 7th September, A. D. 705, at about 48 *ghaṭis*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); the autumnal equinox, as represented by the Tula-Samkrānti or entrance of the sun into Libra, occurred at about 20 *gh.* 40 *p.* on Wednesday, 28th September; and the full-moon *tithi* of the second Āsvayuja ended at about 11 *gh.* 40 *p.* on Wednesday, 7th October.

Saka-Sāhvat 629 current; Āsvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 53 *gh.* 10 *p.* on Sunday, 20th September, A. D. 706, three days after the Tula-Samkrānti, which occurred at about 36 *gh.* 10 *p.* on Thursday, 23rd September. Here there is an approximation of the *tithi* and the *samkrānti*. But the interval of two entire days renders it impossible that any rite in celebration of the *samkrānti* can have been performed on the given *tithi*.

Saka-Sāhvat 630 current; Āsvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 31 *gh.* 50 *p.* on Friday, 16th September, A. D. 707, seven days before the Tula-

¹ The customary word is *vishuva*. But I notice that Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives also *vishupa*.

Sahkrānti, which occurred at about 51 gk. 40 p. on Friday, 23rd September.

Saka-Sahvat 631 current; Āvayuja śukla 15 ended at about 29 gk. 45 p. on Thursday, 4th October, A. D. 708, eleven days after the Tulā-Sahkrānti, which occurred at about 7 gk. 15 p. on Sunday, 23rd September.

Saka-Sahvat 632 current; Āvayuja śukla 15 ended on Monday, 23rd September, A. D. 709, at about 34 gk. 50 p.; and the Tulā-Sahkrānti occurred on the same day, at about 22 gk. 45 p., while the full-moon *tithi* was current.

Accordingly, the English equivalent of the date of this record is clearly Monday, 23rd September, A. D. 709. And this appears to fix the accession of Vijayāditya as having taken place in A. D. 597, in the month Śrāvaṇa of Saka-Sahvat 620 current; that month being at any rate counted as the first month of the first year of his reign.

It must here be noted, however, that, just as the regnal years of his father and predecessor Vinayāditya, quoted with specific years of the Saka era, exhibit discrepancies which at present cannot be explained (see page 148 above), so also the above initial date apparently does not satisfy the requirement of Vijayāditya's other records. Thus:—

A.—The full-moon of Jyēṣṭha of Saka-Sahvat 632 current (621 expired) is placed in his third current year (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 60, No. 83, line 5 ff.). But, to be in accordance with the result arrived at above, it should apparently be placed in his second year.

B.—The full-moon of Āśāḍha of Saka-Sahvat 623 current (622 expired) is placed in his fourth current year (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 128, line 30 ff.). But, in the same way, it should apparently be placed in his third current year.

C.—Saka-Sahvat 628 current (627 expired) is coupled with his tenth current year (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 131, line 29 f.). Here, there is no specification of the month and *tithi*. But apparently the months Chaitra to Āśāḍha of the current Saka year in question, should be coupled with his eighth year; and the subsequent months, Śrāvaṇa to Phālguna, with his ninth year.

D.—The full-moon of Phālguna of Saka-Sahvat 652 current (651 expired) is placed in his thirty-fourth current year (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 112). But apparently it should be placed in his thirty-third year.

Of these, the date D. may, or may not, be genuine and accurate; as the record which contains it, was only copied on a stone, at Lakṣmīśwar, at a later time, in or about the tenth century A. D.

But there are no apparent reasons for questioning the authenticity of the other dates.

A. and B. of course are in accordance with each other. But they can be brought into accordance with the Aihole date, only if we assume that, whatever may have been the actual day of his accession, the first year of Vijayāditya's reign ended with the *pūrṇimā* Chaitra new-moon at the end of the same Saka year; and that his second year was taken as commencing, with the next Saka year, on Chaitra śukla 1, — not with the actual anniversary day of his accession. But this does not account for C.; for, his second year coinciding, on that assumption, with Saka-Sahvat 621 current, Saka-Sahvat 628 current would coincide with his ninth year, — not with the tenth. Nor does it account for D.; for, the month Phālguna of Saka-Sahvat 620 current would still lie in his first year; and the Phālguna of Saka-Sahvat 652 current, still in his thirty-third year. Moreover, if his second year was made to commence with Chaitra, there is no reason why, in the Aihole record, in his thirteenth year the months should again be numbered from Śrāvaṇa, and Āvayuja should be called the third month, instead of the seventh.

All the dates can be reconciled only by assuming that, in the Aihole record, the thirteenth year is a mistake for the fourteenth. On this assumption, his accession took place in the month Śrāvaṇa of Saka-Sahvat 619 current. And then:—

A.—The month Jyēṣṭha of Saka-Sahvat 622 current, would fall naturally in his third year.

B.—The month Āśāḍha of Saka-Sahvat 623 current, would fall naturally in his fourth year.

C.—Any date from the *pūrṇimā* Śrāvaṇa *kṛishṇa* 1 to the *pūrṇimā* Chaitra new-moon of Saka-Sahvat 628 current, would lie naturally in his tenth year.

D.—The month Phālguna of Saka-Sahvat 652 current, would fall naturally in his thirty-fourth year.

This, however, is not a very satisfactory way of explaining away the difficulty. At present, I can only draw attention to it, without proposing a final solution of it.

J. F. FLEET.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages),—except in respect of modern, Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ज	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍha
ऋ	ऋ	ṛi	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
ल	ल	lṛi	त	त	ta
—	—	e	थ	थ	tha
ए	ए	ē	द	द	da
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ध	ध	dha
—	—	o	न	न	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	प	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	फ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Jhadrūṭya, or old	—	ḥ	भ	भ	bha
Visarga before क्	—	ḥ	म	म	ma
and ख्	—	ḥ	य	य	ya
Upadhṛṇṭya, or	—	ḥ	र	र	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	—	ra
fore प and फ्	—	ḥ	ल	ल	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m	ळ	ळ	ḷa
Anusvāra	—	m	—	—	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	श	श	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	ष	ṣa
घ	घ	gha	स	स	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	ह	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāṇa* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Devanāgarī sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanāgarī marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.

THE ABORIGINES OF SOKOTRA; AN ETHNOLOGICAL, RELIGIOUS
AND PHILOLOGICAL REVIEW.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, B.O.S.O.

THE island of Sokotra occupies, in many senses, a unique position. Though situated directly in what has been from the earliest historic period—and still is—the chief trade route between the Red Sea and the East, and sighted, on an average, by perhaps two or three steamers every day throughout the year, it is now less generally known than almost any other island of its size in the world. In the minds of the majority of people it is associated in a vague sort of way with aloe and Greek colonisation in the time of Alexander the Great; and the most conflicting accounts have been written by the early European voyagers as to its productiveness and general appearance, as well as the origin and language of its inhabitants. The extraordinary diversity of opinion on the latter points excited my curiosity many years ago, and I have since taken every opportunity of collecting information regarding them. I have twice landed on Sokotra, but owing to the brevity of my visit on each occasion, personal observation has added but little to my knowledge of the island and its inhabitants. The latter, who differ considerably from the inhabitants of the neighbouring African and Arabian coasts, are characterised by thin lips, straight black hair, rather fair skins and a somewhat European type of feature.

It is a well-known historical fact that for many centuries the established religion of the island was Christianity in some form or other. The Sokotran language, which is now confined to the island itself, has never yet been classified.

In the present paper my object is, by collating all available sources of information, to contribute something towards the solution of the interesting problem—"Whence, and who are the aborigines of Sokotra, and what is their language?"

The island of Sokotra is variously called by the Greek writers, *Dioscorida*, *Dioscoris*, *Dioscorides*, *Dioscurias* and *Dioscora*. Regarding these names, Vincent¹ says they "may have a Greek origin, but it is so near a resemblance to Socotra that it is much more likely to be a nautical corruption of an Arabic term than the application of a Greek one." If they have a Greek origin, the derivation would probably be from *Dioscouri*, meaning Castor and Pollux, who were worshipped specially as protectors of sailors, because Neptune had given them power over the winds and waves. Various authors, however, assert that the Greek name of the island is a corruption of an older Sanskrit one, *Dvīpa Sukhādhara*, from *dvīpa*, 'an island,' *sukha*, 'happiness,' and *ādharma*, 'support;' and that this name, contracted into *Diuskadra*, the Greeks made "the island of Dioscorides."

In a note on this subject Vincent says (p. 159):—"Greater corrupters of foreign names than the Greeks there cannot be, and the first sound that suggested an idea to a Greek generally led him to find a Greek name, and often to add a tale of mythology to the name. There can be little doubt that Socotra is a native term of the earliest date, but the Greeks turned it into Dioscorides at the first step."²

A much more probable derivation of the word سقطرة *Sukutra* suggests itself from the Arabic سوق *sūq*, 'market, emporium,' and قنطرة *qanṭara*, the vulgar form of قاطر *qāṭir*, 'dragon's

¹ *Periplus*, Part II. xv. p. 307.

² Vincent might have included the Portuguese in the same category. In the various accounts of their voyages to the East, their corruptions of Oriental words are so extraordinary that it is a matter of no small difficulty to identify them. A notable instance occurs in the name Cape Guardafui, Gardafu or Gardafan, a corruption of the local (Somali) name *Girdifo*: this is a corruption of old Arabic term جرد أفوية *Jarad* (or *Garad*) *Afṭaḥa*, of which the classical name *Aromatum Promontorium* is a translation. The modern Arabic name of the Cape is *Eḍs Asir*.—[The English, the French, the Arabs, the Persians, the Burmese, are just as bad: the Chinese much worse. In fact every nation corrupts foreign words and names. Extension of this category is merely a question of experience.—B. O. T.]

blood.' When first visited by the Portuguese, the capital of the island was *Sôk* or *Sôk*, which they corrupted into *Zoko*; and traces of the old town are still to be seen about four miles east of *Tamarida*, the modern capital.³

It is now generally admitted that by the help of the regular winds *Hindus* and *Arabs* have from pre-historic times traded from Western India to Arabia, Africa and Persia, and that this trade centred in three places: in *Sokoṭra* and in the Abyssinian and Zanzibar Coasts. *Mas'ûdi* (A.D. 915) notices that before the Greeks came, the island was colonised by *Hindus*, and was at that time, and for some centuries afterwards, a centre of piracy.⁴

These facts might appear to be an argument against my Arabic derivation of the name *Sukūtra*; but even if inhabited at this early period by *Hindus* (which I do not admit), it by no means follows that the island was previously unknown to and unnamed by the *Arabs* of the neighbouring *Hadhramaut Coast*. On this subject *Vincent* says:—"Sabæa, *Hadhramaut* and *Oman* were the residence of navigators in all ages, from the time that history begins to speak of them; and there is every reason to imagine that they were equally so before the historians acquired a knowledge of them, as they have since continued down to the present age."

The first event in the history of *Sokoṭra* of which we have any published record is the well-known tradition of the colonisation of the island by *Greeks* in the time of *Alexander the Great*, just before his invasion of India, or about B.C. 330. The story is related as follows by *Mas'ûdi* (10th century A.D.):—

"In the same sea, and not far from *Aden*, is the island known as *Sukūtra*, which has given its name to the *Sukūtri aloe*, for it is there only that this substance is found and exported. *Aristotle*, son of *Nicomachus*, wrote to *Alexander*, son of *Philip*, at the time of his departure for India, and gave him some information about *Sukūtra*, recommending him to establish there a colony of *Greeks* to cultivate the aloe, which is of such frequent use as a purgative, &c. So *Alexander* sent to this island a certain number of *Greeks*, most of them from the town of *Asṭāghar* (*Stageirus*), the native place of *Aristotle*. A fleet transported these colonists and their families to the *Sea of Kūsum*.⁵ They subdued the *Indians* who were established there, took possession of *Sukūtra* and carried off a colossal idol which the *Indians* used to worship. The details of this expedition would be long to relate. The *Greek* population of *Sukūtra* increased after the death of *Alexander*; and on the advent of *Christianity* they adopted that religion, which they still profess. This is, I think, the only body of *Greeks* in the world who have carefully preserved their genealogies, without ever intermarrying with the *Romans* or other races.⁷

"*Sukūtra* is one of the stations frequented by the *Indian corsairs* called *Bawārij*, which chase the *Arab ships* bound for *India* and *China*, just as the *Greek galleys* chase the *Musalman*s in the *Sea of Rûm* along the coasts of *Syria* and *Egypt*. From *Sukūtra* are exported the *Sukūtri aloe* and other drugs. Several curious particulars relative to this island and to the virtues of the plants or medicinal drugs which it produces, are to be found in our preceding works."

³ *Sir Thomas Herbert* (1828) says:—"Socotra is an isle well-known to former ages, to some by the names of *Dioscolonda* and *Succaba*, but *Pliny* calls it *Topaso*, from the great plenty of *topase*, found there." As these names are not mentioned elsewhere, and are very unlike the name *Sokoṭra*, I can only conclude that the writer has made some mistake. [May not the words be merely misprints for *Dioscorida* and *Sucoatra*?—Ed.]

⁴ *Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. Part II. p. 404, and 713, notes.

⁵ *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, Cap. XXXIII.

⁶ *Al Kūsum* was the old name of *Suez-town*, from the *Greek Clysmā* (the shutting), hence the *Gulf of Suez* was named "*Sea of Kūsum*" (*Sir B. Burton, Ar. Nights*, Vol. VII. p. 248n.) But *Mas'ûdi* here applies the term to the *Gulf of Aden*.

⁷ This may possibly have been true at the time *Mas'ûdi* wrote, but it has certainly not been the case in more recent times.

Mr. Campbell, compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, holds that these pirates of Sokotra came from the neighbourhood of Kachh. He says:—"That the Sokotra pirates were the Sanghars, Jats or Jats, and Kerks, who from Sindh, Kachh and Kāthiāwār ruled the Indian seas is made probable by Mas'ūdī's statement that Sokotra was a station for the Indian *bawārij*, a name which Al Bērūnī (1020) applies to the pirates of Kachh and Sōmnāth, and which he derives from *bawā* or *bārā* (*بار*), the name of their boat. (Al Bērūnī in Elliot and Dowson, I. 65, 539). It curiously supports the connection between the Sanghars and the Zingari or Gipsies, that *bārā* the name of the Kachh pirate craft, is also the Romani or Gipsy word for boat."⁸

Bārā seems to me a very strained derivation of the word *bawārij*⁹ which is probably from the Arabic *bārīja*, "a greatship of war" (Johnson, *Arabic Dictionary*) akin to *burj*, a tower. The name may have been given to the ancient piratical craft from their being fitted with some kind of tower — corresponding to the modern 'fighting tops' — to give the crew a command of fire. They probably resembled the classical biremes or dikrota, that is, ships with two ranks of rowers which Pliny attributes to the Erythreans. The *biremis* is generally represented in pictures with a square tower either in the waist or near the bow.¹⁰

The whole of the Gulf of Aden is at the present day infested by Sūris, a peculiar race whose head-quarters are at Sūr, a port between Ras-al-Had and Maskat. They are always well supplied with fire-arms, and still show their natural inclination to piracy by pillaging wrecks, or forcibly carrying off sheep, &c., from the Somali coast, whenever they think they can do so with impunity; though their ostensible business is fishing for sharks, porpoises, &c., and extracting the oil. The Sūri craft can generally be distinguished from other Gulf of Aden *bagalas* by having square-shaped instead of triangular lateen sails, and by their peculiarly high stern-posts. According to Arab writers the early pirates of the Erythrean Sea, taking their wives and children, went in mighty fleets, moving long distances as far as Jidda, and occasionally settling in great strength. In like manner the Sūris of modern times often take their families with them and settle for some months on various islands in the Gulf of Aden, erecting temporary huts on the shore.

Putting all these circumstances together, it seems likely that the Sūris are descendants of the ancient Sokotran pirates, and that the latter came originally from the coasts of Sindh, Kachh, and Kāthiāwār,¹¹ during the great Hindu invasions of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, which took place during the fifth, seventh and eighth Centuries A.D.

Sir Henry Yule¹² is of opinion that the colonisation of Sokotra by Alexander is probably a fable, but invented to account for facts. One is naturally reluctant to reject a romantic tradition, which for many centuries has been accepted as gospel, but a careful study of the subject leads me to the same conclusion as Sir Henry Yule. The story is entirely uncorroborated by historic ethnology, and — as we shall see later on — there is no trace of a Greek element in the Sokotran Language.

Rejecting, therefore, the traditional origin of the islanders we must now investigate their racial characteristics, social customs, religious history, and language, and see what particular race is indicated by any concurrent evidence there may be on these points. Lieutenant Wellsted, of the Indian Navy, who, in company with Cruttenden — then a Midshipman in the *Porpoise*, — surveyed the interior of the island in 1834, is our chief authority.¹³

The inhabitants of the island may be broadly divided into two classes: those who inhabit the mountains and high land in the interior, and who, there is every reason to believe, are the aborigines; and the dwellers in small towns on the shore, who are a mongrel race, the des-

⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., 404 and 712, notes.

⁹ The singular of *bawārij* is *bārīj*, which, according to the Dictionary, means "a skilful sailor."

¹⁰ Vide *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v. *navis*.

¹¹ Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII. p. 714, notes.

¹² *Marco Polo*, 2nd Ed., Vol. II., 401, notes.

¹³ Wellsted's *City of the Caliphs*, Vol. II.; also published in *Proc. G. R. S.*, Vol. V.

condants of Arabs, Indians, and Africans of various tribes; and several other nations. It is not necessary for us now to take any notice of the latter classes.

The inhabitants of the hills (Beduins, as they are called) are divided into numerous families belonging to a few principal tribes. Of these, the *Karshin*, who inhabit the western end of the island, claim to be descended from the Portuguese. The *Mômi*, who reside in the eastern end of the island, are said to trace descent from the aborigines and the Abyssinians, whilst the *Kamahên*, who live about *Jabal Hajar* and the hills above the *Hadibu* plain, claim to arise from the intermarriage of the aborigines with the *Mahrî Arabs* from the opposite coast. There is also a small tribe of about one hundred and fifty men, called *Beni Bahov*, in the vicinity of *Râs Môri*. Their forefathers are said to have been Jews, and the features of the tribe still retain a strong resemblance to those of that race.

Whatever be their origin, certain it is that the hill people have a very distinct appearance. The men are usually tall and finely made, with broad shoulders, lean flanks and remarkably well formed limbs, reminding one very forcibly of the European build, a facial angle as open as that of Europeans, the nose slightly aquiline, the eyes lively and expressive, the teeth good, the lips thin and the mouth well formed. The hair is worn long, and has a slight natural curl, without approach to a woolly or crisp texture. They also generally wear a beard and whiskers, but never moustaches. They have no characteristics in common with the Arabs and Somâlis, and some points about them are essentially different. Their complexion varies a good deal, some being as fair as the inhabitants of *Sûrat*, while others are as dark as the Hindus on the banks of the Ganges.

They walk with an erect gait over the worst ground, and bound over the hills like antelopes. From constantly climbing the rocks they have contracted a habit of turning in their toes, which gives them, when on the plains, a slight degree of awkwardness in their walk.

Yet, notwithstanding this defect, the regularity of their features, the fairness of their complexions (for those which are dark are but a small proportion of their number), and the models of symmetry which they occasionally present to the eye, render them a remarkably good-looking people, distinct and removed from any of the varieties of the human race seen on the shores of the continent on either side.

Their dress consists of a loin-cloth, one end of which is commonly thrown over the shoulder, usually with a knife stuck in the waist, and they invariably carry a long stick. In their various modes of dressing the hair they display a little foppery; some having it frizzled, others allowing it to curl naturally, while the greater number permit it to grow to a considerable length, and plait it into *fresses*, confined to the head by a braided cord made from their own hair.

Their skins are clear, shining, and remarkably free from eruptive or cutaneous disorders. Many, however, appear scarred from the application of hot irons, for the removal of local complaints, a mode of cure here in as great repute as among their neighbours the Somâlis and Arabs.

The same remarks may be applied with little alteration to the persons and features of the females. We find in them the same symmetry of form, the same regularity of feature, and the same liveliness of expression: but their complexion does not vary in an equal degree, few being darker than the fairest of the men, and when young they are rarely otherwise than pretty. The legs of many advanced in age are of an astonishing thickness; but this defect is chiefly observable among those who reside in the low lands, and seldom occurs among the highland females.¹⁴

¹⁴ From the opportunities which he enjoyed of judging on these points, Wallsted's description ought to be considered authoritative. He says (p. 233):—"It was very amusing to observe the terror of the females we passed on our several journeys here. no sooner did they catch a glimpse of our party than, screaming out *Weelah, Weelah* 'off they ran, carrying their children either on their backs or beneath their arms. One damsel finding that her progress was impeded by her lower habiliments, threw them without hesitation over her head; and another similarly situated, dropped her only lower garment, and effected a swift-escape without it. I could not but observe that their legs, compared to those of the men, wore of an astonishing thickness, and Nature, in that part of the human frame which has with Hottentots attracted the attention of our physiologists, appears here to be not less bountiful."

The usual dress of the women is an indigo-dyed cotton garment with very wide sleeves high round the neck and reaching only a little below the knees in front, while behind it trails on the ground. Beneath this is often worn a petticoat of the coarse blankets of goat's hair which they themselves weave. The dress is sometimes kilted at the knees and continued round the waist by a girdle; and a loose cloth is sometimes thrown over the shoulders. Round their necks they wear necklaces made of red coral, coloured glass, amber, or dragon's-blood tears, with sometimes a string of dollars to each ear; they wear also three, and sometimes four, earrings, made of silver, and about three inches in diameter; two are worn on the upper, and one on the lower part of the ear. They wear the hair done up in two plaits which hang down their back, but in front the hair is cut to form a fringe across the forehead. They go unveiled.¹⁵ converse freely with the other sex, and are anything but moral

Crime is of rare occurrence among the Beduins, and quarrels seldom terminate in death to either party; which may in some measure be owing to their having neither fire-arms nor weapons of any other description, excepting sticks and stones. In general they may be considered as a lively, generous race: but the most distinguishing trait of their character is hospitality, which is practised alike by all, and is only limited by the means of the individual called on to exercise it.

They have a great variety of modes of salutation. Two friends meeting will kiss each other on the cheek or shoulder six or eight times, then shake hands, kiss them, and afterwards interchange a dozen sentences of compliment. They have also the same singular and awkward mode of salutation which is practised at Kishin, where they place their noses together, and accompany the action by drawing up the breath at the same time through the nostrils audibly. Male and female relations, in public, salute each other in this manner. Those of different sexes, who are merely acquaintances or friends, kiss each other's shoulder, except in case of the principal individual of the tribe, whose knees the females salute, while he returns the compliment on their foreheads. The old men salute children in the same manner.

The prevalence of kissing among the Sokotrans is a notable point of contrast between them and the Somâl, amongst whom this mode of salutation is unknown. The latter fact is noted by Darwin in his "*Expression of the Emotions*." Burton, too, in his book on *Zanzibar*, says:—"Yst even amongst the Somâl, if you attempt to salute a woman—supposing you have the right—she will draw back in horror from this act of incipient cannibalism."

Wellsted estimated the population of the island at about 4,000, or four individuals to the square mile.

As for occupation; the men pass their time in tending their flocks and herds, in collecting dragon's-blood and aloes, and in occasional visits to the town, where the two latter productions, with *ghî* (clarified butter) are exchanged for dates, *jowâri* (*holcus sorghum*, or *sorghum vulgare*) and clothes. The principal employment of the females abroad is looking after the flocks; at home they make *ghî*, card and spin wool, which they afterwards weave into camelines or blankets—generally dark brown or light gray in colour, with a fringe at the ends.¹⁶ In addition to their domestic duties—as with most other barbarous nations—much of the toil consequent on their pastoral mode of life, falls principally on them; and at the close of the day, after securing their flocks, the wives have frequently to proceed with their children on their backs a distance of several miles, to fill and bring home skins of water, while their husbands remain with no other occupation than smoking or sleeping.

¹⁵ During one of my visits to Kishin I had the pleasure of seeing a good specimen of a Sokotran lady, wife of the Governor of Sokotra. She was a tall, handsome young woman, with very fair skin, a pleasant expression and a remarkably graceful, majestic gait. She wore over her face a veil or black net with meshes about half an inch square, which did not at all conceal her features from the view.

¹⁶ I once purchased three or four of these from the original manufacturers, at the rate of one rupee each, giving at the same time some presents of glass beads purchased in Aden.

That the Sokotrans possess no maritime enterprise, is at once shown by their having no boats; yet they do not seem averse to commercial pursuits; and the voyager who may have to transact business with them, will find to his cost, unless he be somewhat wary, that their talents for selling and bartering are not contemptible. The wants of those who reside on the island are, however, so few and so easily satisfied, that they have but little motive to stimulate them to more industrious pursuits.

They subsist chiefly on milk, and on the grain and dates which they receive in exchange for their *ghāf*. When occasion calls for a feast, or a visitor arrives, a goat or sheep is killed. Their mode of cooking is very simple: they separate the meat from the bone, cut it into small pieces, and boil the whole in an earthen pot. They use no dishes, and the meat is placed on a small mat, round which they sit. In eating, contrary to the usual Musalman custom, they cut their meat with knives. They have enormous appetites.

The principles of their political constitution are exceedingly simple: all are divided into families or tribes, each possessed of a determined domain on the island, and each having a representative or head, who formerly exercised a patriarchal authority over them. In general the office is hereditary, though it is sometimes filled by persons who have been selected for other reasons.

The Beduins are nomadic in their habits, and dwell chiefly in caves. In a humid climate like Sokotra, it would be impossible, during several months, to live in tents; and as the variations of the seasons compel the Beduins to shift with their flocks in search of pasturage, it may be considered as a bountiful provision that they are by these numerous natural excavations, with which the whole island abounds, provided with dwellings. All that is necessary to be done by the person who is about to occupy such a tenement, is with loose stones to portion off a certain space for himself and family, leaving the remainder to shelter his flocks.

The fact of the aborigines generally using caves as habitations is, perhaps, not sufficient in itself to warrant the supposition that they were a troglodytic race before occupying Sokotra. It must be considered in conjunction with other facts to be mentioned shortly.

Besides these caves in the hills, there are some subterraneous habitations on the plains. Wellsted describes one of these as follows (p. 258):—

“Our halting-place was about twenty miles from the valley by which we entered the plain; near us was the habitation of an old man, who had occupied for nearly fifty years a cavern beneath the surface of the ground. Wherever limestone rock occurs on the plains, there also it is equally cavernous with the same formation amidst the hills. No indications are given of your approach to these lonely hermitages; you descend by some rude steps, into what might otherwise appear a well; there you find several apartments, each appropriated to a separate purpose. During my stay I frequently visited my neighbour, who had one wife and two daughters. Although I was received with much hospitality, they always retired when I approached. Catching a glimpse one day of their interior apartment, I saw, suspended by a string from the roof, a young infant wrapped in a cameline, forming a rude cradle, which one of the daughters, by swinging, was lulling to repose. Several of these cavernous habitations are spread over the plain; those which are tenanted are widely separated from each other, and there appears amidst the occupants no desire to share each other's society, all appearing to isolate themselves with their families.”

Not only do the aborigines use caves as dwelling places, but it appears that they formerly buried their dead in caves. Wellsted saw several of these. He says (p. 278):—“No coffins appear to have been used; a portion of the cave was walled off, and the corpse then placed at full length within, and covered with a layer of earth, of sufficient thickness to admit of others being placed over it in a similar manner.”

It is to be regretted that Wellsted says so little about these sepulchral caves: a closer examination of them might lead to some interesting antiquarian discoveries.

Having now related all that is known of the characteristics and social customs of the Sokotran Beduins in modern times, I shall proceed to describe certain peculiar customs — evidently relics of paganism — which have survived the introduction of Christianity among the aborigines, and which are likely to furnish an important clue in the present enquiry.

According to Wellsted (page 302) they still worship the Moon, and pray to her in times of drought. At the beginning of Lent they make a solemn sacrifice to that luminary, entering their temples and performing various ceremonies at its rising and setting. They are also described as going to their burial-places and striking together two pieces of odoriferous wood. This they perform three times a day, and as often at night; after which, putting a large cauldron suspended by three chains, over a great fire, they dip into it splinters of wood, with which they light their altars and the porch of the temple. They put up their prayers to the Moon, that she will enlighten them with her countenance, shed upon them her benign influence, and never permit foreigners to intermix with them.

They make an annual procession round the temples, preceded by a cross; and the whole ceremony ends upon the priest's clapping together his hands, as a signal that the Moon is tired of their worship. Others say that the signal consists in cutting off the fingers of him who holds the cross; in recompense for which he has a stick given him, on which are certain marks, forbidding all persons, of whatever rank or condition, ever after to hurt or molest him; on the contrary, they are to assist him with all their power, in whatever manner he may require their help; and they are further doomed to suffer corporal punishment, and the loss of an arm, unless they respect and honour him as a martyr to religion.

The Beduins do not circumcise their children until they are past the age of puberty; while with other Muhammadans this is performed at a very early age. On the eastern part of the island, amidst the mountains, Wellsted (pp. 317 and 330) was shown a rude stone chair, in which it is customary for the Beduins to seat their youths (who are sometimes brought from a long distance) while the operation is performed. Near it were several burial-grounds, and a small building said to have been an ancient place of worship; but it was in a very dilapidated state, and he did not discover others that threw any light on the subject.

They have preserved the remembrance of a singular trial by ordeal formerly practised. An individual supposed to have been guilty of any heinous crime was placed, bound hand and foot, on a summit of some eminence, and there compelled to remain three days. If rain fell during that period on or near him, he was considered guilty, and punished by being stoned to death; but if the weather, on the contrary, continued fair, he was acquitted.

They are, in the more remote parts of the island, said to still retain the custom of transferring their own progeny to another person. During pregnancy, it is left at the will of the mother that the father may give the child away as soon as it makes its appearance in the world. If her consent is obtained, a fire is lighted before the door of their cave, to denote his intention; and the child, as soon as born, is sent to another family, in which it is brought up with every tenderness and attention. Children reared under this singular custom retain through life the title of children of smoke. It is common for a father who thus exposes his own, to receive in a similar manner the offspring of another of his tribe.

Some rock inscriptions (probably extremely ancient) which Wellsted discovered near Ras Mûri—about seven or eight miles west of Tamarida—may, perhaps, furnish an important clue to the nationality of the aborigines, though, in the absence of a photograph or drawing of the inscriptions, it is difficult to come to any decision regarding them. The following is Wellsted's description (196):—

"Quitting Ras Moree to the right, the bushes disappear, sandy tracts follow each other, and a ride of two hours brought us to the inscriptions we sought. They are cut on the face of a limestone rock on the same level as the plains; and the portion over which they are found, irregularly strewn, measures three hundred paces in circumference. They strikingly resemble

those found on the sea-coast of Western Arabia, and are, perhaps, rude representations of early Ethiopic. Besides these inscriptions, there are figures of men, of camels, &c., but more generally their feet are so cut in pairs, as if a soft rock had yielded to their weight. Crosses occur very frequently, as do also figures having a snake's head. Some religious edifice most probably was erected near this, of which there are, however, now no remains; a few rude huts are seen to the south-east."

The inscriptions on the coast of Western Arabia, alluded to above, are probably those found by Captain Carless, of the Indian Navy at Wajh, on the east coast of the Red Sea, Lat. $26^{\circ}15'$ N., and described by him in the *Proceedings* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1845. The annexed plate is a tracing of his drawing. Professor Bayley Balfour, during his expedition to Sokotra in 1880, discovered similar inscriptions on the Kadhab plain, and took copies of them, but he has not published them in his book (*Trans. of R. S. Edin. Vol. XXXI. — "Botany of Socotra"*).

The crosses in the inscription discovered by Wellsted, at first view, seem to indicate the work of a Christian race; but I am inclined to think that they belong to a period long antecedent to the introduction of Christianity. It is a well-established fact that among several nations the cross was symbolical of the Garden of Eden with its four rivers, and hence, perhaps, of the submerged continent of Atlantis. In Assyria and Chaldea it was emblematical of creative power and eternity. The "figures having a snake's head" may be representations of the ancient Chaldean god Hea or Hoa, which Professor G. Rawlinson connects with the Arabic Hiyā, meaning at once "life" and "a serpent," since, according to the "best authority, there are very strong grounds for connecting Hea or Hoa with the serpent of Scripture, and the Paradisaical traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life."¹⁷

The worship of the Moon by the Sokotrans is another circumstance tending to connect them with the ancient Chaldeans. Sin, or Hurki, or Hur¹⁸ was the Moon-god of the latter nation, and the Sokotran word for "the moon" is *trak*. The Chaldean Sun-god was *San* or *Samsi*, and the Sokotran word for "the sun" is *shikan*.

The ancient Chaldean worship of the Moon and other planets was revived in the Middle Ages by the pagan sect known as the Harrāni Sabæans, whose seat was the town of Harrān (Hellenopolis) in the north of Mesopotamia, ten miles south-east of Edessa (Orfa) on the banks of the small river Belik, about fifty miles north of its junction with the Euphrates. It possessed, among many others, a temple of the Moon, of an octagonal shape; the city retained its importance down to the period of the Arab ascendancy. ("Harrān" in *Enc. Brit.*) Each of the planets had a temple dedicated to its worship, and each temple was of a different shape; thus the temple of Saturn was hexagonal, Jupiter, a triangle; Mars, an oblong; the Sun, a square; Mercury, a triangle; Venus, a triangle inscribed in an oblong; and the temple of the Moon was — as before stated — octagonal. These various forms were connected with certain allegories and mysteries which the Sabæans never divulged. They used to offer sacrifices and burn incense in honour of the stars. One of the temples dedicated to Āzar, the uncle of the patriarch Abraham, had four vaults beneath it, in which were idols representing the celestial bodies and superior divinities.¹⁹ It is not impossible that the subterranean habitations, already described, were at one period used for a similar purpose.

The Harrānis were celebrated astrologers;²⁰ and we learn from Marco Polo that the Sokotrans had a similar reputation. He says: —

"And you must know that in this Island (Sokotra) there are the best enchanters in the world. It is true that their Archbishop forbids the practice to the best of his ability: but 'tis

¹⁷ Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, Vol. I. p. 159. Vide also Ignatius Donnelly's *Atlantis: the Antediluvian World*, Chap. V.

¹⁸ "It is not uncommon for the second syllable in an Assyrian or Babylonian god's name to be dropped as unimportant." *Five Great Mon.* Vol. I. p. 167.

¹⁹ *Met. 2d.*, Chap. LXVII.

²⁰ Sprenger's *El Mas'ūd.*, p. 216 et seq., notes.

all to no purpose, for *they insist that their forefathers followed it*, and so must they also. I will give you a sample of their enchantments. Thus if a ship be sailing past with a fair wind and strong, they will raise a contrary wind and compel her to turn back. In fact they make the wind blow as they list, and produce great tempests and disasters; and other such sorceries they perform, which it will be better to say nothing about in our Book.²¹ The language spoken by the Harrānis was Aramaic.²² Whether any affinity exists between it and Sokotran is a question to be discussed later on.

These notices of the Harrānis are introduced, not with the object of proving any connexion between them and the Sokotrans, but merely to throw a light on the nature of planetary worship, which appears to have been the religion of the island previous to the birth of Christianity.

Exposure of the aged and sick was another singular custom practised by the Sokotrans: it is thus described by Wellsted (pp. 278-80):—

"One intensely hot day I was strolling along the beach, when my attention was arrested by perceiving something lying there, which an Arab was just leaving. It was an old man stretched on his back, in a hollow scooped out of the sand; nothing but a tattered piece of cloth protecting him from the fiery heat of the sun's rays; before him were some grain and fragments of half-broiled fish: but he was evidently in the last stage of existence. His companion told me that when a man or woman became unable to work, it was customary thus to expose them; food, however, being brought until they expired, when a little earth thrown over them completes their half-formed grave. Such is custom! Yet even this, barbarous as it is, is an improvement on that which formerly was practised.

"An old writer, speaking of the inhabitants of Sokotra, says that "they generally bury their sick before they breathe their last, making no distinction between a dying and a dead person. They esteem it a duty to put the patient as soon as possible out of pain, and make this their request to their friends, when they are on a sick bed—which in all acute disorders, may be called their death-bed. When the father of a family finds himself thus circumstanced, and has reason to believe his dissolution is approaching, he assembles his children round him, whether natural or adopted, his parents, wives, servants, and all his acquaintances, whom he strongly exhorts to a compliance with the following articles of his last will—never to admit any alteration in the customs or doctrines of their ancestors; never to intermarry with foreigners; never to permit an affront done to them or their predecessors, or a beast stolen from either of them, to go unpunished; and, lastly, never to suffer a friend to lie in pain, when they can relieve him by death.

"They commonly perform the last request of the dying man by means of a white liquor, of a strongly poisonous quality, which oozes from a tree peculiar to the island. Hence it is that legal murders are more common here than in any country in the world; for, besides the inhuman custom last mentioned, the other requests of dying men produce numberless quarrels, and, by taking revenge of the injuries done to their ancestors, entail family feuds and bloodshed upon their posterity for a long series of years.

"Such were the inhabitants of Sokotra in the seventeenth century."

Wellsted does not mention the name of the writer of the account which he quotes, and I have not been able to find it in any of the collections of voyages and travels. The intense conservatism displayed in the injunction, "Never to admit any alteration in the customs or doctrines of their ancestors," accounts for the preservation of so many pagan customs, apparently of extremely ancient origin. The *lex talionis* is by no means peculiar to Sokotra: it obtains among most savage nations, especially among the Somālis, who look upon murder as a private offence—not a public one.

Having now related all that can be gathered regarding the early form of religion among

²¹ Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., Chap. 32, 2nd Ed.

²² Sprenger's *El Mas'udi*, p. 218, notes.

the aborigines of Sokotra, we come, in the natural order of events, to the rise and progress of Christianity in the island.

It is the universal belief of the Eastern Churches that St. Thomas the Apostle, after visiting Mesopotamia, Ethiopia, and many other countries, preached in Sokotra on his way to India (about A.D. 50); and the peculiar veneration in which that saint was held by the Christians of Sokotra (a fact noticed by Francis Xavier and other early European visitors) tends to corroborate the tradition. Abdias, who lived at the end of the first century, and whose work was published by Zaxius at Basle in 1552, says he remembered a book in which the voyage of St. Thomas to India was described.²³

The preaching and martyrdom of this Apostle in India are recognised by most authorities as historical occurrences, although the various accounts differ in many particulars. The favourite tradition of St. Thomas' death is thus related by Marco Polo;—²⁴

"Now I will tell you the manner in which the Christian brethren who keep the Church relate the story of the Saint's death.

"They tell that the Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers; and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country than anywhere else. And one of the idolaters of that country, being of the lineage of those called Govi that I told you of, having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the Saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator. Before he came to that place where he thus died, he had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ."

Cosmos (6th century) says that the Ptolemies, as well as their predecessor, Alexander, sent colonists to Sokotra, and that there was in the island a bishop appointed from Persia, also clergy ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the island. He relates that having landed there he was entertained by some of the inhabitants who at that time spoke the Greek language; and he adds that he found there a great number of Christians.²⁵

As to the sect to which these Christians belonged, Sir H. Yule quotes nearly all available authorities on the subject:—

"Abulfeda says the people of Sokotra were Nestorian Christians and pirates. Nicolo Conti, in the first half of the 15th century, spent two months on the island (Sechutera). He says it was for the most part inhabited by Nestorian Christians.

"Some indications point rather to a connexion of the island's Christianity with the Jacobite or Abyssinian Church. Thus they practised circumcision, as mentioned by Maffei in noticing the proceedings of Albuquerque at Sokotra. De Barros calls them Jacobite Christians of the Abyssinian stock."²⁶

De Faria says that at the time of Don Francisco de Almeyda's visit to the island in 1505, the inhabitants were Christians of the Jacobite Church, similar in its ceremonies and belief to that which is established in Ethiopia. The men generally use the names of the Apostles, while most of the women are named Maria. They worship the Cross, which they set up in all their churches, and wear upon their clothes, worshipping thrice a day in the Chaldean language, making alternate responses as we do in choirs. They have but one wife, use circumcision, pay tithes, and practise fasting.²⁷

Francis Xavier, the first of the Jesuit missionaries sent to India, visited the island in the latter end of 1541, and found distinct traces of the Church. The people revered the Cross,

²³ Murray's *Hand-book of Madras*, by Prof. Hartwick, 2nd Ed., p. 152.

²⁴ Yule, 2nd Ed., Vol. II. p. 340.

²⁵ *Topographia Christiana*, Book III., p. 178-79, quoted in Gillain's *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Vol. I. Chap. VIII. According to Sir H. Yule's quotation of the same passage, Cosmos did not actually land on the island. Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 401, 2nd Ed.

²⁶ Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 401 notes.

²⁷ Kerr's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. VI. p. 93.

placing it on their altars, and hanging it round their necks. Every village had its minister, whom they called *kashish* (Persian for a 'presbyter'), to whom they paid tithes. No man could read. The *kashish* repeated prayers ante-phonetically in a forgotten tongue, which Le Barros calls "Chaldee,"²⁰ frequently scattering incense; a word like *alleluia* often recurred. For bells they used wooden rattles. They assembled in their churches four times a day and held St. Thomas in great veneration. The *kashishes* married, but were very abstemious. They had two Lenten, and then fasted strictly from meat, milk, and fish.²¹

The probable explanation of the discrepancies in the foregoing accounts is that at some period a change occurred in the character of Sokotran Christianity; but the change may have shown itself only in particular portions of the island; and as the travellers did not all visit the same parts, each may have correctly described his own experiences. When the Abyssinian invaders of Yamen were defeated in A.D. 595 by the Persians under Hormâd bin Narsî Wahrîs, numbers of the former fled by sea to the other side of the Gulf of Aden, to avoid the persecution which followed their defeat; and it seems very probable that some of them reached Sokotra and, settling there permanently, propagated their religion. Whatever be the particular sect to which the Sokotrans belonged, the traditions of Christianity appear to have been maintained among them for several centuries after the triumph of Islâm in the countries bordering on Arabia; and although the island itself became submissive to the Marah Arabs of Kishn or Farâk, Christianity still existed in the beginning of the 16th century when the Portuguese arrived there. It seems to have been on the decline at that period, and received its death-blow in 1800 or 1801 when the Wahhâbîs of Nejd invaded the island, and in their fanatical zeal destroyed the churches, crosses, grave-stones and every visible trace of Christianity. At present — as Wellsted says — "every individual in Sokotra professes himself to be a Muhammadan."²²

The last vestiges of Christianity in Sokotra, so far as we know, are those traced by F. Vincenzo, the Carmelite, who visited the island after the middle of the 17th century. The people still retained a profession of Christianity, but without any knowledge, and with a strange jumble of rites, sacrificing, circumcising, abominating wine and pork. They had churches which they called *makâm*,²³ dark, low and dirty, daily anointed with butter. On the altar was a cross and a candle. The cross was regarded with ignorant reverence, and carried in processions. They assembled in their churches three times in the day, and three times in the night; and in their worship burned much incense, &c. The priests were called *odambo*, elected and consecrated by the people, and changed every year. Of baptism and other sacraments they had no knowledge.

The Sokotran language — as I have already stated — has never yet been philologically classified: various conjectures have been made as to its origin, but most of them being mere guesses, are rather wide of the truth.

To facilitate the investigation of this important subject, I have compiled from numerous sources of information the two accompanying comparative vocabularies. No. 1 (founded upon that published by Dr. J. Bird in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1845) shows as a heading a certain number of English words such as must occur in every language, no matter how barbarous; and in the columns beneath them are the corresponding words in Sokotran and all the languages which are in the least likely to bear any analogy to it. Owing to want of information, the Sokotran and Chaldee portions are very imperfect, and the Gharah (Kara), which ought to be included, is entirely wanting. Still — meagre though it be — the information afforded by this table is, I think, sufficient to justify us in classifying the Sokotran language as a member of the Ethiopic branch of the Syro-Arabic or Northern Semitic family. It bears a closer resemblance to Gîz — the ancient language of Ethiopia — than to any others here shown.

²⁰ Wellsted says (II. 314) that the Ethiopic was commonly called *Chaldee* in the 16th century.

²¹ Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 402.

²² (Vol. II. page 226.)

²³ An Arabic word, meaning a place of rising, standing or remaining.

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1.

Family or Group.	Branch, or Sub-Group.	Language.	Sun.	Moon.	Stars.	Morning.
Semitic Family.	Northern Branch.	1; Arabic	shams	kamar	kawākib (sing. kab) kō	ṣabāḥ, ṣubḥ
	Ethiopic Branch.	2; Gt., or Old Tigre	ṣahā, i	warah	kakab	nāgāḥ
		3; Amharic, or modern Abyssinian	ṣahai	taharka	kākāb	təwāt
		4; Harari, or Aḡari	ḥir	charakā	tā, āḥ (sing. tā, i)	subḥ
	Ethiopic sub-group	5; Somali	korāḥ	ḍaiyah	hēdiko (sing. hēdik)	aroryo
		6; Galla	addu, hāthā	tahia	artahi	.....
		7; Dankali, or Afari	ayrō	āla	hōtāk (sing.)	āko
	.....	8; Sokotran	shhan	ḥrah	kōkab (sing.)	.....
	.....	9; Mhāri	haiyōm	wārtt	kakrob (sing.)	kaṣōbah
	.....	10; Gārawi	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	11; Hebrew	shamaah	yārach	.....	.....
	.....	12; Chaldean	san	yerah	.....	.....
	.....	13; Assyrian	shamas	tain	.....	.....
	.....	14; Sanskrit	sūra, sūrya	chandra	tārā	ushas

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1; continued.

No.	Day.	Earth.	Water.	Fire.	Father.	Mother.	Eye.	Head.
1	yaum, nahâr	ardh	mâi, môya	nâr	abâ	umm	'ain	râs
2	âlât	medr	may	âstt	âba	am	ayn	râs
3	âlât	medr	atata, waha	âstt	âbât	anât	ayn	râs
4	ma'altâ, ôj (P)	dashî, tash-shîl (P)	mî	isâd	âwa	â'e	in	urus
5	aabo, qarâr	qul	bîyo	dab	aba	hoyo	il	mâdah
6	gâft	laffa	bisan	ibita	abba	hata	itaha	mata
7	la'ô lo'ô	bâjô	lay	gîrâ	âbbâ	inâ	intî	amô, amô
8	.....	.....	rîho rîyoh	shaiwat	.....	.....	.....	rî
9	nahâr	ardh	(ha)moh	shî, tî	hâb	hamâk	'ain	(ha)rôh
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	yôm	erets	mô (with article prefixed, hammo)	eah	âb	âm	ain	rîsh
12	.....	ki	.....	eahata (P)	atta	.....	ai	rahad
13	yumu	ilamu	.....	.....	abu	ummu	.....	.....
14	ahan	prithvi	jala, vâri	agni	pitâ	mâtâ	nêtra	mastaka, âiras.

Comparative Vocabulary, No. 1; continued.

No.	Nose.	Mouth.	Tongue.	Teeth.	Hand.	Foot.	One.	Two.
1	anf	famm	lišan	sanān, (sing. sinn)	yad	rijl	wāhid, aḥad	ithnān
2	anfa	aph	lāsan	san	ad	agr	aḥadi	halaitā
3	.....	aph	malas	pras	ad	agraḥad	and	halēt
4	aphnatah	afē	arrāt	sin (sing.)	tjt	ingir	aḥad	kōt
5	san	af	arrab	ihig (sing.)	ga'n	ag	kau, mid	laba
6	funyan	afan	arraba	ilkan	harkī	mila	tōko	lāma
7	san	af	arrabā	ikō, bodinā	gabā	ibā, lak	inik	namāyā
8	naḥr	.....	lihan	matirmish	.....	qōb	kāt, tāṭ, ḥaṭ	tarawah
9	naḥḥarir	khōk	ahin	.....	ḥaid, heet	madḥālat	tā, ad	tharōh
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	naḥḥir	phāh	lāshon	shon	yād	regel	ekḥad	shēnāyim
12	.....	.....	.....	.....	kat	.....	had	.....
13	.....	.....	lišan	.....	.....	.....	ishtin (m.) ikhit (f.)	shanaī
14	nāsikā	mukha	jihvā	danta	hasta	pāda	āka	dvi

Comparative Vocabulary No. 1; continued.

No.	Three.	Four.	Five.	Six.	Seven.	Eight.	Nine.	Ten.
1	thalāthah	arba'a	khamṣah	sittah	ṣab'ah	thamāniah	tis'ah	'aṣharah
2	ṣalṣati	arbat	ḥamasati	ṣadsati	ṣabati	ṣamanati	ṭasah	.....
3	ṣasat	arut	amṣati	ṣadsat	ṣabat	ṣamanati	ṣattagna	asr
4	shishti	ḥarad	ḥamisti	ṣaddisti	ṣṣti	ṣṣt, ṣṣt	ṣeṣtan, zehtayn	asir
5	ṣadḥ	afṣr	ṣḥn	ḥḥ	ṭadobḥ	ṣiddḥ	ṣagḥl	toban
6	ṣḥdi	afṣr	ṣḥn	jḥ	ṭorba	ṣaddṣti	ṣagḥl	kudān
7	ṣidḥu	farḥy	kōnṣwḥ, kōn	ḥḥy	mḥḥḥn	ḥḥḥḥ	.....	.....
8	tata'ah	arba'ah	ḥaimiah	ṭtah, yitah	yib'ah	ṭamḥṭ	ṣa'ah	'aṣḥri
9	ṣḥḥḥḥḥḥ	rubṣt	ḥḥamḥḥ	yitṭ	yibṣt, ibṣt	ṭhimanṭ	ṭṣṣt	'aṣḥarṭ
10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11	ṣhaloṣh	araba	ḥḥamṣah	ṣḥḥh	ṣḥaba	ṣḥammonḥ	ṭṣṣḥ	ṣṣṣr
12	ṭalṭ	'arba'	.....	ṣḥḥb, ṣḥṣb	ṣḥḥb'ah	.....	.....	'aṣḥur
13	ṣḥḥḥḥḥ (m.) ṣḥḥḥḥḥ (f.)	arbat (m.) arba (f.)	ḥḥamiah	ṣḥḥḥḥḥ (m.) ṣḥḥḥḥḥ (f.)	ṣḥḥḥḥḥ (m.) ṣḥḥḥḥḥ (f.)	ṣḥamnat (f.)	ṭḥḥḥḥḥ (m.) ṭḥḥḥḥḥ (f.)	ṣṣṣṣḥḥ (m.) ṣṣṣṣḥḥ (f.)
14	tri	chatur	panḥan	ṣḥṭ	ṣapṭan	ṣḥḥṭan	ṣavan	ḥaṣan

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2.

English.	Sokotran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhârl.	
A						
Above	.....	.....	فوق	fûk	حقلا	haklâ
Afterwards	.....	.....	بعد	ba'd	مغورا	maghûrâ
Age	.....	.....	عمر	'umr	عمر	'âmar
Agreement, } make no } Alive	عن افراد	'an alfirâd	لا تشرط	lâ tashruṭ	.....	.....
	الظامع	alḡhâma	حي	hai-y	.....	.....
Always	.....	.....	دائماً	dâ'yiman or	دويم ذ اوقا	doem-dh- aukât
			على الدوام	'ala-d-da- wâm		
Anchor	بروسي	bartâf	بروسي	bartâf	بهرت	boharat
Angry	.....	.....	مغضب	maghṭiḡh	مغضب	maghṭiḡh
Ant	.....	.....	نملة	namla	لوميل	nomil
Antelope	طهرير	ṭahrir	غزال	ghasâl	.....	.....
Antimony	.....	.....	كحل	kuhl	كا حل	kâhil
Arm	ايط	âyat	يد	.....	.....	.....
Arms, the (pl.)	.....	.....	الأذرع	al adhru'	حيدوتن	haidôtan
Army	.....	.....	عسكر	'askar	عسكر	'askâr
Arrow	.....	.....	سهم	sahm	سهوم	.....
As before	.....	.....	كما أول	kimâ awwal	هاش هوا لا	hâsh hawâlâ
Ascend	الصح	allah	طلع	ṭal'a	.....	.....
Ashes	.....	.....	رماد	ramâd	رميد	ramit
At a great } distance } At hand, close	شرقي	sharhuk	بعيد	ba'id	.....	.....
	شيلي	shâli	قريب	ḡarib	.....	.....
B						
Back, the	طادة	ṭadah	ظهر	ḡbahr	.....	.....
Bad	ديا	diyâ	بطل	batâl	.....	.....
Bargain, make a	شالم	shâlim	اشرط	ashruṭ	.....	.....
Bark of a tree	.....	.....	قشر الشجرة	ḡasharu-l- shajara	قشروت	ḡashrût
Barren	.....	.....	صحال	mimḡâl	هينور	hê'ûr
Battle	.....	.....	قتال	kitâl	فور	ḡhûrât
Beak (of a bird)	.....	.....	منقر	minkar	اخو	akhûḡh
Beard	.....	.....	لحية	lihya	الحيت, دكهن	alhêt; dakhan
Bed	.....	.....	سرير	sarir	جودري داشنا	jodari-dh- ashnât. Lit. bed of sleep (?)

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhārī.	
Bee (honey)			نحلة	nahla	هالوباي	hānobēt
Behind			خلف, وراء	kḥalf, warā	منخيرا	manghairā
Belly			بطن	baṭn	جوف	qjōf
Below			تحت	taḥt	مما (sic)	amaš (sic)
Bird			طير	ṭair	مقاب	agāb: diki-wik
Bite			عضة	'adhḍha	صوب	ṣōb
Bitterness			مرارة	marāra	مير	marir
Black			اسود	aswad	حور	ḥaowar
Blade of grass			(?) السراخ	.....	رفوة	rahūt
Blind			اصمى	ā'mā	عوريت	'awarīt
Blood			دم	dam	دم	dum
Blow (with the fist)			لكمة	lakma	كيات	kamēt
Blue			ازرق	asraq	حور	ḥaowar
Boat			منبوق	sambūq	منبوق	sambūq
Body			جسد	jasad	جساد	jasād
Book	كتاب	kitāb	كتاب	kitāb	كتوب	katōb
Bottle			شيشة	shisha (Pers.)	لوقت	lōjat
Bow			قوس	kaus.	مندافات	mandofēt
Bowels			مسارين	mas-arrain	مشغين	mosghēn
Box	مندوق	sandūq	مندوق	sandūq	.....	.....
Boy	مبياقي	mubyāqī	ولد	walad	.....	.....
Bracelet			سوار	siwār	ملاكات	matākēt
Branch			فصن	ghuṣn	رتات	ratāt
Brass			نحاس	naḥṣ	نحوس	naḥōs
Bread	ازهر	aṣhar	خبز	kḥubz	خابز	kḥābz
Bridle			لجام	ligām (Pers.)	فيناج	ghuianāj
Bring (v. imper.)	نكبان	nikyān	جيب	jīb, or gīb	.....	.....
Broken	تير	taibar	مكسور	maksūr	.....	.....
Brook			جدول	jadwal	هد مروت ذلهر	hashabōt-dh-nahr
Brother			اخ	aḥ	فاى	ghāk
Bug			بق	baq	كتون	katōn
Bull			ثور	thaur, thūr	ثور	thūr

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhārī.	
Bullocks	الهيئين	al haitein	بقر	bukur	.....	.....
Buoy	.....	.....	شماندره	shamandara	کوی	kōi
Button	قطير	kutmir	زبدہ	sibda	خزرات	kḥazarat
Buy	استنجر	astinjar	اشترى	ishtarā	.....	.....
Cable	.....	.....	حبل	ḥabl	مسبوا	masabūḥ
Calm, a (sea)	.....	.....	راكن	rākin	سؤال	shōāl
Camel	.....	.....	جمال	jamal, or gamal	.....	.....
Cash	.....	.....	فلوس	fulūs	درهم	darīham (Pers. dir- hah.)
Cat	.....	.....	قطه	kittā	.....	.....
Chain	سلسله	sinsila	سلسله	silsila	سلسلات	silsilāt
Cheeks	.....	.....	خود	kḥudūd	چشمک	chajamatak
Child (female)	فرهن	farhan	بنت	Bint	فجيت	ghajit
Children	.....	.....	اولاد	aulād	قلیان	gallān
Chin	.....	.....	ذقن	dhakān	ماهور	malhūt
City	.....	.....	مدینه	madīna	(?) رحبات خيت	rahabēt, 'or rahbait, khīt
Civet cat	يربوق	yirbōk	متور	sinneur	.....	.....
Clear (op. of foul)	.....	.....	رائق	rāḥiq	سؤال	shōāl
Close at hand, close to	شیکه, شیلی	shēlī, shīka	قريب	karīb	.....	.....
Clothes	.....	.....	اثواب	athwāb	خلواق	kḥalwāk
Clouds	.....	.....	سحاب	saḥāb	مفور	'afūr
Clouded, cloudy	.....	.....	مغيم	mughaiyim	مفور ماكن	'afūr-mākan
Copanut tree	.....	.....	نارجيل	narjīl (Pers.)	میدا	mēdā
Coffee	.....	.....	قهوة	kahwa	قهوا	kahwēt
Cold (s)	.....	.....	برد	bard	قاصم	kāṣim
Colours (flags)	.....	.....	بيرق	bairak (Pers.)	فلى بيرق	ghālā-bērīk
Comb	.....	.....	مسط	maashshaj	مشرق	maasharīk
Come (here)	تعد به	t'adaba	تعال	t'āl	كالبره	kāl bōh
„ near	تولردى لکودن	tū tardī ta kud'an	تعال قريب	.....	.....	.....
„ close	توتبر	tū tahar	تقرب	.....	.....	.....
„ back	تکانه	taktānah	.....	.....	.....	.....

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokoḡran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect.)		Mhārl.	
Conquered	.....	.....	مغلوب	maghlāb	فوصل	fōṣal
Cows, or bul- locks	الهيئين	al haitein	بقرة	bukur	.....	.....
Crooked	قهن	kaghhan	معوج	mu'awwaj	عواج	'awaij
D						
Daughter	فوهن	farhan	بنت	bint	فهيپ	ghajit
Dead	صامي	ṣamī	مات	māt	.....	.....
Descend	لقاف	takāfa	الزل	anzul	.....	.....
Dog	كلب	kalb	كلب	kalb	كلب	kalb
Dry (adj.)	تاشه	tāsha	يابس	yābis	قوشه	kōsha
E						
Ears	ادهن	adhan	آذان	ādhan	حيدان	haidhān
Hat	استر	astah	اكل	akul	ته	tah
Eight	تالاي	tamāni	ثمانية	thamāniya	ثمانيت	thimānit
Eighteen	تالاعشر	tamānat- 'aashar	ثمانية عشر	thamāniyat- 'aashar	.....	.....
Eyebrows	تري من تفروز تريكعين	tari'ain tarfūs tariyat'ain	حواجب	ḥawājib	احجور	aḥajūr
Eyes	طعين	ṭai'an	عينين	'ainain	.....	.....
F						
Feet, the	صوب	ṣōb	رجلين	rijlain (dual)	مدحاقات	madhākat (sing.)
Fingers, the	اصابع	aṣābi'	اصابع	aṣāb'	شوبع	shōb'a
Fire	شيوط	shaiwaṭ	نار	nār	شيوط	shliṭṭ, vide note on pro- nunciation ṣait, saiyid
Fish	موده	ṣōdah	سمك	samak (pl.)	صيد	ghalf
Fishing-line	شوط	shōhaṭ	خيط	khaṭ	غلف	ghalf
Five	خيمش	ḥaimish	خمسة	khamṣa	خموة	khamūh
Flour	دقيق	daḡḡ	دقيق, طحين	daḡḡ, ṭahīn	.....	.....
Four	اربعة	arb'a	id	.....	ربوت	rubōt
G						
Ghee (clarified butter)	حمي	ḥamī	صمن	ṣamm	.....	.....
Give, do not	من تندی	'an tandāff	لا تعطي	lā t'atē	.....	.....
Goat or sheep	ارهن	arhan	غنم	ghanam	حوز	hōz, tūbawit
Go away	نطوهر	ṭaḡḡhar	روح	rūḥ	حرة	ḥarah

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.	Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).	Mhārī.			
Go far away	نوعه سرحق	tō'ad sarḥuk	روح بعيد	rūḥ ba'id	.....	.....
„ out	شراكم	sharākah	اخرج	akhruj	.....	.....
„ to-day	حيرة طهر	ḥaira ṭahar	روح اليوم	rūḥ al yaum	.....	.....
„ to market	نعد سوق	ta'ad sūk	روح بسوق	rūḥ basūk	.....	.....
Good	.....	.....	طيب	ṭayyib	مشرة	.....
H						
Hair, the	شف	shiff	شعر	sha'r	شف, ساي	shuf, shāff
Haste, make	نعد, تغرة	ta'add, ta'ūh	امشي	amshi	.....	.....
Head	رى	ri	راس	rās	جروة	ḥarōh
Hill, or mountain	فدمن	fadhan	جبل	jabal	جبال	jibāl, kir-mūn
Hold, take	تلو	talū	امسك	amsik	.....	.....
Hook, fishing	اقله	aklahah	كلاب	kullāb	قلاو	ḥalāb
House	قار	ḥār	بيت	.....	.....	.....
I						
Iron	حصن	ḥaṣ-han	حديد	ḥadid	حديد	.....
K						
Kill	تحرز	taḥriz	اقتل	aktul	.....	.....
Knife	ساري	ṣārī	سكين	sikkīn	فيس	'ais
L						
Lip	شيبه	shibah	شفة	shaffa	كونيف	karfif, shāprah
Long, tall	ريلو	ri, au	طويل	ṭawīl	.....	.....
M						
Man, a	حبيبي	ḥaiḥai	رجل	rajul	غبيج	ghaij
Market, bazar	سوق	sūk	سوق	sauk or sūk	.....	.....
Mast of a ship	د قعر	daḳ-ḥar	دقل	daḳal	.....	.....
Meat, flesh	ته	tah	لحم	lahm	.....	.....
Milk	حوي	ḥūf	حليب	ḥalīb	اشغوى	ishakḥūf
Month	شهر	shahr	شهر	shahr	ورخ	warakh
Moon	ابره	irah	قمر	qamar	واريت	wārit
Mountain	فدمن	fad-han	جبل	jabal	جبال	jibāl, kirmim

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhārī.	
N						
Night-time	احلة	ahtah	ليل	lail	بالي	bahalf
Nine	سعة	sa'ah	تسعة	tis'ah	اسات	isēt
Nose	نخير	naḥir	الف	anf	نخير	nakhārīr
O						
Oil	سليط	salṭṭ	سليط	salṭṭ	سليط, مه	salṭṭ, mah
One	واحد, ط, ط, ط	ḥāṭ, tāḥ, ḥāṭ	واحد	wāḥid	طاد	tāḥad
P						
Paper	قرطاس	karṭas	.....	kāḡḡadh	.....	.....
R						
Roof, top, awning, &c.	مبلو	mī'au	قلا	qhalāl	.....	.....
Rope	قوت	ḡet	.....	.....	.....	.....
S						
Sail of a ship	شراع	shir'a	شراع	shirā'	شرون	sharōtan (pl.)
Salt water	ريو درلهم	rīhō darna-ham	ما لي بحر	mā'ī baḡr	.....	.....
Sell, (v.)	كثومم	kathō'am	باع	bā'	.....	.....
„ I will	اشير	aahimah	ابيع	abī'	.....	.....
Seven	يبعة	yibī'ah	سبعة	sab'ah	ابا, يبا	ibēt, yibēt
Shoulders	كوري	kaurī	كفد (sing. كنف)	katāf (sing. kafīf)	كفد	kāfah
Sit down	استعاو	istahā,ū	اجلس	ajlis	ثوول	thōwal
Six	اينة	itah, yitah	سنة	sittah	يئت	yittē
Sleep, (v.)	ايهم, تشوف	aidam, tashūf	نام, رقد	nām, raḡad	.....	.....
Star	كوكب	kōkab	نجم, كوكب	najm, kan-kab	كبكب	kabkōb
Stomach	مير	mīr	بطن	baṭn	كرش	karaash
Stop! Stay!	سلوبه	salūbah	امير	aḡbur	سلوب	salōb
Sun	شهن	shīhan	شمس	shams	حيوم	haiyōm
Sword	شكو	shukkō	سيف	saif	شكي	shakī
T						
Take away, remove	ارج	arah	ودي	wadī	.....	.....
Take away, do not	ملي طيعي	'alā tiyē'i	لاودي	lā tawadī	.....	.....
Take hold	تلو, مر, لزمن	talō, 'arr, tas'an	خذ, امسك	ḡudh, amask	.....	.....
„ do not	من لزمن	'an tas'an	لا تخذ	lā tāḡudh	هلق	huṭhuk

Comparative Vocabulary No. 2; continued.

English.	Sokotran.		Arabic (Gulf of Aden Dialect).		Mhār.	
Tall, long	ريڏو	riḥu	طويل	ṭawīl	.....	.....
Teeth	مڙمڙ	matirmish	اسنان, غروس	asnan, gharūs	.....	.....
Ten	عشري	'ashri	عشرة	'ashara	عشریت	'asharīt
Three	طبعة	tata'ah	ثلاثة	thalāthah	ثلاثا ت	ahādthāt
Throat, neck	نحاش	nahāshah	رقبة	raḥabah	قرد	garad
Tongue	لشن	lishan	لسان	lisan	شين	shin
Town	چيرھلي	chirhal	بلد	balad	رحبات	raḥbāt
Two	تروہ	tarawah	اثنين	ithnān	ثروہ	tharōh
Two months	ترايشهرين	tarā b- shahrain	شهرين	shahrain	.....	.....
Two years	تري اينہ	tari ainah	سنتين	sanatain	.....	.....
U						
Untrue, a falsehood	تبت	tubat	كذب	kidhb	بادي	bādī
W						
Water	ريہہ	riho	ماء, مويہ	mā, mōyah	حموہ	ha-mōh. The syllable ha seems to be the article, as in Hebrew
.. salt or sea	ريہہ, ريہن	riho (or riyoh) réhan	ماءي بحر	mā, i. baḥr	.....	.....
.. sweet or fresh	ريہہ حالي	riyoh ḥālī	ماءي حلو ماءي حالي	mā, i. ḥalū, or ḥālī	.....	.....
.. drink	ريہہ لري	riyoh larī	ماءي اشرب	mā, i. ashrah	.....	.....
.. give some	ابي ريہہ	abī riho	اعطي ماء	ā'atī mā, i	.....	.....
.. plenty of	گي ريہہ	gī riho	ماء كثير	mā, i. kathir	.....	.....
.. scarcity of	ريہہ حررھن	rihō ḥarar- han	ماء قليل	mā, i. qalīl	.....	.....
Well, (s.)	اھر	ab-har	بئر	bi'r, bīr	بئر	bīr
White	لہم	lab-ham	ابيض	abyaḍh	لبون	labōn
Wood	طيرب	ṭarab	حطب	ḥaṭab	طرب	dtharab, ḫitab
Write (imper.)	توکنب	to-kuttāb	اكتب	aktub	.....	.....
Y						
Yard of a ship	ترمل	tarmal	فرمان	fermān	.....	.....
Year	اينہ	ainah	سنة	sana	سناي	sandī

Giz, which is the oldest member of the Abyssinian family of languages, shows an affinity in grammatical structure with the ancient Arabic, and is said to be closely allied to the dialects spoken by the Mahra and Kara tribes of Southern Arabia; and approximates much more to the Hebrew and Syriac than to the Arabic. It appears to have been the prevailing language of the country at the time the Abyssinians were converted to Christianity; and being of Syro-Arabian, or Semitic origin, has been improperly termed Ethiopic.

It was the vernacular dialect of the Agāzī, who founded the kingdom of Axum, and were the original of that mixed race known by the name of Habeshī, of whom the greater part were of Syro-Arabian origin, as proved by the cognate affinities of their language, and by history. An early connection and commercial intercourse existed between the people of this country and those of Southern Arabia; hence the frequent confusion in the use of the term "Ethiopia," which is applied in Scripture and elsewhere both to Southern Arabia and Abyssinia: there was in fact an Asiatic and an African Ethiopia. This intercourse between the two countries probably began about B.C. 789 to 729, when the Cushites — a branch of the Syro-Arabian people — migrated from the kingdom of Midian in Arabia to the western shores of the Red Sea; and from this period frequent similar migrations seem to have taken place, and to have introduced into the African dialects a great many Semitic words.

Giz is still used in Abyssinia for literary and scientific purposes. It borrowed words largely from foreign tongues — some as mere exotics by translators and scholars, but many others through direct popular intercourse with foreign nations. Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek have been chiefly laid under contribution; the last especially for words technical to Christianity.³²

Wellsted asserts that the Sokotran language so nearly resembles Mhārī as to be readily understood by the Arabs of the opposite coast.³³ This, however, is not the case. Mahra Arabs who have settled on the island, or who are in the habit of trading with it, learn to speak Sokotran, and make use of it in their intercourse with the natives; but I do not think the latter ever speak Mhārī, and the resemblance between the two languages is very slight, as will be seen by examining No. 2 Comparative Vocabulary of English, Sokotran, Arabic and Mhārī words.³⁴

The Mhārī idiom (كلام ذمهاري) *kalām dh'Mhārī*, as spoken by the natives themselves, is a peculiarly sweet language; so much so that they themselves liken it to the conversation of birds.

The Mahra tribe, said by many writers to be descended from the ancient Himyari of Eadhramaut,³⁵ occupy an extent of country exceeding that of any other tribe in the south-eastern part of Arabia. The limits of their coast are generally allowed to be the opening of the great Wādī Masila on the S. W., in 51°18' E. Long., and the town of Damkōt in the Bay of Al Kamar, on the N. E., in 52°47' E. Long., giving them a coast line of 185 miles. Inland their country extends to the confines of Hadhramaut. In stature they are an undersized race,

³² *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, July 1845, p. 603. *Enc. Brit.*, s. v. "Ethiopian."

³³ It would be interesting to know whether the Bani Kara and the Sokotrans understand one another's dialects.

³⁴ The Sokotran words are taken chiefly from Wellsted's Vocabulary, and the Mhārī from Dr. H. J. Carter's *Vocabulary of the Mahra Dialect*, published in the *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, July 1847. The Arabic words are Yamani. It will be advisable here to note certain letters which have a peculiar pronunciation in Mhārī:—

ل, for the most part, has not a broad sound, but is pronounced more like the *a* in *fat*: thus مھاري (Mhārī) has almost the same sound as the proper name *Mary*.

ج is generally pronounced soft, though in Yamani Arabic it is, as often as not, pronounced hard, like *g*.

ح, has a very peculiar sound in the Mhārī dialect: it is formed by placing the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the palate, and allowing the air to pass out of the mouth on one side or the other of it, in the manner of a flap, following it with the sound of the letter *l*, as in حوچہ *huja*, pronounced *shuḥḥ*.

ص, has the softer sound of the letter *s*, as in صفر *ṣafar*, which is pronounced *shafar*.

ع is usually pronounced the same as the Arabic ع (ʿ), and the latter is scarcely distinguishable from *g*.

³⁵ The Bani Kara also claim descent from the Himyari.

and when compared with their neighbours, the Beni Kara, may almost be considered diminutive; so that the Mahras, neither in appearance nor language, bear much resemblance to the Sokotrans. How, or at what period they became possessed of the island, I have been unable to discover.

The Beni Kara²⁶ (or Beni Quorra, as they themselves pronounce the word) also called (حكلي) *Hakli*, are a fine race of Beduins inhabiting the Sabhān Mountains, which extend from Rās Marbat to the village of Hāsik. The latter place marks the north-east, and Rās Dtharbat 'Ali (علي) the south-east termination of their maritime boundary. Between Rās Dtharbat 'Ali and Damkōt there are as many Mahras as Karas, therefore this interval may be considered neutral ground.

For the purposes of the present inquiry it is necessary to compare the Kara (Gharab) tribe with the Sokotrans, and the following account of the former by Dr. Carter²⁷ is almost as complete as can be desired:—

"Their country is mountainous, and cavernous, and consists of a white stratified limestone formation, rising from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea. The upper parts of the mountains are covered with good pasturage, and their slopes with a dense thicket of small trees, among which the frankincense and several other species of gum trees are the most plentiful.

"The whole tribe are essentially Troglydites, from the nature of the country in which they live; which, in every direction, affords them much better natural habitations than any they could erect for themselves.

"They consist of a fixed, and nomadic population; those who still continue to inhabit the caverns of their ancestors, and those who wandering from place to place, chiefly seek their subsistence in a predatory life; of the two, the former appear to furnish the most favorable specimens of their tribe.

"The following are their physical and ethnographical characters. They are quick, active, tall, and well made, but too slender to be termed athletic, being more formed for agility and enduring fatigue, than for great bodily exertion: their features are, generally speaking, handsome, and their expression pleasing and generous, with a quick and apprehensive eye; but with no deficiency of boldness, or determination in the character. Their skin is of a light-brown colour, with a shade of red in it; their hair glossy black, long, crisp and curling, and principally confined to its natural localities, the other parts of the body presenting little or none; even on the face there is seldom hair enough to be perceived at the distance of more than twelve paces off. The face is oval, the forehead low, but not receding, the frontal sinuses prominent, and the eyebrows more horizontal than arched: the eyelashes long, black and thick; the eye itself moderate in size, transparent and clear, with a deep, brown-black coloured iris. The nose, which is proportioned to the oval figure of the face, is long, and compressed laterally, with a slight aquiline profile; the nostrils, which are also compressed, have their *ala* a little elevated, but this elevation appears more than it is in reality, from a prolongation of the *septum nasi* towards the upper lip. The lips are thin, the upper one short, with its superior border slightly elevated. The incisor teeth perpendicular, the chin rather projecting than receding, the posterior angles of the jaw more square than obtuse, and the cheek-bones high and prominent.

"Nothing can be more simple than their clothing; a long piece of coarse blue cotton, wrapped two or three times round their loins, and descending towards their knees, in the manner of a short kilt, is all that the men wear; sometimes, however, they twist a second piece round their waist, which serves as a belt; and to prevent their untrimmed hair from falling over their face and shoulders, they bind a small black cord round the margin of the scalp, so as to include the whole mass within its turns, and then secure the longer portion at the lower

²⁶ بني قرا or قرة

²⁷ *Jour. B. B. & A. S.*, January, 1865.

part of the back of the head, where the whole is fastened. This manner of dressing their hair is more becoming to them than otherwise, the longer and loose portion being allowed to flow down their backs, or to remain between the shoulders in a large bunch, according to the nature of its curl. The band, or cord, with which it is tied, is made from their own hair, and not only serves them for the purpose mentioned, but also for any other use to which it may be applied, in case nothing better is at hand.

"The women are much finer, fatter, and lighter-coloured than the Arab women of the coast, and their features are small and regular. They wear a loose frock, which is also made of blue cotton cloth, and is of the same size from the shoulders to the ground; it is open in front for about a foot, where it buttons tightly round the lower part of the neck, and the sleeves are short and large; behind it trails on the ground, but in front it does not descend much below the knee. In addition to this, they have another portion of the same coloured cloth, which they throw over the back of their head and shoulders in the manner of a *dopatta*; but this they seldom use, and never think of concealing their faces under it, as is the custom with the Arab women. Their hair is divided by a narrow line, braided on the scalp, which passes from the centre of the forehead to the middle of the back part of the head, and they collect the hair into two large tresses, one on each side, which, passing down behind the ears, hang loosely over the breast. Few possess ornaments, not because they despise them, but because they have no money to purchase them. I have seen large pewter rings in the ears of some, though I am certain gold or silver ones would not have been refused for the same purpose.

* * * * *

"Their language is the Beduin dialect of the South-east Coast of Arabia; being, like that spoken by the inhabitants of the island of Sokotra and by those also of the islands in the Bay of Kuria Muria, intensely guttural; and in some of their songs the modulation of the sounds is almost entirely confined to the throat. They do not understand the Arabic spoken in the towns, unless they have had much intercourse with the Arabs, who themselves, on this coast, appear to prefer conversing in the dialect of the Beduins. In their singing they display a great fondness for melody, and their guttural articulation, which is never very harsh, is rendered most agreeable in some of their plaintive airs, which accord much with the European taste.

"That part of the tribe who have permanent places of abode in the mountains, live in natural caverns of the rock, which have been hereditarily transmitted to them through their forefathers, and have been selected near some rivulet, or fresh-water spring, for domestic purposes, and for the sake of their cattle. In these caverns, which are of gigantic dimensions, and in the form and proportion of an interior fourth of a hollow sphere, with a stalactite ceiling, they have ample room to pen their flocks and herds at night, or to afford them shelter during heavy falls of rain and wet weather; for which purpose they are surrounded by a dense fence of interwoven brushwood. In the different recesses of the interior, the Beduin and his family live, and towards the outside, still sheltered by the overhanging vault, are the huts of the herdsmen and his dependents.

"They encourage blood feuds, and in an affray which ends in the death of one of the parties, the survivors, or one of his relatives, sooner or later, is murdered by the friends of the deceased, when the feud is at an end.

"Their mode of salutation consists in placing the tips of the three first fingers of the right hand on those of the persons they salute, and afterwards kissing them audibly; they do this to every member of the assembly, to strangers as well as acquaintances. It is the first passport and best introduction, and should never be neglected by any one who wishes to establish a friendship among them.

"They profess themselves to be Muhammadans, undergo the operation of circumcision, and keep up the ceremony connected with it; but they pay very little attention to the other formalities of the Muhammadan religion. Their chief fear appears to be of ghosts and the devil, and this far exceeds their confidence in the protection of the Supreme Being."

Now compare this description of the Bani Kara with that already given above of the Soḳoṭrans, and it will be seen that they coincide in almost every particular. The only important point of difference is in the sound of the two languages: while the Kara dialect is extremely guttural, Soḳoṭran is, as Colonel Hunter remarks,³³ "not so guttural as Arabic and seems to require less effort in enunciation." But in the absence of any specimen of the Kara dialect, it would be rash to conclude that it must differ from Soḳoṭran philologically, merely because it differs in sound.

Several writers have confounded the soft Mhārī with the guttural dialect of the Karas, calling the former "Ehkhili" (manifestly a phonetic corruption of Hākīlī, a name applicable only to the Karas. The following remarks by Dr. J. Bird on the two idioms are well worthy of notice:—"The Southern Arabs establish a distinction between the dialect of the Gāras and that of the Mahras, asserting that the former contains a much less proportion of modern Arabic than the latter; so that an inhabitant of the coast of Shihr ^{شهر}, who knew no other Arabic than that of his own proper dialect, would be unable to comprehend the language of the people of Shajr ^{جسر}, who are the Gāras occupying the Sabhān Mountains and the coast from Cape Shajr, S. W., to Marbāt and Hasik, N. E. These dialects of the two tribes are but idioms, however, of the same language, in which are found many Hebrew words not met with in Arabic; and both are perhaps, as Fresnel supposes, the elder sisters of the former. The proper appellation of the original idiom among the Gāras is the Ehkhili, spoken at Marbāt and Zafār, and throughout the district of Shajr; the geographical limits of which, as we shall presently notice, have been confounded with those of Shihr, or the maritime part of Hadhramaut, chiefly occupied by Mahras, descended as would appear from the more ancient and original tribe of Gāras.

It is principally in the country of Shihr that those Hamyaric Inscriptions are to be found, which were first brought to light by Officers of the Indian Navy, and which have latterly attracted so much learned attention from those cultivating a knowledge of the Semitic languages.

A now desolate Fort on the sea-shore, in Lat. 14° 38' 30" N., Long. 49° 27' 35" E., seems to have given name to this tract of country, which corresponds as nearly as may be with the maritime part of Hadhramaut; and is distinguished from that of Shajr, N. E., called after the Cape of this name, situated between Rās Fartāk and Marbāt. The latter is called by Abulfeda Sowāhil Zafār, or the coast of Zafār, or Dhefār, an ancient city of this quarter, of which the ruins are now called El Balād,³⁴ or the town *par excellence*. It has been frequently confounded with the inland town of the same name belonging to the Sapphoritæ (Sapharitæ), but which has been satisfactorily identified by Niebuhr with a site, where are some Hamyaric inscriptions, about two and a half German miles S.S.E. of Jerim, in Lat. 14° 17'. This identification places the original seats of the Homeritæ, or tribe of Hamyar, much further to the westward than the maritime district of Shihr, where those inscriptions have hitherto been chiefly found; and would lead to the inference that the maritime Zafār was the capital of the Ascitæ, mentioned both by Ptolemy and Pliny, as situated in the neighbourhood of the sea near Cape Syagros, which corresponds with Ras-Shajr.³⁵ The Ascitæ may have been named from being situated on the Jun-al-Hashish, or the Gulf-of-Herbs, which is the Arabic name for the Bay in which Khartan and Martan (the Kuria Muria islands) lie; and though we cannot venture to assert that the name was only another appellation for the Gerræ, a poor people who originally fled from Chaldea to Arabia,³⁶ there is strong presumptive evidence that the modern Gāras, whose language has so many affinities common with the Syriac and Hebrew, are descendants and remains of this ancient colony."³⁷

³³ Balfour's *Botany of Soḳoṭra*.

³⁴ A very full account of the ruins and present state of El Balād, or the maritime Zafār near Marbāt, by Dr. Carter, has been published in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society for 1844*.

³⁵ Forster identifies the Syagrian Promontory with Rās Fartāk, *Historical Geography of Arabia*, Vol. II. 166 et seq. 179, &c.

³⁶ Strabo, Book XVI., page 766.

³⁷ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. II., July 1844 to July 1847, pp. 366-7.

The Gerræi or Agræi derived their name from Gerra or Gherra (Ghâra), perhaps the most famous emporium of antiquity, which Forster, on the authority of Ptolemy and others, places at the foot of the deep bay or inlet on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf, at the mouth of which are situated the islands of Bahrain. He shows that the name is probably an anagram for Hagar, and hence that the Agræi of Ptolemy are identical with the Hagarites, an Ishmaelite tribe whose destruction is recorded in the Bible (I. Chron., V). The city of Ghara or Hagar is said by Strabo to have been founded by Chaldean exiles, but the primitive Chaldeans were Cushite Beduins.⁴³

Probably the remnant of the Gerræi, after the complete defeat which they suffered at the hands of the sons of Reuben, fled southwards, and so came to the maritime strip of country now occupied by their descendants the Gâras. Further persecution may have induced some of them to take the sea: and Soḱoṭra is the first land they would come to.

This appears to me to be the most probable origin of the earliest inhabitants of Soḱoṭra, whose religion corresponded with that of the Chaldeans, from whom sprang the Gerræi, or Gâras. Of course, many important links are wanting in the chain of evidence, the chief of which is due to our entire ignorance of the Gârawi dialect. If this, on investigation, prove to be identical or nearly so, with Soḱoṭran, the common origin of the two races will be an established fact. The language of people residing in such isolated situations as do the Gâras and Soḱoṭrans would undergo very little change in the course of ages, except by the addition of foreign words to supply the wants entailed by the slight advance in civilisation.

DELHI SIWALIK PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF VISALADEVA; THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1220.

BY PROFESSOR F. KILNHORN, C.L.E., GÖTTINGEN.

An impression of these inscriptions was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, more than hundred years ago, by Lieutenant-Colonel Polier; and from it an account and partial translation of the inscriptions, as explained by Rādhākāntaśarma, were given, in A.D. 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. pp. 379-382. About the beginning of this century, the same Society was presented with another, apparently very accurate, impression of the inscriptions, "prepared under the inspection of their late member Captain James Hoare;" and from this copy a facsimile and a transcript of the text in modern Devanagari, and a transcript of the text in Roman characters with an English translation by H. T. Colebrooke, were published, in A.D. 1801, *ib.* Vol. VII. pp. 179-181. Afterwards, the inscriptions were referred to, *ib.* Vol. IX. pp. 188-189, by Captain Wilford, who was the first to point out that the king, whose name occurs in them, is mentioned also in the *Sârngadhara-paddhati*, 'nearly in the same words with the inscription;' a remark which caused Colebrooke, in a note, *ib.* p. 445, to amend his reading of the text, and to state that the anthology, referred to by Captain Wilford, actually contains two whole stanzas of these inscriptions. Colebrooke's text and translation, together with his supplementary note, were reprinted in his *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 232-237; and his rendering of the text, verified by H. H. Wilson, was also reprinted, in Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 525, by Mr. E. Thomas, who pointed out that one of the names of minor importance, occurring in the inscriptions, had been misread by Colebrooke. I now re-edit the inscriptions, of which a correct text and translation have not been hitherto published, from excellent impressions, which have been supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, and from which the accompanying photo-lithograph has been prepared under his supervision.

These inscriptions are now at Delhi, on the pillar which is known as Firôz Shâh's Lâṭ or the Siwalik Pillar, and which contains the inscriptions of Aśoka of which photo-lithographs from Mr. Fleet's impressions are published in Vol. XIII. of this Journal. According to

⁴³ Vide Forster, I. pp. 186-189, 196 and Index. LXXV. n.

Mr. Thomas,¹ the original site of this pillar was near Khizrābād, immediately west of the Jamnā, at the foot of Siwālik mountains, whence the pillar was removed to Delhi by Firōz Shāh (A.D. 1351-1388). The inscription A. is on the south-east side of the pillar, above the top line of the Aśoka edicts. B. and C. run right round the pillar, on the same level with each other, immediately below the last line of the Aśoka edicts. The inscription B. commences on the south-east and ends on the north-west; and C. commences on the north-west and ends on the south-east.

The writing of A. covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by from 8" to 10" high; and the size of the letters is between 2" and 2½". The writing of B. covers a space of about 3' 10½" broad by about 8" high; and the size of letters is 1½". The writing of C. covers a space of about 5' broad by about 1' 1" high; and the size of the letters is about 1½" in the first four, and about 1¼" in the remaining two lines. Throughout, the writing is well preserved, so that the actual reading of the text of the inscriptions is nowhere in the least doubtful. The characters are Nāgarī, with nothing remarkable about them except that the sign for *bh* shows a rather peculiar form,—e.g. in *Sāśabhart-bhāpati*, in A., line 2, — which we meet again, e.g., in the 'Pālam Bāoli' inscription² of the Vikrama year 1337. All the three inscriptions were evidently written by the same writer, the *Kāyastha* Śrīpati, a son of Māhava, of Gauḍa descent (C., line 5). The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit; A. is in prose, and B. in verse; and of C., lines 1-4 are in verse, and lines 5-6 in prose. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in the word *vṛtā* in C., line 3, the only word in which it occurs.

The inscription A. merely contains a date, which will be treated of below; and the statement that this inscription, and clearly also the two others, are inscriptions of the king of Śākambharī, Viśaladēva, the son of Avalladēva.³ Lines 1-2 of the inscription C. record that this Viśala, ruler of Śākambharī, had conquered the land between the Vindhya and Himālaya mountains, and that, by repeatedly exterminating the Mlēcchahs or barbarians, he had made Āryāvarta once more the abode of the Āryas; while lines 3-4 represent the king, who is here called Vigharājā,⁴ the ornament of the Chāhamānas, as exhorting his descendants to continue the work of conquest, begun by him.⁵ Lines 5-6 of the inscription C. repeat more fully the date given at the commencement of A., and state that the inscription was written, at the king's command and in the presence of the astrologer Tilakarāja, by the writer whose name has been already given, and that the post of *Mahā-mantrin* or great minister was held at the time by the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious Sallakṣhapāla.⁶ Finally, the inscription B. glorifies the king here addressed as Vighra or Vigharājādēva, in terms which are of no value for historical purposes.

The inscriptions A. and C. are both dated, in figures only, on the 15th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the year 1220; and C. refers that date distinctly to the Vikrama era, and gives besides the day of the week, a Thursday. Now the possible European equivalents for Vaiśākha śukla 15 would be, —

¹ See Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 334; *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. p. 161; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III. pp. 861-2.

² *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLIII. Part I., Plate x.

³ This name was first read *Avalladēva*; Colebrooke read it *Valladēva*, but added in a note that it might also be read *Avalladēva*.

⁴ Colebrooke considered it "impossible to determine from the tenor of the inscription, without other information whether Vigharājā and Viśaladēva were names of the same person, or of different princes." Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. p. 924, took Vigharājā to have been a tributary of Viśaladēva.

⁵ Lines 1-4 of the inscription C. are quoted in Śāringadhara's *Paddhati*, Professor Peterson's edition, Nos. 1255 and 1256, with the remark — *etau Śrīga-śrīpati-pāśādēva-yajñayāga-prastābh* 'these two (verses) are from a *prastā* which is on a sacrificial post, made of stone, of the king Nriga.' In the second of the two verses the edition has the various readings *Chāhamāna-tilakā*, and *Śrīmad-Vigharājā*, for *Chāhamāna-tilakā* and *Śrīmad-Vigharājā* which are quite clear on the stone.

⁶ According to Colebrooke, "the fortunate Lakṣhapāla."

for the northern Vikrama year 1220 current, — Monday, 30 April, A.D. 1162;
 for the northern Vikrama year 1220 expired, — Saturday, 20 April, A.D. 1163;
 for the southern Vikrama year 1220 expired, in which Vaiśākha was an intercalary month, —
 for the first Vaiśākha, — Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1164;
 for the second Vaiśākha, — Friday, 8 May, A.D. 1164.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Thursday, 9 April, A.D. 1164, and the calculation shows that the year 1220 of our inscriptions was the southern Vikrama year 1220, expired, and that the day belonged to the first (or *adhika*) month Vaiśākha, although there is nothing in the wording of the date to indicate this.

As regards the wording of the date, attention may also be drawn to the fact that, in the place of the ordinary *śudi* or *audī*, we have here, in both the inscriptions A. and C., *śuti*, a term which to my knowledge has not been hitherto met with in any other purely Vikrama date. On the other hand, *su. ti.* or *śuti* and *va. ti.* or *vati*, in which the syllable *ti* is clearly an abbreviation of the word *tithi*, are commonly used in Kāśmīr, in dates which refer themselves, in the first instance, to the Saptarshi era. Thus, according to Dr. Hultzsch in *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XL. p. 9, an inscription in Śāraḍa characters at Hariparvat is dated — *Sauvat 60 Śrā. va. ti. pra. Sukrē Mahammada-śāha-rājyē*, and a MS. of his collection bears the date — *Sauvat 24 Kārtika-vati-trayodāśyāś Baddhē śrī-Śāha* 1570; and according to Dr. Bühler's *Kāśmīr Report*, App. II. p. lv., a MS. of the *Ohārāyāśya-mantra-bhāṣya* is dated — *Sauvat 47 Śrā (śrā). va. ti. pañchadaśyāś (?) parataś shashthyāś*. Besides, the Deccan College Śāraḍa MSS. of the *Kārtikā-Vṛitti* and of the *Sakuntalā*, which I have examined myself, are dated, the former — *Śrī-nripa-Vikramāditya-rājyasya gat-ābdāś 1717 śrī-Saptarshi-matē sauvat 36 Pau. va. ti. 3 Revan Tishya-nakshatrē*, and the latter — *Sauvat 88 Vai. su. ti. saptamyāś*. And *śuti* and *vati* are throughout employed, for *śukla-pakṣē* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣē*, in a MS. calendar, belonging to the Royal Library at Berlin, for the Saptarshi year 4869, of which I hope to give a fuller account on a future occasion. The Kāśmīrian practice of which I have given these examples (to which I might add others from dates kindly supplied to me by Dr. Stein) in all probability was followed also in the adjoining hill-states of India; and it is therefore not at all strange that we should find an instance of the usage of *śuti* on a pillar which, at the time when the inscriptions were engraved on it, was standing at the foot of the Siwālik mountains.

On the general importance of these inscriptions I have nothing to add to what has been written on the subject by Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. p. 155ff. In the 'Pālam Bāoli' inscription of the Vikrama year 1337, which has been already mentioned above, we are told that the country of Hariyānaka, to which 'Philli' belonged, was first ruled by the Tōmaras, afterwards by the Chauhānas, and later by the Saka-rulers, i.e. the Muhammadans. And similarly, the Delhi Museum inscription⁸ of the Vikrama year 1384 relates that 'Phillikā' was founded by the Tōmaras, and that it was afterwards the residence of the Ohāhamānas, until it was conquered by the Mlēcchha Sahābadina.⁹ Our inscriptions show that the Ohāhamāna Visaladēva-Vigraharāja, king of Śākambharī¹⁰ (or Sāmbhar), had conquered a considerable tract of country even beyond Delhi, and had apparently checked for a time the progress of the Muhammadan invaders by whom his own descendants were utterly defeated 27 years after the date of these inscriptions.

⁷ On that day, the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise; see above, p. 86, No. 62.

⁸ Last edited by Professor Eggeling in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 93.

⁹ i.e. Shahāb-ud-dīn Ghōrī.

¹⁰ It may not be out of place to draw attention here to a remark of the late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, quoted *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 89, "that Sapṛḍalākṣha or Savālākṣha is the name of the Siwālik hills, and that the early Rājās of Kāśmīr called themselves Sapṛḍalākṣha-nripatis; and that the Śākambharī Rājās" — who are called *Sapṛḍalākṣha* and *Sapṛḍalākṣha-kāśmāpatis*; see *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 184 and 186 — "may have originally come from that country."

TEXT.¹¹

- A. 1 Ōm¹² [||*] Samvat 1220 Vaisākha-kṛti 15 [||*]
 2 Śakambhari¹³-bhāpati-śrīmad-Avalladē¹⁴
 3 v-ātmaja¹⁵-śrīmad-Viśaladēvasya ||
- B. 1 Ōm¹⁶ [||*] Ambhō¹⁷ nāma ripu-priyā-nayanayōḥ pratyarthi-damṭ-āntarē pratyakṣhāṇi tṛṇāṇi vaibhava-milat-kṣaṭhām yaśas-tāvakaḥ |
 2 mārggō lōka-viruddha ēva vijānāḥ śūnyāḥ manō vidviśhām śrīmad-Vigraha-rājadēva bhavataḥ prāptē prayāḥ-ōtsavē ||
 3 Līlā-maṇḍira sōdarēshu bhavatu svāntēshu vāmaabhruvām śatrūṇām tu na Vigraha-kṣhitipatē nyāyyō-tra vāsa-tava |
 4 śaṅkā vā Puruṣhōttamasya bhavatō n-āsty-ēva vārām nidhār-nnirmmathy-āpahṛita-śriyaḥ kim-u bhavān-krōḍhē na nidrāyitaḥ ||
- C. 1 Ōm¹⁸ || Ā¹⁹ Vindhya²⁰-ā Himādrōr-vvirachita-vijayā²¹-tīrtha-yātrā-prasaṅgād-udgrivēshu prahartā nripatisū vinamat-kandharēshu prasannaḥ |
 2 Āryāvarttāḥ yathārtham pūnar-āpi kṛtāvān-MLēchchha-vichchhēdanābhīr-ddēvaḥ Śakambhar-īndrō jagati vijayatē Viśala-kṣhōṇipālāḥ ||
 3 Vṛō(bṛō)tē²² saḥprati Ohāhamāna-tīlakāḥ Śakambhari-bhāpatiḥ śrīmad-Vigraharāja śaha vijayī sātānajan-ātmanāḥ |
 4 asmābhiḥ kara-dah vyadhāyī Himavad-Vindhya-āntarālam bhuvāḥ śaha-svīkaraṇāya m-āstu bhavatām-udyōga-śūnyāḥ manāḥ ||
 5 Samvat śrī-Vikramādityē²³ 1220 Vaisākha-kṛti 15 Gauru [||*] Likhitaḥ idam rāj-ādāt²⁴ jyōtiṣhika-śrī-Tilakarāja-pratyakṣhām Gauḍānvaya-kāyastha-Māhava-putra-Śrīpatinā |
 6 Atira samayē mahā-mahīrī rājaputra-śrī-Sallakṣaṇapālāḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

A.

Ōm! In the year 1220, on the 15th of the bright half of Vaisākha. (A record) of the illustrious Viśaladēva, son of the illustrious Avalladēva, king of Śakambhari.

B.

Ōm! Tears forsooth are in the eyes of (thy) enemy's consort; blades of grass are perceived between (thy) adversary's teeth;²⁵ thy fame fills the quarters with its glory; forsaken by men is the path which is forbidden in the world,²⁶ (and) desolate are the minds of (thy) foes, when the jubilee of thy onward march has come, O illustrious lord Vigraharāja!

¹¹ From impressions supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ The third *akṣara* of this word was originally *blāṣ*, but the superscript *au* *au* *au* has been struck out.

¹⁴ The small circle below, and touching, the left portion of the *ś* of the *akṣara* *ś* of this word is the remainder of a sign of *vicarga*, which was denoted by two small circles, of which the upper one also is still faintly visible in the impression.

¹⁵ Between *ātmaja* and *śrīmad* the sign of *vicarga* was engraved, but subsequently struck out by a vertical line.

¹⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛtita; and of the next verse.

¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛtita.

²⁰ Originally *vijaya* was engraved, but the sign of *vicarga* has been struck out.

²¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛtita.

²² One would have expected here - *Vaibrahmaditya*. Compare the 'Pāṇam Bāli' stone inscription, in *Jour. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. XLIII. Part I, plate X, l. 21, *śaṅkārāś-śrī-Vaibrahmaditya* *śaṅkārāś* 1227.

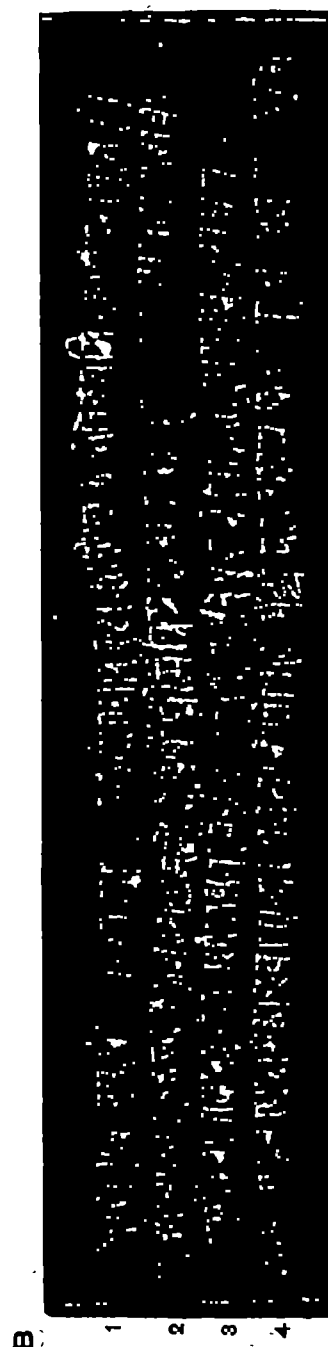
²³ Read *śrī-Vikramāditya*.

²⁴ On this I give Colebrooke's note, as corrected by himself in his own copy of the *Asiatic Researches* which is in the Göttingen University Library:—"This alludes to the Indian custom, by which biting a blade of grass is a token of submission, and of asking quarter."

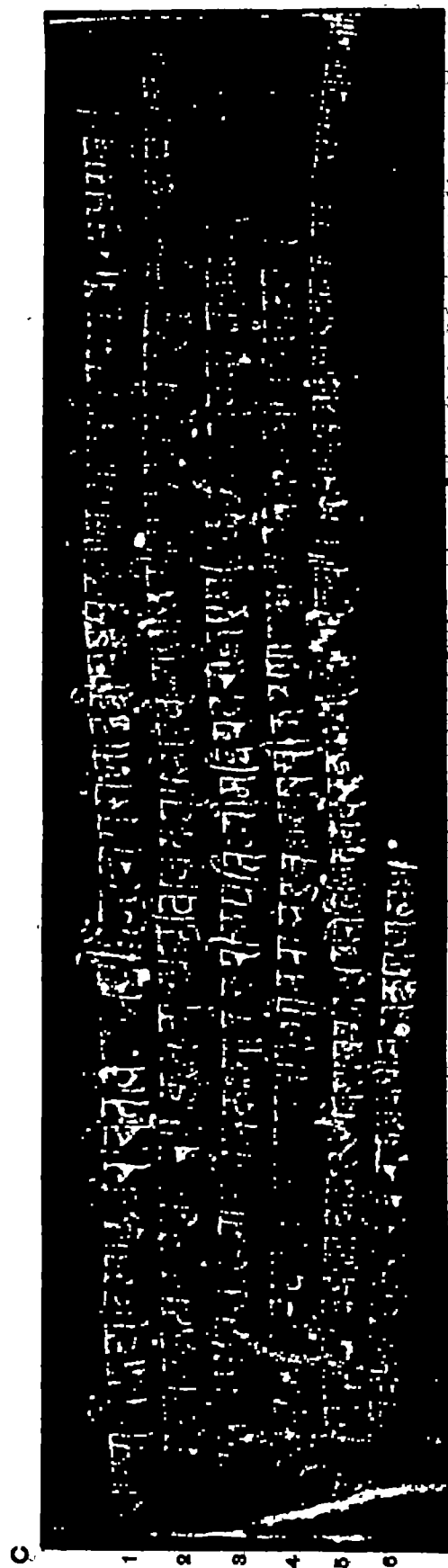
²⁵ i.e. the path of wickedness, to which the king has put an end. The two previous translations of this passage are: "the heart of (thy) foes was vacant, even as a path in the desert, where men are hindered from passing;" and "the minds of thy foes are void [of hope]; their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing."



SCALE .11



SCALE .14



SCALE .14

O mansion of grace,²⁶ let thy abode, but not that of thy enemies, be (*fixed*) in the minds, akin to thee,²⁷ of the women with beautiful eyebrows! Fitting it is that thou shouldst dwell there, O *Vigraha*, sovereign of the earth! Or is there a doubt that thou art the most high of men?²⁸ Surely there is not. Was it not thou that slept in the lap of Fortune, whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it?

O.

Om! Having achieved conquest as far as the *Vindhya* (*and*) as far as the *Himalaya* in the course of his pilgrimages to sacred shrines, striking at the haughty (*and*) gracious to princes who bend their necks; by repeatedly exterminating the barbarians having once more made *Āryāvarta* what its name signifies,²⁹ — victorious in the world is the lord, the guardian of the earth *Viśala*, ruler of *Sakambhari*.

The ornament of the *Chāhamānas*, the illustrious *Vigraharāja*, king of *Sakambhari*, the victorious, now addresses here those born in his lineage: "We have made tributary the land between *Himalaya* and *Vindhya*; let not your minds be void of exertion to appropriate the remainder of the earth!"

In the year 1220 of the illustrious *Vikramāditya*, on Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*. This was written at the king's command, in the presence of the astrologer, the illustrious *Tilakarāja*, by *Śrīpati*, the son of *Māhava*, a *Kāyastha* of *Gauḍa* descent.

The great minister at this time is the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious *Sallakṣhapāla*.

RARE COPPER COINS OF AKBAR.

BY CHAS. J. RODGERS, HONORARY NUMISMATIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The coins of Akbar herein described, which either belonged to my own cabinet, or were obtained by me in my tours as Archaeological Surveyor, are now dispersed, having been sent either to the British Museum, or to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, or to the *Lahôr* or *Lucknow* Museum.

They shew us what a vast field the copper coinage of Akbar presents to the numismatist, while the many different weights and names, the varieties of the legends, the mints, the years, and the months all tend to create interest. Only 86 coins are shown in the Plates attached, but we have the following mints represented:—*Kālpī* or *Muhammādābād*, *Gwālīor*, *Fort Gwālīor*, *Jaunpūr*, *Ahmadābād*, *Ajmēr*, *Mālpār*, *Alwar*, *Chitōr*, *Hiṣār*, *Firōza*, *Āgra*, *Lāhōr*, *Khairpūr*, *Kābul*, *Burhānpūr*, *Fatḥpūr* (*Sikrī*) and *Dehlī*: seventeen mints in all, which if dotted out on the map would show to a certain extent the boundaries of the empire under Akbar.

When Akbar ascended the throne, the markets of India must have been inundated with the large copper coins of the *Sūrī* kings, as well as the *Bahlōlīs* and *Sikandarīs* of the two *Lōdhī* kings, and the anonymous coins of *Bābar* and *Humāyūn*.

The peculiarities of these coins were as follows. The *Sūrī* issues were distinguished by the names of the kings and the size, and those of the *Lōdhīs* and *Mughals* by the mint. Thus, *Humāyūn* struck copper coins all over the country at *Māndū*, at *Champānēr*, *Dehlī*, *Lāhōr*, *Āgra*, *Jaunpūr* and other places, and *Shēr Shāh's* mints for copper coins were at *Hiṣār*, *Gwālīor*, *Nārānōl*, *Nau*, *Sambhal*, *Shēr Garh* (*Qanauj*?), *Alwar*, *Āgra*, *Byānā*, *Kālpī*, *Lakhnau*, and *Malōḥ*.

²⁶ Colebrooke, reading *śatrūṇāṁ gaurā*, instead of the actual reading on the stone *śatrūṇāṁ te na*, and adopting generally the explanation of *Bādhakṛtāśarma*, translated this passage thus: "May thy abode, O *Vigraha*, sovereign of the earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies."

²⁷ *Viś.*, because they, too, are a home of grace or amorous dalliance.

²⁸ Or *Puruṣhōttama*, i.e. the god *Vishnu*.

²⁹ i.e. the abode of the *Āryans*.

The Lódhis also at any rate struck both at Dehli and Jaunpúr. Again, Humáyûn never put his name on copper, only the year and the mint. The Súrís, however, always did so, and seldom the mint. Thus, but very few copper coins of Islâm Shâh Súr have the name of the mint on them and the same may be said of the copper issues of Muḥammad Súr. There is also no mint given on the few copper coins known of Sikandar Súr and Ibrahim Súr. Further, the coppers of Shâh Shâh, which are found in great variety and numbers all over the Panjâb were in all probability meant to be *dāms*, weighing about 320 grains, and those of the other four Sûrî kings were similar in make, size and legend.

Now, Akbar adopted the *dāms* of the Sûrî kings, but sometimes used the style of his father Humáyûn, and sometimes followed a style peculiar to himself, contracting a habit towards the latter part of his reign of placing the name of the coin upon the coin itself. For this purpose (1) *fulâs* was used just as we use 'copper' and meant any sized copper coin; (2) the *tanka*¹ and its parts, the *ān* (half) *tanka*, *chuhādrum ḥiṣṣa-i-tanka* (4th), *hashtum ḥiṣṣa* (8th), and *shānsudatun ḥiṣṣa* (16th), as definite coins with fixed weights; (3) the *nigf* (half), as half a *dām*. This last is a very rare coin, and in one instance I have met with the actual words *نیم دām* half a *dām* on such a coin (Pl. II. fig. 32). All the coins of this description are rare and in fact all those that I show on the plates attached to this paper are so. They are difficult to obtain, the legends are uncommon and the mints also.

It would seem, too, that weights were minted in Akbar's time under the auspices of the mint authorities, though jewellers then, as now, probably kept sets of agate weights. I have seen such minted copper weights from the Lāhōr, Āgra and Kābul mints, which in my previous papers on the copper coins of Akbar I thought were coins, inasmuch as they have the name of the mint, the year, and the month on them, exactly as the coins have. In Āgra they were called *tānke*,² spelt *تنك*, and were issued, as far as I know, only as four-*tānke* and two-*tānke* pieces. In Kābul and Lāhōr they were called *tanke*,³ spelt *تنك*, of which I have seen one one-*tanke* and one four-*tanke* piece. From Kābul I have a one-*tanke* and a two-*tanke* piece, and I now give a four-*tanke* piece (Pl. II. fig. 29).

The weights of the *tānke* pieces are a puzzle. Those given in my previous papers,³ — two one-*tānke* pieces, weighed 59 and 58·8 grains respectively, though much worn; but the two-*tānke* pieces I have seen vary from 119·5 to 108 grs.; while the three four-*tānke* pieces described in the present paper vary from 237 to 244·5 grains. This should make the one-*tānke* piece about 61, or perhaps 62 grains. Now the *Āin-i-Abkārī* gives the weight of a jeweller's *tānk* as 24 *ratīs*, and on actual weighment I find that 24 *ratīs* = 42 grs., and in this I am supported by Thomas, who says one *ratī* = 1·75 grs. Therefore a one-*tānke* piece should weigh 42 grs., but it does weigh 58·8 to 62 grs. Again in Bābar's *Table of Indian Weights* given by Thomas the *tāng* is said to weigh 32 *ratīs*, equal to 56 grains, but even this weight is less than that of worn copper *tānke* pieces 300 years old. Next, General Cunningham estimates the *ratī* at 1·8229 grs. and Mr. Maskelyne at 1·85. This goes nearer to what we want, if a *tānke* piece of 59 grs. = 32 *ratīs*, because then 1 *ratī* = 1·844 grs. But this is my lowest weight, whereas the four *tānke* piece weighs 244·5, though it is worn, making one *tānk* = at least 61·1 grs. and 1 *ratī* = 1·91 gr. All this makes me think the *Āin-i-Akbarī* is wrong in saying that the *tānk* was of 24 *ratīs*, and that it was really of 32 *ratīs*. It also makes me think that the *ratī* was heavier then than now.

A noteworthy feature in the coins of the second plate is that the names of the old Persian months appear on them, on fig. 20 *Ardibihisht*, on fig. 21 *Khārdād*, on fig. 22 *Shahrivar*, on fig. 23 *Asr*, on fig. 24 *Amardād*, on fig. 25 *Farwardīn*, on fig. 26 *Amardād*, on fig. 29 *Abān*, on fig. 36 *Tīr*. Thus we have the names of eight out of the twelve Persian months.

¹ [See next note as to whether this word should be *tanka* or *tanak*. — R. O. T.]

² [May not these words be *tanak* and *tanak*? — R. O. T.]

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIX. Pt. I. 1881, Pl. xix. fig. 3, and Vol. LIV. Pt. I., 1886, Pl. i. fig. 14.

A word to collectors. The copper coins of Akbar are getting rarer every year, because they contain good copper and are melted down.. Of those that are weights, I have seen but few. The people no longer know what they really are, and the few I have come across have always been in heaps of coins. So in any old heap of coppers may turn up a valuable mint-made weight, of which numismatists now know nothing.

The invaluable coin shown on Pl. II. fig. 32 invites me to make a remark as to an old controversy, about which I will now say nothing further than this. The revenues of Akbar were estimated in *dāms*. Now that we know from this coin what the *dām* is we can calculate the revenues exactly, or rather, we can see what the values of the sums, put down in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, are.

TRANSCRIPTION.

PLATE I.

- Fig. 1. Obv.:— دارالضرب محمد آباد عرف كالمبي Kālpī mint.
Rev.:— في سنة ٩٦٤ نهصد شصت (و چهار) 964 A.H.
- Fig. 2. Obv.:— دارالضرب خطه كالمبي Kālpī mint.
Rev.:— في التاريخ سنة ٩٦٨ 968 A.H.
- Fig. 3. Obv.:— same as on fig. 2. خطه كالمبي Kālpī very plain.
Rev.:— في التاريخ سنة ٩٦٦ 966 A.H.

When Kālpī was first called Muhammadābād (*vide* fig. 1), or by whom, I do not know. I have a *mohar* of Akbar in which he calls Udaipūr by the same name, adding, however, the epithet conquered to it. The inscription runs thus:— ضرب محمد آباد عرف ادي پور مفتوحه. The word *خطه* is used on coins of Jaunpūr struck in the time of Bābar and Humāyūn.

- Fig. 4. Obv.:— جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي
Rev.:— (في عهد) اميرالعهامي جلال الدين والدنيا ٩٦٧ (٩) 967 A.H.
- Fig. 5. Obv. and Rev. as on Fig. 4, but no year on Rev.:— This coin is half the weight of No. 4. The reverse follows the type originated by Shēr Shāh.
- Fig. 6. Obv.:— في زمان جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي
Rev.:— خلد الله تعالى ملكه..... سنة ٩٦٦ 966 A.H.

This coin is, so far as I know, unique.

- Fig. 7. Obv.:— ضرب..... دارالخلافه گوالپور Mint Gwālior.
Rev.:— في تاريخ سنة نهصد..... 900 odd A.H.
- Fig. 8. Obv.:— (ضرب ؟) قلع گوالپور Mint Gwālior.
Rev.:— نهصد هشتاد و هفت 987 A.H.

The coins of the Gwālior mint are exceedingly rare. In the large one the town is called Dārū'l-Khilāfat, in the small one the قلع fort.

- Fig. 9. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس دارالخلافه جونپور Jaunpūr mint.
Rev.:— في التاريخ سنة نهصد هشتاد 970 A.H.

The Jaunpūr coins of Akbar are very rare. This place is also called Dārū'l Khilāfat on his coins.

- Fig. 10. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس احمد آباد Ahmadābād mint.
Rev.:— سنة نهصد هشتاد ٩٨٠ 980 A.H.

Coins of the Ahmadābād mint of this type are very rare; at any rate they are very seldom seen in the Pāñjāb.

- Fig. 11. Obv.:— ضرب اجمير سكر فلوس Ajmēr mint.
Rev.:— سنة نهصد هشتاد (و هشت) ٩٨٨ 988 A.H.

- Fig. 12. Obv.:— ضرب مالپور منہ فلوس Mālpūr mint.
Rev.:— منہ نہصد ہشتاد (وینچ) ۹۸۵ 985 A.H.

There are several places called Mālpūr. I do not know which this is.

- Fig. 13. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس الور Alwar mint.
Rev.:— منہ نہصد شصت و غشت ۹۶۸ 968 A.H.

Coins of the Alwar mint are very rare.

- Fig. 14. Obv.:— ضرب چیتور منہ فلوس Chitōr mint.
Rev.:— منہ نہصد و (نود و نہ) ۹۹۹ 999 A.H.

I at first thought this ought to be of the Jaipūr mint (حصور) as the word is without dots, but Jaipūr was not in existence in the time of Akbar. The mint of Chitōr is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. Mr. Oliver read this mint as Qanauj (قنوج), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LV. 1885, Pl. xi., fig. 23.*

- Fig. 15. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس حصار فیرو (زہ) Hīṣār Fīrōza mint.
Rev.:— فی التاريخ نہصد شصت و ہفت 967 A.H.

Coins of Akbar from the Hīṣār Fīrōza mint are very rare.

- Fig. 16. Obv.:— ضرب دارالخلافہ آگرہ Āgra mint.
Rev.:— فی التاريخ منہ نہصد 900 odd A.H.

- Fig. 17. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس دارالسلطنہ لاہور Lāhōr mint.
Rev.:— نہصد ہفتاد و شش 976 A.H.

- Fig. 18. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس لاہور..... Lāhōr mint.
Rev.:— فی التاريخ نہصد ہفتاد..... 970 A.H.

The last two coins are varieties of the Lāhōr mint before 993 A.H.

PLATE II.

- Fig. 19. Obv.:— جلال الدین محمد اکبر ضرب منہ ۹۶۶ year 966 A.H.
Rev.:—The *kalīma* in two lines.

This coin is one of two known specimens of Akbar's coinages with the *kalīma* on the Reverse.

- Fig. 20. Obv.:— چوتانک اکبر شاہی A four-tānke piece.
Rev.:— ضرب آگرہ اردی (تہشت) ۴۷ الہی 47 year 1141.

This is the first time a four-tānke piece has been published. Two-tānke pieces were published some time ago by me, which I mistook for coins. No higher weight has yet been found, although such are mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Gladwin's Ed., Vol. II. p. 383).

- Fig. 23. Obv.:— چوتنک اکبر شاہی A four-tānke piece.
Rev.:— ضرب لاہور اذر ۴۶ الہی 46th 1141 Lāhōr mint.

This is another four-tānke piece. The name, however, on it is *tānke*, not *tānke*, as on the specimen from the Āgra mint.

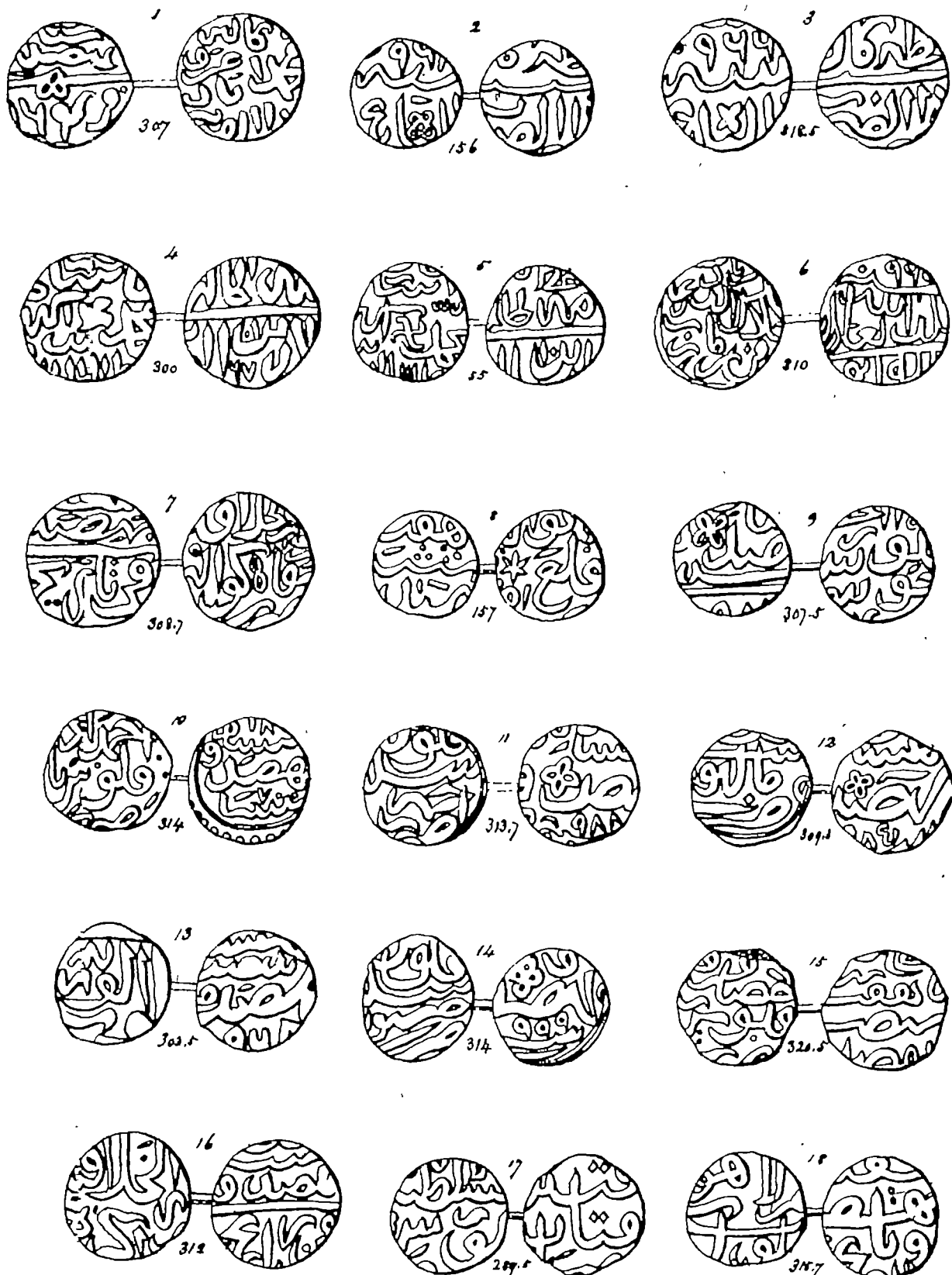
- Fig. 29. Obv.:— چوتنک اکبر شاہی A four-tānke piece.
Rev.:— ضرب کابل ابان ۴۷ الہی 47th 1141, Kābul mint.

This is a four-tānke piece of the Kābul mint.

* [Given that Mr. Rodgers has drawn this coin correctly it seems to me to read clearly *حصور* i.e., *چیتور* and not *چیتور* as he reads. It cannot therefore read *قنوج*, though it might possibly read *قنوج* as Mr. Oliver says, on the original coins. Chitōr *چیتور* is the correct spelling.—R. C. TEMPLE.]

Rare Copper Coins of Akbar.

Plate i.

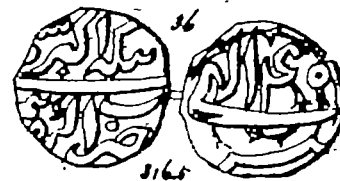
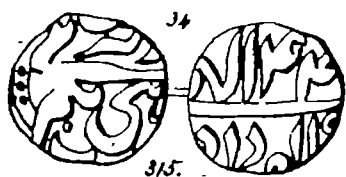
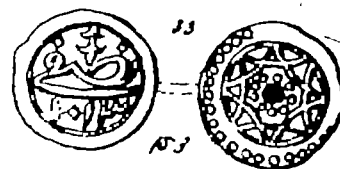
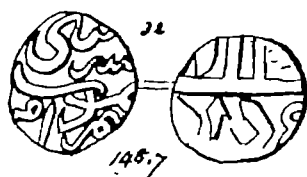
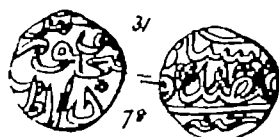
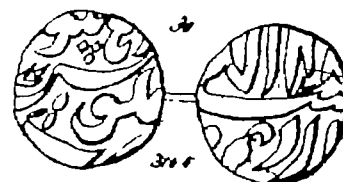
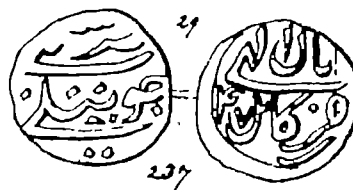
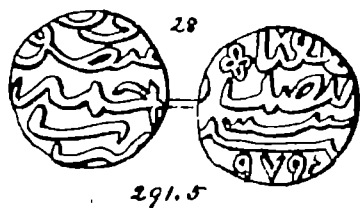
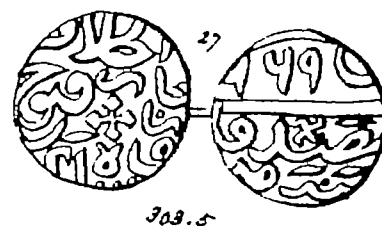
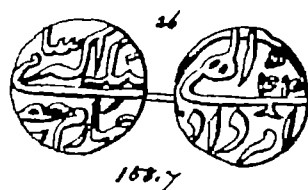
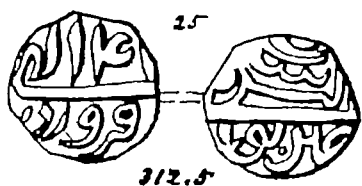
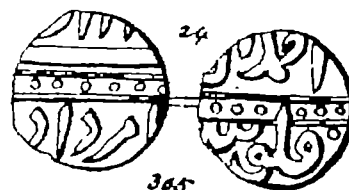
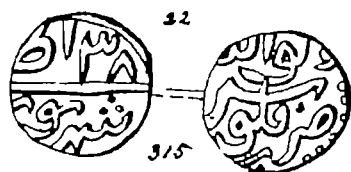
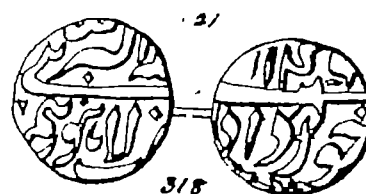
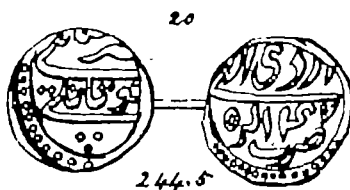
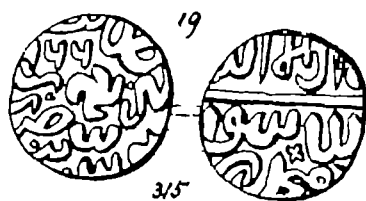


C. J. RODGERS, DEL.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Rare Copper Coins of Akbar.

Plate ii.



O. J. RODGERS, DEL.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

All these three pieces are, so far as I know, unique. They were met with in different parts of the Pafjāb. They show how the mints provided the people with authentic weights, though the actual weights of the pieces vary from 244·5 to 237 grains. Wear and tear, account for the differences. Akbar evidently saw that the only way to provide standard weights for the people was to issue them under his own authority and from his own mints.*

Fig. 21. Obv.:— ضرب لاہور نیم لنگہ اکبر شاہی Half-tanka of Lāhōr.
Rev.:— خورداد ۴۶ الہی 46th year Ilāhī.

Here we have a *half-tanka*, a coin equal in weight to the *dāms* of the Sūris and of the first 30 years of Akbar's reign. I have seen no *tanka*, or *quarter-tanka*, or any other part of the *tanka* from the Lāhōr mint, though they are in existence in all probability. Collectors should keep a sharp look out for them.

Fig. 22. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس گوالیا (ر) A *fulūs* of Gwālīor.
Rev.:— شہر پور ۳۸ الہی 38th year Ilāhī.

Here this *dām* is called a *fulūs*. This coin of the Gwālīor mint is, I believe, unique.

Fig. 24. Obv.:— فلوس احیہ آباد A *fulūs* of Ahmadābād.
Rev.:— امرداد..... الہی Year scarcely legible.

This *fulūs* is very rare indeed.

Fig. 25. Obv.:— ضرب خیرپور سک فلوس اکبر شاہی A *fulūs* of Khairpūr.
Rev.:— فروردین ۴۷ الہی 47th year Ilāhī.

I do not know where *Khairpūr* is. This *fulūs* is unique.

Fig. 26. Obv.:— ضرب چہارم حصہ لنگہ اکبر شاہی The 4th of a *tanka*.
Rev.:— امرداد ۴۴ الہی 44th year Ilāhī.

There is no mint to this fourth part of a *tanka*. It is an excessively rare coin.

Fig. 27. Obv.:— (؟ ضرب دار) الخلفہ قنوج..... A Qanauj coin.
Rev.:— سنہ ۹۶۹ ہجری و شمس ۱۶۱۱ 969 A. H.

Here we have an undoubted coin of the Qanauj mint. This place was called *Shēr Garh* Qanauj on the copper coins^o of Islām Shāh Sūr. There are some letters on the obverse I have not been able to make into words. As yet this specimen is unique.

Fig. 28. Obv.:— ضرب اجیر منسو (ر)..... Struck at Ajmēr.
Rev.:— فی سنہ ۹۷۹ ہجری و شمس ۱۶۱۱ 979 A. H.

This is an early coin of the Ajmēr mint. What the meaning of *mansūr* and the letters above that word may be I cannot make out.

Fig. 30. Obv.:— ضرب فلوس برہانپور Struck at Burhānpūr.
Rev.:— ۴۸..... الہی 48th year Ilāhī.

This *fulūs* is worn. Burhānpūr is not mentioned as a mint in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. I have several pieces, however, of this mint, though this is the only copper coin I have yet seen struck at this place.

Fig. 31. Obv.:— ضرب دار الضرب فتحپور فلوس Struck at Fathpūr mint.
Rev.:— سنہ ۹۸۷ ہجری و شمس ۱۶۷۸ 987 A. H.

* Since the above was written I have been favoured by that celebrated numismatist, Dr. J. Gerson de Ounha of Bombay, with a sight of some of his immense stores. In these I detected two *four-tānkā* pieces struck at Ahmadābād. They were very much worn, but still legible.

^o Coins from this mint are in my possession, but as yet are unedited. A long paper is in fact wanted on the copper coinage of the Sūris, showing the mints and inscriptions.

The weight of this coin, 78 grains, proclaims it to be a *quarter-dām*. This size is very rare indeed.

Fig. 32. Obv.:— ضرب نیم دام بندر (شاهی) A *half-dām* of Port (?)
Rev.:— امرداد الهی Year (?) Ilāhī.

This most precious coin has the words *nīm dām* on it. It is the only one I have seen out of many thousands of Akbar's coins with the name *dām* on it. It is very much worn. It establishes the fact that a *dām* was equivalent to half a *tanka*.

Fig. 33. Obv.:— ۱۰۱۳ نصفی Anisf (or half), 1013 A.H.
Rev.:—A geometric design.

Here we have another *half-dām* with only the word a *half* on it. Its weight, 153 grains (it is very much worn), confirms the weight of the *dām*.

Fig. 34. Obv.:— ضرب دہلی نیم تنکہ اکبر شاہی *half-tanka* of Dehlī.
Rev.:— ۴۴ امرداد ۴۴ الهی 44th year Ilāhī.

This *half-tanka* is worn. It is 3 grains lighter than the Lāhōr specimen, fig. 21, and 1½ grains lighter than the Āgra specimen, fig. 36.

Fig. 35. Obv.:— ضرب آگرہ تنکہ اکبر شاہی An Āgra *tanka*.
Rev.:— ۴۴ اردی بہشت ۴۴ الهی 44th year Ilāhī.

This coin is much eaten by rust, but it still weighs 625.5 grains. I obtained it in Āgra four-and-a-half years ago. One similar to it is in the possession of L. White King, Esq., O.S. This coin shows beyond a doubt that towards the latter end of his reign Akbar's issued coins called *tankas* of about 640 grains in weight.

Fig. 36. Obv.:— ضرب آگرہ نیم تنکہ اکبر شاہی *half-tanka* of Āgra.
Rev.:— ۴۵ تیرہ ۴۵ الهی 45th year Ilāhī.

MISCELLANEA.

THE BHITARI SEAL OF KUMARAGUPTA II.

This interesting seal was discovered, at some time previous to 1886, when the foundations for a new building were being dug at Bhitari, in the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghazipur District, North-West Provinces. It was presented by a Muhammadan gentleman to Mr. O. J. Nicholls, B.C.S.; and it is now in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. I owe the opportunity of examining it to the kindness of Mr. A. H. Pirie, the Secretary of the Museum Committee. An account of the seal has been published by Mr. V. A. Smith, B.C.S., in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVIII. Part I. p. 84 ff. And, in continuation of Mr. Smith's account, Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle has given the text and translation of the inscription on the seal, with a photo-collotype, and with some valuable remarks on the history of the period. I give the text according to my own method, with its translation, on page 225 below.

The seal is oval in shape, pointed at the top and bottom; and its extreme measures are,

as nearly as possible, 4½" broad by 5½" high. Round the face of it there runs a raised rim, of which the average breadth is about ¼", and the average height something under ¼". On the back of it there are two projecting knobs, each about ½" in diameter, evidently intended for the purpose of attaching it to some other object, e.g., probably, a copper charter. The metal is of a whitish grey colour, which suggested at first that it was base silver; but it was found, by analysis, to consist of copper, silver and gold, in the proportions of 62.970, 86.225, and 9.405, with a trace of iron; so that it is practically a copper, rather than a silver seal. — The weight of the seal is 59½ tolas. — The upper part of the seal, rather less than half of it, is occupied by emblems, of which the principal one is a representation of Garuḍa, in fairly high relief on the countersunk surface. He is shown with the body, legs, and wings of a bird, and with the head of a man;¹ as remarked by Mr. Smith, the face is "broad and full, with thick lips, and

¹ There are no indications here of the human arms, which, I think, can be discerned on the seal of the Rājān grant of Tivradēva (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 81).

TEXT.³

- 1 [Sar]v[v]a-rāj-ōchchhāttaḥ=prithivyām=apratirathasya mahārāja-śrī-G[u]pta-pra-
paut[tr]asya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya ma[hā]-
2 [rājā]dhir[ā]ja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya Lichchhav[i-dan]hittas]ya ma[hādē]vyā[m]
Kumārad[ē]vyām=utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-
3 ś[ri]-Samudraguptasya puttras=tat-parig[ri]h[ī]tō ma[hādē]vyā[n-Da]t[t]ad[ē]vyā[m]=
utpannas=svayam ch=[ā]pratirathāḥ⁴=paramabhāga-
4 [vatō mahā]r[ā]j[ā]dhirāja-śrī-Chandrag[u]p[t]a[s-ta]sya p[u]t[tr]as=tat-pād-[ā]nu-
d[dh]y[ā]tō mahādēvy[ām] Dhruvadēvyām=utpannō mah[ā]r[ā]-
5 [jādhi]rāja-śrī-Kumārag[u]ptas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō mahādēvyām=
Anantadēvy[ā]m=utpannō mahā[rā]-
6 [jādhi]r[ā]j[ā]dhirāja-śrī-Purag[u]p[t]as=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānuddhy[ā]t[ō] mahā-
dēv[ya]m śrī-Vat[s]adēvyām=utpan[nō] ma[hā]-
7 r[ā]j[ā]dhirāja-śrī-Naras[i]m[h]aguptas=tasya p[u]t[tr]as=tat-[p]ād-ā[nu]d[dh]y[ā]t[ō]
mah[ā]d[ē]v[ya]m śrī-Mahālakshmi(?)]-
8 [dē]v[ya]m=ut[p]annāḥ=paramabh[ā]gavatō mah[ā]r[ā]j[ā]dhirāja-śrī-Kum[ā]ra-
g[u]ptaḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Samudragupta*, — who was the exterminator of all Kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; who was the son of the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Gupta*; who was the son's son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Ghaṭōtkacha*; (and) who was the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Chandragupta* (I.), (and) the daughter's son of *Lichchhavi*, begotten on the *Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi*, —

[Line 3.]—The son (was) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Chandragupta* (II.), — who was accepted by him (*Samudragupta*); who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi Dattadēvi*; and who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power).

[L. 4.]—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi Dhruvadēvi*, (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Kumāragupta* (I.)

[L. 5.]—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi Anantadēvi*, (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Puragupta*.

[L. 6.]—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi*, the glorious *Vatsadēvi*,⁴ (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Narasimhagupta*.

[L. 7.]—His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvi*, the glorious *Mahalakshmidēvi* (?), (is) the most devout worshipper of the Divine One, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Kumāragupta* (II.)

³ From the original seal.

⁴ Here Dr. Hoernle has given the alternative readings *svayam ch-āpratirathāḥ*, and *svayam cha pratirathāḥ*; with a preference in favour of the former, which is undoubtedly the correct reading. In the *Bhutarī inscription* (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13, line 4, p. 53) I gave the reading as *svayam=apratirathāḥ*; to which, of course, there is no inherent objection. There, however, the passage is rather damaged; while, in this seal it is almost quite intact. The *anusvara* over the *ya* is very distinct. So also is the following *ch*. And I think that there are still faint remnants of the superscript *3*, attached to the *ch*. The reading in the *Bhutarī inscription* should be altered, to agree with the present text; the large round mark over the *ya* there, is plainly to be attributed to an expansion of the *anusvara* in the weathering of the stone.

⁵ Or, possibly, "the *Mahādēvi Śrīvatsadēvi*," as taken by Dr. Hoernle; but see page 226 below.

be felt in adopting Dr. Hoernle's reading of the name as *Narasimhagupta*.

In the same line, in the case of *Narasimhagupta's* wife, we have another name in respect of which I cannot agree with Dr. Hoernle. He gave the reading as *Śrīmattīdevyām*, and took the name to be *Śrīmattīdevī*. But if, as I think, the name of *Puragupta's* wife was simply *Vatsadēvi*, then here also we must have the honorific prefix *śrī*, and, to give the name of *Śrīmattīdevī*, the text should be *śrī-Śrīmattīdevyām*; compare *śrī-Śrīmatyām* in line 2 of the *Dśō-Baraṇārka* inscription. Moreover, while the syllable after *śrī* is certainly *ma*, in my opinion it is clearly followed by *hā*. Further, the proper position of the *dś* of *devyām* is at the beginning of line 8; not at the end of line 7, where Dr. Hoernle placed it. And after the syllables *mahā*, there appear to me to have been in reality two letters, not only one, at the end of line 7; the second of them is now entirely illegible; the first is much damaged, but, comparing it with the initial of *likākhavi* in line 2, I think that the consonant was *l*. For these reasons, I think that this name must be taken as *Mahālakshmidēvi*; without, however, proposing this as quite a certainty. Failing that, it may be *Mahādēvidēvi*; or possibly simply *Mahādēvi*, in which case, the *dś* lying where Dr. Hoernle placed it, unnecessary spaces were left at the end of line 7 and at the beginning of line 8.

In line 8, in the name of *Narasimhagupta's* son, the letters *kum* and *rag* are so distinct, that the whole name can be nothing but *Kumārāgupta* (II), as taken by Dr. Hoernle.

The importance of this inscription lies partly in its extending the Early Gupta genealogy by two generations; and partly in its omitting all mention of *Skandagupta*; for, undoubtedly, Dr. Hoernle is right in taking *Puragupta* to be, not another name of *Skandagupta*, but the name of a (younger) brother of his. Why *Skandagupta* is omitted, it is useless at present to attempt to explain conclusively. But in addition to the analogous instance quoted by Dr. Hoernle, I am able to give a still more pointed one from the Eastern Chalukya grants. Almost all of them commence by mentioning *Pulikēśin II.*, and then trace the genealogy from his younger brother *Vishnuvardhana I.* But the *Sāṭārā* grant of *Vishnuvardhana I.*, which takes the genealogy further back, passes straight to him from his father *Kṛtivarman I.*, omitting to make any reference to *Pulikēśin II.*; and this, in spite of the fact that *Vishnuvardhana I.* was then only the *Yasodaja* of his elder brother. The inference is, I think, that, whether *Skandagupta* left a son

or not, there was a formal division of the Early Gupta territories in the generation of *Skandagupta* and *Puragupta*, or some dissension between them.

I notice that, in his historical remarks, Dr. Hoernle (p. 96) takes the *Yasodharman* and *Vishnuvardhana* of one of the *Mandasār* records (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 35), to be one and the same person. I have no special reasons to urge against this view, except the apparently pointed contrast of *janendra*, applied to *Yasodharman*, with *vardhīpati*, which is connected with *Vishnuvardhana*, and the use of *punat-cha* in the verse that introduces the latter. And I should not hesitate to adopt the identification, if, in line 5, we could read *sa śha*, instead of *sa śva*, which is the actual reading. As it is, the question demands further consideration, before Dr. Hoernle's proposal can be accepted.

In a footnote on p. 103 f., Dr. Hoernle has expressed his dissent from my opinion that the dates of the *Mahārājas* of *Uchchakalpa* might have to be referred to the *Kalachuri* era; but has asked me to explain myself more clearly.

In the *Parivrājaka* family, we have the *Mahārāja Hastin*, with the dates of the years 156, 163, and 191, which are expressly referred to the Gupta era.

In the *Uchchakalpa* family, we have the *Mahārāja Sarvanātha*, with the dates of the years 198, 197, and 214. Neither in his grants, nor in those of his father *Jayanātha*, is there anything to shew distinctly the era that is used. Nor do the dates contain details that can be tested by calculation.

And from the *Bhumarī* pillar inscription we learn that *Hastin* and *Sarvanātha* were contemporaries, in a certain *Mahā-Māgha sāvatsara*.

In the *Bhumarī* inscription, there is no mention of the year of any era at all. And Dr. Hoernle's misapprehension is based upon the fact that, in editing that record, at a time when I was under the impression that the *Uchchakalpa* dates, like those of the *Parivrājakas*, could only be referred to the Gupta era, I used the words quoted by him, — "the choice [for the *Mahā-Māgha sāvatsara* in question] lies only between Gupta-Sarvat 189 and 201" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Texts and Translations, p. 111); and upon my omission to expressly cancel them when I came (*id.* Introduction, pp. 8 to 10, 119, 121; see also *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 331, note 1, 337, 338 f.) to consider another possibility which presented itself subsequently, but which I could not dispose of com-

pletely, because I was not then fully convinced of the real existence of the Kalachuri era as a separate era.

In reality, we are under no necessity whatever of taking Gupta-Sahvat 189 (A. D. 508-509) as the crucial year, for the synchronism of Hastin and Sarvanātha. There is nothing to prevent our taking the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* of one, two, or (but for the obstacle that will be shewn below) even three cycles earlier.

Prof. Kielhorn has now shewn (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 215 ff.) that correct results can be obtained for all the Kalachuri dates with the epoch of A. D. 248-249. And I can find no reason for assuming that this era was simply invented in later times, and referred to that epoch. The epoch having been established, there are no grounds for refusing to believe that the era was in actual use from the time of its epoch, and that from the commencement of it there was a dynasty which afterwards came to be known as that of the Kalachuri or Chōdi kings.

A Kalachuri epoch later by twenty-five years or so than that established by Prof. Kielhorn, would suit the circumstances of the case best. But there is no essential difficulty even with his epoch.

Referred to the Kalachuri era with his epoch, the latest date of Sarvanātha is A. D. 248-49 +

214 = A. D. 462-63. While the earliest date of Hastin is A. D. 319-20 + 156 = A. D. 475-76. The occurrence of a Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* would be expected in or about A. D. 472. And the two persons might be made contemporaneous by adding on ten years at the end of Sarvanātha's period, and three at the commencement of Hastin's. But Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that, in that cycle, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* was omitted.* Consequently, the Mahā-Māgha *samvatsara* in which the two Mahārājas were contemporaneous, is the next one, which commenced in A. D. 484, in Gupta-Sahvat 185;† and, in establishing the synchronism, we have to add on twenty-two years to Sarvanātha's period, giving him altogether a known duration of forty-four years.

That the adjustment is to be made in this way, I have no doubt whatever. Further consideration of the subject has fully confirmed me in that view.

And the explanation of the Bhumarā record is, that the Mahārājas Hastin and Sarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record; and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICE.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY; Vol. XIII. 1890. New Haven.

The major part of this volume is taken up with the now well-known and remarkable monograph by Prof. Hopkins on the Social and Military position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India as represented by the Sanskrit Epic. It has been published separately as Hopkins's *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, and deserves a far more exhaustive notice than can be given here, so we will not do more than merely note that it is to be found in this volume. It is, however, worth while to give here a table of its contents as indicative of the wide and exhaustive nature of the article. I. Origin of the Epic. II. Historical value of the Epic. III. (A) The social position of the Ruling Caste; the Caste in general; division of the

people. (B) Royalty: the king; royal duties and occupations: modes of Government; succession; choice of a king; primogeniture; royal convocation: Assembly and Council: *purāṇita* and priestly power: ambassador: Social Relations of the King: royal marriage and burial: the Imperial City: caste exchange. IV. Military position of the Ruling Caste: philosophy of war; general fighting force and military sentiment: military tactics: usages in the field; laws of battle: army force in detail. (A) the chariot, charioteer, chariot steed, chariot knight. (B) the cavalry. (C) the elephant riders. (D) weapons. (E) Armour and defence; magic and science of weapons. (F) Paraphernalia of battle and music in the Epic. (V) Status of women: girl; wife; widow. Finally this very valuable paper

* There was a heliacal rising of Jupiter on (the first) Bhādrapada /krishṇa 9 of Śaka-Sahvat 306 current, corresponding to Saturday, 15th July, A. D. 473; or, by the English calendar, on Sunday, 16th July. His longitude then was 104° 14'. By all the three systems for the ending-points of the *nakṣatras*, he was then in Pushya. And the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Pauṣa. Jupiter's next following

heliacal rising took place on Bhādrapada śukla 8 of Śaka-Sahvat 306 current, corresponding to Friday, 17th August, A. D. 473; or, by the English calendar, on Saturday, 18th August. His longitude then was 136° 57'. By all the three systems, he was then in Pūrva-Phalgunī. And the *samvatsara* which then began, must have been named Mahā-Phalgunā.

† See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 338.

winds up with a capital index of secondary subjects.

According to the old custom of the American Oriental Society, now discontinued, its proceedings for three years are appended to the volume, and from them we will proceed to extract what is interesting to scholars in India.

Boston, May 6th, 1885.—A note on Superstitious customs connected with sneezing, by H. O. Warren, in which he gives a rendering of a *Jataka* tale introducing a Buddhistic form of "God bless you" on hearing a sneeze. Prof. Whitney added a text from the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* to the same purport.

Prof. Avery, on the Garo Language of Assam, notes that it belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group its nearest kindred being the Pani-Kōch, Kachāri, Dāri-Chutiā and Tipura tongues. It was first reduced to writing by the American Baptist Missionaries in 1878, who borrowed 28 (an insufficient quantity) characters from the Bengali alphabet for the purpose. The *visarga* was used to denote "a sudden cessation of utterance," which is a pity, as in Burmese the symbol used for exactly the opposite purpose is very like *visarga*. The above peculiarity of pronunciation is most marked in Burmese and is shown on paper by a dot or a small circular under the syllable or letter affected.

There is no gender in Garo, and plurality is shown by adding — *rdag*. Generic particles are used with adjectival numerals varying according to the nature of the connected substantive. This is, of course, a law in Burmese, and the connected languages. Prof. Avery remarks that Garo declension is by suffixes, "but these are loosely attached to the base, and may be omitted whenever the case is clear from the context." This is a rule common to Burmese, in which language it is possible to make a complete sentence by merely stringing bases together in a set order — a habit which makes the language an exceedingly difficult one to follow when spoken. Adjectives appear to be chiefly substantives or verbs used adjectivally. This again is analogous to Burmese whereas in English a word is frequently a substantive, verb, or adjective according to context or position in the sentence without change of form. Garo has no genitive pronoun, and here once more we have an analogy to Burmese, where the genitive pronoun is purely a literary creation and does not enter into speech at all. It uses also a relative particle in place of a relative pronoun, in common with all Asiatic languages that have adopted what may be called the non-Aryan scheme of speech. Prof. Avery's

remarks on the verb and the structure of the sentence might be applied almost *verbatim* to Burmese and the connected tongues.

Prof. Hopkins sharply criticises Burnell's argument with regard to the date of the *Mānava-dharmasāstra*, which fixed it as between 100 and 500 A.D. from internal evidence. He thinks Dr. Burnell's arguments to be groundless and that there is nothing in the work from which we can judge of its date. In this view Prof. Whitney concurs.

Prof. Whitney, when giving a full account of the roots quotable in Sanskrit literature, added indexes of stems by which he has been able to give an approximate idea of the relative importance of each given formation in the entirety of the language. This work led him to write an article on the numerical results from the indexes relating to Sanskrit Tense and Conjugation stems which enabled him to present some valuable general facts:—The great superiority in numbers of stems of the second general conjugation and the almost limitation to it of the stems of late formation; the stems of the first general conjugation in the older language considerably out-number those belonging partly to the earlier and later language or to the later language only; in the second general conjugation this relation is reversed; the perfect *aa* formation is of nearly equal frequency in all periods of the language; the great predominance of the *aorist* formation in the earlier language and the sporadic character of the *sid-aorist* and the *sa-aorist*.

The publication of Prof. Whitney's "Quotable Roots" above referred to, has enabled Prof. Lanman to consider the question of multiform presents in Sanskrit. Out of 800 *bond-fide* roots, over 112 form presents in two ways, over 50 in three ways, 16 in four ways, 10 in five ways, $\sqrt{r}$ in six ways, $\sqrt{tr}$ in eight ways. In order to ascertain whether these differences of form involved differences of function, the first thing to do is to eliminate such multiform presents as are not original but simply the result of a secondary transfer from some older to some after method of conjugation. Prof. Lanman in the article under notice has set himself to examine these transfers present in some detail.

Prof. Edgren in a short note explains that he could eliminate the *tan-class* of verbs from Sanskrit Grammar, on the ground that of the ten roots reckoned as belonging to it four are fictitious, five should be transferred to the *su-class*, and one is irregular.

Prof. Lanman gives a short account of a MS. dated A.D. 1697 of the *Nyāya-siddhanta-mān-*

jari found in a shop in Philadelphia, and super-scribed "J. Jay Joyce, Jr., presented by Rev. Prof. Banerjee, Calcutta, through kindness of the Rev. S. E. Appleton."

Prof. Bloomfield gives his reasons for believing that the Vedic words *prāś*, 'debate, dispute'; *pratiprāś*, 'opponent, one disputing against another'; *pratiprāśita* 'one assailed in debate or (simply) opponent,' are hitherto misunderstood derivatives of *√prāś*.

New York, October, 28th and 29th 1885. Prof. Whitney drew attention to a gross case of piracy of Sanskrit works in Bombay. We give his remarks *verbatim*, as they are instructive. Of course, in other lines of literature the Americans as a nation are the most shameless pirates in the world, and what has happened to the learned professor, will become an inevitable retribution when the Americans themselves begin, as a rule, to produce works that other nations value. Prof. Whitney said that, seeing a new Hindu edition of the Atharva-Vēda advertised in Europe, he had sent for it; but he was rather amused as well as disappointed, to find it simply a lithographed copy, page by page, note by note (except that the German words contained in the latter are left out), of the edition published by Prof. Roth and himself, in Germany, now nearly 30 years ago. Of course, the misprints and errors of the original are faithfully reproduced with the rest; probably there are no more new ones than were reasonably to be expected, the transcription seeming to be made in general with care (though there are, to be sure, two accent signs omitted in the very first verse). There is nowhere in the work any intimation of its source, or of credit due to any one but the Hindu editor, Śēwakīāl Kar-sandās. It is desirable by such a notice as this to put other possibly intending buyers on their guard.

Prof. Hall follows with an interesting Syriac Table for finding Easter in years of the Seleucid era, found in the Williams MS. of the Syriac Acts and Epistles.

Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson discussed some Avestic superstitions, giving parallel customs from other countries:—(1) it is lucky to be the first up after cock-crow; (2) evil spirits come from the North; (3) cut hair and nail-parings are unclean and unlucky.

Prof. Whitney controverts at some length Prof. Ludwig's views respecting total eclipses of the sun as noticed in the R̥ig-Vēda. Prof. Ludwig recognized four different eclipses as referred to in the Vedic hymns with sufficient indivi-

duality of detail to make their identification seem a not altogether hopeless task, and two of them he thinks himself actually able to identify with eclipses that took place during the eleventh century before our era. Prof. Whitney, however, is at complete issue with him, and is of opinion that no result possessing presumptive and provisional value as bearing on ancient Hindu chronology has been reached by the investigation.

The learned Professor follows this up with a severe criticism of the latest translation of the Upanishads in Vols. I. and XV. of the first series of the *Sacred Books of the East*. "Not half the amount of labour needed in order to produce a good result was spent upon it. It is no help either to Sanskrit scholarship or to the comparative study of religions to print such a product. A new translation of the *Upanishads* is still just as much called for as before the publication of these volumes."

Prof. Avery has a note on the language of the Lepchas of Sikkim based on a Lepcha *John's Gospel* (1871) and Col. Mainwaring's *Grammar* (1875). Grammatically Lepcha would appear to be a monosyllabic isolating language with a tendency to agglutination and with a commencement of inflection, which would be a fair description of the Burmese Language.

These proceedings wind up with an interesting article by Mr. A. R. Martin on Hirth's China and the Roman Orient. Rome and China, the two great civilized peoples of the ancient world, were separated from each other by Parthia, which neither could conquer or pass. But they heard of each other,—Rome of Serica, the land of milk, and China of Tach'in, the China of the west. The first direct communication was by sea through Annam in the days of Huan-t'ien and Antun = Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 166.

Boston, May 12th, 1888. Prof. M. Bloomfield has a long note on the correlation of *v* and *m* in Vedic and later Sanskrit, offered as a supplement to Ascoli's discussion of the Prākritic change of *m* to *v* by further pointing out distinct traces of the interchange of these sounds in the classic and Vedic dialects and showing that the change of *v* to *m* also occasionally takes place.

This is followed by a learned article on the Negative Clauses in the R̥ig-Vēda by Miss Eva Channing of Boston, Mass. The paper discusses: (i) a certain problematical construction of the verbs of fearing; (ii) the question of possible double negatives in the *R̥ig-Vēda*; (iii) the clauses containing *chanda* unaccompanied by a negative.

Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson has a short note on the ancient Persian's abhorrence of falsehood. On this subject we would merely remark that preaching and practice no more coincided in ancient times than they do in modern times, and that constant and stern denunciation of any particular sin or fault is rather evidence of its prevalence than otherwise, though it must be borne in mind that satyrists and social reformers have in all ages grossly exaggerated the evils they would cure. So that on the whole the literary remains of a people are not good tests of the popular feeling on any given social or ethical subject, except in so far as they bear unconscious witness, to current ideas.

Prof. Whitney has an important paper on Hindu Eschatology and the *Kātha-Upanishad*. The doctrine of this *Upanishad*, and practically of the others also, on the subject of man after death is (i) the continuation of the old eternal heaven of happiness for those who are worthy to attain it, such worthiness consisting especially in true knowledge; (ii) the absence of any hell for those not found worthy; (iii) the condemnation of such to a return to earthly existence, — which, of course, by contrast with the happiness of the blest is a state of misery.

The Rev. J. S. Chandler, a missionary in Madras, gave an account of an attempt made by a caste to raise itself in the social scale. The *Banārs*, one of the lowest of the *Śūdras*, are trying to establish themselves as *Drāviḍian* *Kakatriyas* and have assumed a sacred thread and adopted some *Brāhmanical* customs. It is to be regretted that only a very meagre use is made of his valuable remarks.

Prof. Avery gives a short account of the *Ao-Naga* Language of Southern Assam. As might be expected this bears a general analogy in structure to the *Tibeto-Burman* group already noted, when noticing the learned professor's note on the *Garo* Language.

Prof. Bloomfield then gives his reasons at length for certain proposed interpretations of three hymns of the first book of the *Atharva-Veda*.

Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. H. H. Spieker contribute an introduction to the study of old Indian Sibilants. The problems which are encountered in an investigation of the old Indian sibilants may be best foreshadowed by the fact that in the *Estersburg Lexicon* 16 words are quoted which occur written in various texts with all the three sibilants of the Sanskrit alphabet. So that the work before us consists in (i) fixing the correct

orthography in a given word containing one or more sibilants in a given period; (ii) in describing and accounting for the variations by which the correct writing is beset; (iii) in fixing the pronunciation of the sibilants at any given period of Indian literature. The aids in the task in general are threefold: (i) on the hither side we have the history and development of the sibilant in the modern languages of India, beginning with the *Pāli-Prākṛit* dialects, and continuing with the vernaculars; (ii) on the further side of the Vedic language lies the testimony to which we must turn for most of the information, the related languages; (iii) a closer scrutiny of the sibilant within the private life of the Vedic and classical dialects should give us most of the information which we may be able to contribute to the subject.

New Haven, October 27th, 1886.—Mr. J. R. Jewett sends from Syria 48 proverbs in the local Arabic dialect.

Prof. Bloomfield gives two more hymns of the *Atharva-Veda*, which are further contributions to the exegesis thereof. Dr. A. V. W. Jackson has an interesting note on the use of conventional similes in the *Avesta*, which he says are drawn (i) from the realm of nature; (ii) from animals and their actions; (iii) from man and his relations in daily life.

Boston, May 11th, 1887.—The Rev. J. S. Chandler has an instructive note on the transcription (he calls it erroneously transliteration) of Sanskrit proper names in Tamil. Tamil has no lingual nor dental vowels, no sibilants, no aspirates, no sonants as distinguished from surds, no palatal mutes except the nasal, no *visarga*, and no *anusvāra*. Concurrent consonants must be assimilated or have a vowel inserted between them. No sonant can begin, and no mute of any kind can end, a Tamil word. Nor can a surd stand in the middle of a word without being doubled. But as surds and sonants are convertible, and as the same Tamil character stands for both, these changes are easily made.

Thus:—

(i) *Lingual vowels*:—Skrt. *r* = Tamil *ru*. Following the rules above laid down, *Rg.-(Veda) = Irukku*.

(ii) *Sibilants*:—Skrt. *sh* = Tamil *ṣ*. Skrt. *s* = Tamil *s*, or is dropped. *E.g.* *Vishnu* = *Viṣṭunu*; *Kṛṣṇa* = *Kirupṭṭinan*; *Tvaṣṭa* = *Tuvaṭṭa*; *Yudhishṭhira* = *Udiṭṭiran*, and *Sāman* = *Šaman*; *Vīśvadevā* = *Viśuvadēva*; *Sarasvatī* = *Šarasuvadi*; *Sudarśana* = *Sudariśanam*. Also *Skanda* = *Sikkandan* or *Kandan*.

(iii) *Aspirates*:—Aspirates are dropped. Thus by the rules above laid down, *Bhima* = *Pīman* or *Vīman*; *Dharma* = *Taruman*; *Arundhati* = *Arundāḍi*; *Bhārata* = *Paradan*; *Vidarbha* = *Vidarppan*; *Bhagavān* = *Pagavan*; *Brāhmaṇa* = *Pirāmanam*. Or *Skr. aspirates* = *Tamil g, e. g.* *Ahalyā* = *Agaliya*; *Naravāhana* = *Naravaganam*; *Rāhu* = *Iragu*.

(iv) *Palatale*:—*Skr. palatal* = *Tamil ś*; e. g. *Chandāla* = *Ṣaṇḍalan*; *Chandra* = *Ṣandiran*; *Pīśacha* = *Pīśaṣam*; *Yajur* = *Ējur*; *Jātavedas* = *Śāḍavedā*.

(v) *Visarga*:—In *Tamil visarga* disappears and *anusvāra* = *m*.

(vi) *Conjunct consonants*. In *Tamil* conjunct and adjunct consonants are (a) one dropped, (b) assimilated, (c) separated by a vowel. E. g. (a) *Kshatriya* = *Ṣattīryan*; (b) *Yaksha* = *Iyakkan*; (c) *Arjuna* = *Aruffanan*. Also *Drōpa* = *Turoṇar*; *Agni* = *Akkini*; *Ātri* = *Attiri*; *Ārya* = *Ariyan*; *Indra* = *Indiran*.

(vii) By following the above rules we have such words as *Buddha* = *Puttan*; *Nakula* = *Nagulan*; *Gautama* = *Kaudaman*.

Prof. Avery has an exceedingly interesting memorandum on the relationship of the *Kachāri* and *Garo* Languages of *Assam*, in which he gives reasons for believing them to be "sister languages."

Prof. Toy gives an account of the *Lugman* legend, showing the late date of the famous book of fables popularly attributed to the *Arabian sage*, with which he can have had nothing to do personally.

Dr. Jackson continues his investigation into *similes* used in the *Avesta*, especially those taken from the animal world, which he follows up with a translation of the *African Rapithun* of the *Avesta*, a colloquy between *Ahura Mazda* and *Zarathushtra*, of which no other direct English translation exists.

The proceedings of this meeting wound up with a review of the introduction to *Bühler's Menu* by Prof. Hopkins, in which the reviewer arrives at the conclusion that the *Samhitā* cannot be proved to have been in existence much before the middle of the first thousand years A. D., though it is probable that it did exist much earlier.

Boston, October 26th and 27th, 1887.—Dr. A. V. W. Jackson opens the number with an article on the significance of the *Gāthās* in the *Avesta*. Dr. Jackson insists on the pre-eminent importance of the *Gāthās* as the real foundation of the religion of the followers of Zoroaster, and as containing a true reflection of the mind of the founder.

"The Zoroaster of the *Gāthās*, the subjective hymns is the true one: the Zoroaster of all other portions of the literature, the idealised development." In proof of the estimation they were held in by the Zoroastrians, he quotes *Yasna* 55, of which he gives a translation with grammatical notes.

Prof. Bloomfield in an article on the *jāyānya* charm and the *apachit* hymns attempts to solve one of the most difficult problems of the *Atharva-Vēda*. He first shows that *jāyānya* is the same disease as *akṣhata* and that it was some external skin disease. Secondly, the first part of the hymn, A. V. vii. 76. 1, 2, which contains a charm in v. v. 8 to 5 against the *jāyānya*, is devoted to one against the *apachit*, for which he claims the rendering, 'sore, pustule, boil.' The gist of the whole paper is that the *jāyānya* charm is directed against tumours.

This is followed by note by the same Professor on the so-called fire-ordeal hymn in the *Atharva-Vēda*, the object of which is to show that it has nothing to do with ordeals by fire, but is a fierce imprecation against an enemy who is thwarting some pious work with unholy practices.

Prof. Whitney criticises Part IV. of Schröder's Edition of the *Maṭṭrayani-Samhitā* which yielded the missing Hindu root *stigh* and doubtfully another *rish*. The text is unsatisfactory and the reviewer adds several emendations to those already made in it.

Prof. Hopkins gives three *Sanskrit* proverbs as an aid to the general literature of proverbs.

Dr. Stephen Peet, the well-known editor of the *American Antiquary*, makes some remarks on animal-worship and sun-worship in the East and West. He would show first that in the West, i.e. America, idolatry arose thus:—(i) totemism, animals used for symbols; (ii) sun-worship, sun used for symbols; (iii) totem and sun-worship symbols combined; (iv) nature-powers symbolised by animals used as adjuncts to sun-worship; (v) personification of the sun, symbolised by the human figure. Secondly, he would show that it arose in a similar manner in the East. Thirdly, he would compare the steps in America with those in the East by which was accomplished the transition from animal-worship to sun-worship, and from sun-worship to a reverence for the personal attributes.

Boston, May 2nd, 1888.—These proceedings being devoted to Semitic studies, and those connected with Assyriology, have no particular interest to the readers of this journal.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages),—except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage,—is this:—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	अ	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍha
ऋ	ऋ	ṛi	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	त	ta
—	ॡ	e	थ	थ	tha
ए	ए	ē	द	द	da
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ध	ध	dha
—	ॢ	o	न	न	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	प	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	फ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Ṭhodmāṭya, or old	—	ḷ	भ	भ	bha
Visarga before क			म	म	ma
and क	—	ḥ	य	य	ya
Upadhmdāṭya, or			र	र	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	ॢ	ra
fore प and फ			ल	ॢ	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m̐	ळ	ॢ	ḷa
Anusvāra	—	ṃ	—	ॢ	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	श	श	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	ष	ṣa
घ	घ	gha	स	स	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	ह	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Devanāgarī sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanāgarī marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.

THE PATTAVALI OR LIST OF PONTIFFS OF THE UPAKESA-GACHCHHA.

BY PROF. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D.

THE *pattavali* of which I give a translation is mentioned on page 15 of the second part of the *Ajāna-timira-bhāskara*, a Hindi work on Jainism, by the well-known Muni *Ātmārām-jī* *Ānanda-Vijaya-jī*. The Muni, at my request, very kindly supplied me with a copy of the *pattavali* which is in his possession. The translation is made from my copy, and is as literal as possible. The original is written in a species of language, which it requires a considerable stretch of imagination to dignify with the name of Sanskrit. In some places it is so utterly ungrammatical as to be almost unintelligible.

It will be seen that this *pattavali* carries the line of pontiffs back to *Parivānātha*, whose line, under the *Gaṇadhara Kēśin*, it appears, merged into the line of *Mahāvīra*.

Muni *Ātmārām-jī* belongs to the *Tapa-Gachchha*. The sixty-first pontiff of that line was *Sri-Vijaya-Sinha-Sūri*. From him arose the *Vijaya-Sakha*, all the *Āchāryas* or *Ganis* of which are distinguished by the epithet *Vijaya*. The tenth, from the founder, was called *Sri-Munji-Vijaya-Gani*. He had three disciples, *Gulāb-Vijaya*, *Siddhi-Vijaya* and *Buddhi-Vijaya*. The last-named had four disciples, the most prominent of whom is the still living Muni *Ātmārām-jī*, called *Ānanda-Vijaya-Sūri*. He is, therefore, the twelfth in the line of pontiffs of the *Vijaya-Sakha*. He had fourteen disciples, the oldest of whom was *Lakshmi-Vijaya*, now deceased, who has left four disciples, the youngest of whom is *Hansa-Vijaya*; and the latter already has two disciples, *Hēma-Vijaya* and *Sampat-Vijaya*. With Muni *Hansa-Vijaya* I had the pleasure of making personal acquaintance recently, when he passed through Calcutta on a pastoral visit to the Jain community at *Ājīmganj* (*Murahidābād*) and other places. With the present head of the *Sakha*, Muni *Ātmārām-jī*, I have been acquainted through a long course of correspondence, during which I have found him a person of great intelligence and kindness, most ready to afford me every information that I could desire.

The lay adherents of the *Upakesa-Gachchha* are called *Ōswāls* (*Ōsawāla*). They form one of the leading trading castes of *Rājputānā*, and are strongly represented in *Ajmer*, *Jaisalmer*, *Mārwar*, *Bhartpur*, *Bundī*, *Dahargarh*, *Bikaner*, &c. They are divided into the following *gōtras* in *Bikaner*, — *Dada*, *Kōtārī*, *Sēthiyā*, *Sirōnā*, *Sāwan Sūkha*, *Abani*, *Bhantiyā*, *Gōlāhā*. The *Sēthiyā gōtra* will be found mentioned in the concluding portion of the *pattavali*. The *Ōswāl gōtras* in *Mārwar* are, — *Bhandārī*, *Mōhnōt*, *Singwī*, *Muhtā*, *Lōdhā*. Members of these *gōtras* have held very high offices in the State of *Mārwar*. Most of the *Ōswāls* of *Mallānī*, however, are said to be cultivators. Settlements of *Ōswāl* traders are found in various other parts of India, e. g. in *Hoshangābād*, *Poona* and *Benares*. The well-known late *Rājā* *Siva Prasād* of *Benares* belonged to their caste.¹

The *Ōswāls* are said to take their name from a place called *Ōsa-nagari*, near the river *Lun* in *Mārwar*. I cannot find the place mentioned in any map. Muni *Ātmārām-jī*, in his *Ajāna-timira-bhāskara*, part II., page 16, states that it is situated at the distance of 20 *kōs* to the west of *Jōdhpur*, and that there is there an ancient Jain temple with a miraculous figure of *Mahāvīra*.² From his manner of speaking of it, it would appear that it is now a deserted and little-known place in the *Rājputānā* desert. The story of its foundation and of its temple is related in the *pattavali*. It was built by a person, *Ūhaḍa*, on a piece of land given him by the king of *Delhī*, to which he migrated from a place called *Bhīmāl*³ with a large following

¹ See *Sherring's Hindī Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I. p. 380; Vol. II. p. 116, 183; Vol. III. p. 50.

² The original Hindi is *mandir murti kōśh rōpāśī kī lāgi kī Yōdhpur se pakshī dīśī mēk Ōsa-nagari 20 kōśī utar mēk wāhāt kī*.

³ The place was formerly also called *Bhīmāl* or *Śrīmāl*. In the time of *Huen Tsang*, who calls it *Pi-lo-mi-to*, it was the capital of the northern *Gurjara* kingdom. It was the birth-place of the poet *Māgha* (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 63), and the residence of the astronomer *Brahmagupta*. The name *Śrīmāl* is said to have been changed to *Bhīmāl* by king *Bhōja*, because its people allowed the poet *Māgha* to die of starvation (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 122). Possibly there is an allusion to the name *Śrīmāl* in the name *Sri-Lakshmi-mahāsthāna* occurring in the *pattavali*.

of Jain relatives and friends. Bhīnmāl still exists as a small place about half-way between Mount Abū and the river Lūni. The temple was built by Ūhaḍa, on the advice of the Jain pontiff Ratnaprabha-Sūri, who consecrated it in the 70th year after Mahāvira's death. From his time, the Jain community of the place are said to have received the name of Upakēśa, and to be known as the Upakēśa-vamśīs. The town similarly became known as Upakēśa-pattana or Upakēśa-nagari. In the modern vernacular, the name Upakēśa has become contracted into Ōsa, whence the town is called Ōsa-nagari, and the race of Jains, coming thence, is called Ōsa-wala or Ōswāl.⁴

With regard to some terms occurring in the following translation, it may be noted that an *Āchārya* is any *Sādhu* who has attained the right, not only of reading publicly the Sacred Text (*mūla*), but also of explaining it authoritatively. An *Upādāhyāya*, on the other hand, has only the right of reading, but not of explaining. An *Āchārya* who has risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śākhā*, is called a *Sūri*; others, if they have disciples, are called *Gaṇi*. An *Āchārya* who permits laxity of observances in his own person or that of his disciples, is called a *Sikhilāchārya*; on the other hand, he who is strict is called a *Tyāgi-Āchārya*.

The practice of *sikhilāchāra* or laxity of observances is said to have established itself in the Tapa-Gachchha from the time of the 63rd *Sūri*, Vijaya-Kshamā. The separation of the Vijaya-Śākhā, however, took place at the time of the 61st *Sūri*, Vijaya Prabha.⁵ The cause of the separation appears to have been the following. The predecessor of Vijaya-Prabha was Vijaya-Dēva (the 60th *Sūri*). He appointed as his successor his disciple Vijaya-Simha. The latter, however, died in S. 1709, before the death, in 1713, of Vijaya-Dēva, and accordingly never actually occupied the pontifical chair. But, as he had been regularly appointed by the reigning *Sūri* to the prospective *Sūri*-ship, his disciple, Satya-Vijaya-Gaṇi, naturally claimed the right of succession. But the members of the Tapa-Gachchha, disallowing his claims, appointed, in S. 1710, Vijaya-Prabha to the post of *Sūri*. The result was that Satya-Vijaya-Gaṇi, with his following, separated, and established the Vijaya-Śākhā.

A *pañña-vriksha* or genealogical table of the pontifical succession in the Tapa-Gachchha, which is in my possession,⁶ gives the succession as follows:—

No. 60 Vijaya Dēva Sūri.	
No. 61 Vijaya Prabha Sūri and	Vijaya Simha Sūri.
No. 62 Vijaya Ratna Sūri.	No. 1 Satya Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 63 Vijaya Kshamā Sūri.	No. 2 Kapūra Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 64 Vijaya Dayā Sūri.	No. 3 Kshamā Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 65 Vijaya Dharma Sūri.	No. 4 Jina Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 66 Vijaya Jinendra Sūri.	No. 5 Uttama Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 67 Vijaya Dēvendra Sūri.	No. 6 Padma Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 68 Vijaya Dharanendra Sūri.	No. 7 Rūpa Vijaya Gaṇi.
No. 69 Vijaya Rājā Sūri	No. 8 Kīrti Vijaya Gaṇi.
(still living).	No. 9 Kastūra Vijaya Gaṇi.
	No. 10 Maṇi Vijaya Gaṇi.
	No. 11 Buddhi Vijaya Gaṇi.
	No. 12 Apanda Vijaya Sūri.
	(or Ātmārām, still living).

I may take this opportunity of noting that Jina-Harsha, the 70th *Sūri* of the Kharatara-Gachchha, with whom closes the *paññavālī* published by D. J. Klatt (*ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 245-250), died (according to a *paññavālī* in my possession) in S. 1892. He was succeeded by the 71st *Sūri*,

⁴ See *Ājñāna-timira-bhāskara*, Vol. II. pp. 15, 16.

⁵ The *paññavālī* of the Tapa-Gachchha, published by Dr. J. Klatt in this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 251-266, terminates with this Vijaya-Prabha.

⁶ I hope shortly to be able to publish it.

Jina-Mahāndra, who was born in S. 1867, was initiated in S. 1885, became Śūri in S. 1892, and died in S. 1914. He was succeeded by the present Śūri, the 72nd, Jina-Mukti, who was born in S. 1887, and was initiated in S. 1907. The feast of his installation as Śūri took place in S. 1915 in Benares. He is still living.

TRANSLATION.

The successors in the pontifical dignity (*śaṇṭāntya*⁷) of Pārivanātha are the following :—

- (1) Pārivanātha's first disciple was the *Gaṇadhara* Subhadatta.
- (2, 3) His successor was Haridatta. His successor was Āryasamudra.
- (4) His successor was the *Gaṇadhara* Kāśin, by whom, as related in the *Rājaprañtīya-Upākṣa*, the feudatory king⁸ (*pradīśi-nripa*) was converted.
- (5) His successor was Svayamprabha-Śūri. Once upon a time when Svayamprabha-Śūri was giving instruction, the *Vidyādhara* Ratnachūḍa, passing over him (in his aerial chariot) on his way to Nandīvara, suddenly felt his chariot to be stopped. Curious as to the cause of this stoppage, he looked down, when he saw below him the *Guru* engaged in giving instruction. He felt that he had been guilty of disrespect in passing over so holy a man (*jaṅgama-tīrtha*). So he came down and worshipped the *Guru*, and having listened to his preaching (*dharma*), he became converted (*pratiśūdhā*). He now informed the *Guru*, that he possessed a favourite image (*prīyagatā pratimā*) of the Jina Pāriva, which he regularly worshipped; that this image had been originally in a temple (*chaityālaya*) of Rāvaṇa, the king of Lankā, but that, when Lankā was destroyed by Rāma, his elder brother, the prince (*nara-nāthā*) Chandrachūḍa had brought it away to the banks of the river Vinā;⁹ that it was still with him, and that henceforth he wished to devote himself to its service.¹⁰ The *Guru*, perceiving the advantage of the proposal, initiated him into the order (*dīkṣā datta*). He now learned, one by one, the twelve *Āṅgas* and the fourteen *Pārvās*, and was then appointed by the *Guru* to be his successor, in the 52nd year after Mahāvīra's death. Being thus appointed to the dignity of a pontiff (*Āchārya*), he wandered over the earth with 500 monks (*Sādhus*). Its name¹¹ was Śrī-Lakṣmī-Mahāsthāna. Its original name, in Gujarāt (*Gujarāṭa-mādhye*) during the Kṛita-Yuga, had been Rayapa-mālā (Prākṛit for Ratna-mālā); and the same during the Trētā-Yuga; but in the Dvāpara-Yuga it was called Vīra-nagarī (Prākṛit for Vīra-nagarī), and in the Kali-Yuga, Bhīma-mālā.¹² There Bhīmaśena was king; his son was Śrīpuṣṭi; and his son again was Utpala-Kumara (*sic*; Prākṛit for Kumāra). Another name of the latter was Śrī-Kumara. His younger brother (*bandhava*), Sumasundara, was the heir-apparent (*Yuvārājā*), who administered the kingdom with ability. Their ministers were two brothers of the Chāṇḍa family, Ūhaḍa and Ūdharapa, who lived there as lay-members of the Jain community (*Sāvaka*).¹³ The younger brother was worth 18 *brōḍas* of *suvraṇas*, while the elder brother owned only 99 *lākṣas*. Now, those who owned *brōḍas* were allowed to live within the fort (*durga*), while those who owned only *lākṣas* had to live outside (*bāhya*). Accordingly Ūhaḍa begged of his brother the loan¹⁴ of one *lākṣa*; but his

⁷ *Śaṇṭāntya* is a technical term for *paṭṭa-parasamparāya* or "pontifical succession."

⁸ His name was Paśā, and he was king of Śrīvāyā in the Kākayaddha country. His suzerain king was Jīva-sattā of Śāvatthī in the Kumāla country.

⁹ I cannot identify this river, unless it should be the Wain Gangā. There is a river Bīmā, a tributary of the Rēvā near Sāgar.

¹⁰ Original: *toyā saha ākṣa chāritram grīhāyāmi*. — N.B. Here and elsewhere I quote exactly as spelled in the original MS.

¹¹ It is not clear to what place this refers. The original has *teya abbhānāṣa*, 'its name.' The immediately preceding noun is *dārd*, 'earth,' to which it cannot refer. Probably it refers to the place, previously called Vināṭa.

¹² Modern Bhīmāl, a small place about 40 miles N.-W. of Mount Abū, on an unnamed small tributary of the Sakā river. Perhaps this unnamed rivulet is the Vinā.

¹³ The MS. has only *sā*, which I take to be an abbreviation of *sāvaka* or *śrāvaka*.

¹⁴ Original, *uṇṇāṇāṣa*, a Sanskritification of the modern Gujarāt *uṇṇāṇāṣa*, 'a loan'; apparently intended for *śā. ut-śrāpa*.

younger brother told him that his coming in would create difficulties in the city.¹⁵ Upon this, Ūhaḍa informed the prince (Surasundara) that he would found a new city, and thus forward his object. (At that time) Śrīśādhū was king of Dhīlīpur (i. e. Dehli). To him Ūhaḍa made a present of 558 horses, and the king, being pleased therewith, gave him a place for a settlement. Then 18,000 people of his family came away from Bhīnamāla, and a town, 12 *yōjanas* in extent, arose (on the new site).

(6) Near that place Śrī-Ratnaprabha-Sūri, together with 800 disciples, arrived on the salt-lake hills (*lāṭa-drahi-ḍāhgarā*). They stayed for a month in the wilderness, and wandered about in the exercise of their calling (*gōcharyā*), but did not obtain any alms, for the people who lived there were unbelievers. So, during their one month's stay they subsisted contentedly by licking their alms-bowls. Then they departed on their peregrinations. Again at another time Ratnaprabha-Sūri returned to that place, when he was advised by his tutelary goddess (*śaṣṇādevī*) to stay four months, after which he would be successful. So the *Guru* stayed there together with 85 other monks (*muni*), fasting for one, two, three and four months. At that point of time the son of the minister Ūhaḍa was bitten by a large snake. Many snake-charmers were called in, but none of them was able (to cure the patient). At last they pronounced him dead, and advised to burn him.¹⁶ His wife went to the burning-ground to be burned with him,¹⁷ and the father (*śrēṣṭhī*) was afflicted with great sorrow. Hearing the sound of musical instruments, a young disciple (of the *Sūri*) came there, and, seeing the bier (*jhaṃpāna*),¹⁸ enquired why they were going to burn a living man. They told the *Sēṭh* (*śrēṣṭhī*, lit. 'banker, or the minister') what the monk (*muni*) was saying. The *Sēṭh* ordered the dead boy to be removed from the bier. Then bringing forward the dead body, he deposited it in front of the *Guru*,¹⁹ who was standing at the back (of the crowd), and, placing his head on the *Guru's* feet, he said to him: — "O, merciful one, my *dēva* is angry with me, my house has become desolate, therefore grant me a son again."²⁰ The *Guru* quickly brought water, and having washed his feet, he sprinkled it over the dead boy, who was suddenly restored to life. Music of joy was now made, and all the people cried that the *Sēṭh's* son had received a new lease of life; while the *Sēṭh* himself placed before the *Guru* a large quantity of gems, pearls, gold, cloths and other things, and asked him to accept them. But the *Guru* said that he had no need of them, and exhorted the *Sēṭh* to adopt the Jain religion, which already numbered one *lākṣ* and a quarter (125,000) of adherents. At first the *Sēṭh* began to build a magnificent temple for Nārāyaṇa; but what he built in the day, fell in the night. He questioned all the people who saw it; but none was able to suggest a remedy. Then he asked the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha the reason why his temple fell down every night. The *Guru* enquired, in whose name he was building it. The *Sēṭh* replied, in the name of Nārāyaṇa. The *Guru* said, — "that will not do; make it in the name of Mahāvīra; then you will succeed, and the temple will be erected without hindrance." The *Sēṭh* acted accordingly. Then the tutelary goddess told the *Guru*, that she had begun to make an image of Mahāvīra, worthy of that magnificent building, on the hill called after the salt-lake, towards the north of the temple. Now the *Sēṭh* learned from the talk of the cowherds that at that place there was something that caused the cows (that grazed there) to drop their milk. He enquired (the cause of the phenomenon) from all who

¹⁵ The original has *nagarāṣṭhā uḍvāsāṃ asti, bhavatiśāṣṭhāṃ chāṣṭhā bhāṭvīśāṣṭhā*, the exact meaning of which is not intelligible. The *Ājāṭha-timira-bhāṣṭhā* has *Ūhaḍa mantri nā ite Bhīnamāla ko hīti nāmāṣṭhā ad viddi bhāṣṭhā jān ke*, i. e. 'the minister Ūhaḍa, knowing that Bhīnamāla would become devastated for some reason.' It is clear that the younger brother objected to the admission of the older brother.

¹⁶ Original, *dāgho dāghāṣṭhā*. *Dāgho* for *dāho* is noticeable.

¹⁷ Original, *āśāṣṭhā-bhāṣṭhāṣṭhā*, lit. 'to be eaten up by the fuel (of the funeral pile).'

¹⁸ A kind of sedan-chair, commonly used in Darjiling and other Hill-stations in the Himalayas, is called *jhaṃpāna*.

¹⁹ The original has *śrīṣṭhāṣṭhāṣṭhā* (or *dāghāṣṭhā*) *pāṣṭhāṣṭhā guru āgri nāmāṣṭhā*, which is unintelligible. Perhaps it should be *śrīṣṭhāṣṭhāṣṭhā pāṣṭhā guru* etc. or *śrīṣṭhāṣṭhāṣṭhā dāgha guru*, etc. The purport, as given in the translation, however, is clear from the context.

²⁰ The original has *tēna bhāṣṭhāṣṭhāṣṭhā putra-bhāṣṭhāṣṭhā dāgha* which leaves it open whether the father intended the revivification of the dead son or the birth of a new one.

had seen it; they gave each a different explanation. At last the *Sēṭh* asked the *Āchārya*; and he, according to the information of his tutelary goddess, told the *Sēṭh*, that there was going to be an image at that place, but that he should not attempt to dig it up before six months and seven and a half days. But the *Sēṭh*, being impatient to see it, dug it up a few days earlier, when an image of the size of a lime (*nimbā-phala*) with two nipples on its breast (*hridaya-siṅha-granthi-dvaya-sahitā*) was found. The *Āchārya* said that it was still not quite finished, and advised him to wait; but the *Sēṭh* replied that the touch of the *Guru's* hand would complete it. At that moment messengers arrived from the Faithful (*śraddhā*) in Kōraṇṭaka, inviting the *Āchārya* to come and consecrate an image of Mahāvīra (*bhagavat*). The *Guru* replied, that he would come at an auspicious time (*muhūrta vāldyā*).

Verse 1.

Seventy years after the last Jinapati (Mahāvīra) had attained *mukti*, on the fifth day of the bright half, on Thursday, in the Brahma (or ninth) *muhūrta*, the venerable Ratnāchārya, the possessor of every good quality, performed here, with the permission of the whole *sāṅgha* (or congregation of Jain monks), the consecration of an image of Mahāvīra.

Verse 2.

Ratnaprabha-Śūri, through his (*miraculous*) power (*śakti*), at the same time performed the consecration of two images of Mahāvīra in Upakēsa and in Kōraṇṭa.

In his own proper form he performed the consecration in Upakēsa, and in a miraculously assumed form²¹ (*vaśīṭa-rūpēṣa*) he performed it in Kōraṇṭaka. The expenses of the ceremony were defrayed by the Faithful. Then the *Sēṭh* was taught by the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha the rules of the whole course of daily worship (*pūjā aṅg-rātrikā*) of the image of Mahāvīra which was in Upakēsapura; how to bathe it, and adore it, and so forth. Later on, some of the relatives of the *Sēṭh* were converted from their unbelief to the profession of a *Śrāvaka* (Jain layman). Then they were made to adopt the true faith (*samyaktva*) by the *Āchārya*. One day he said to them, — "O ye faithful, ye should not go to the temple of Saṅghikā-dēvī; she is merciless, and incessantly delights in hearing the sound of the breaking of bones and the killing of buffaloes, goats,²² and other animals; the floor of her temple is stained with blood, and it is hung about with festoons of fresh skins; the teachers of her devotion, rites, and service, are cruel men; she is altogether disgusting and horrible." Hearing these words of the *Āchārya*, they replied, — "What you say, O Lord, is quite true; but if we do not go to worship that cruel Dēvī, she will slay us and our families." The *Āchārya*, however, promised to protect them; whereupon they ceased to go any longer to the temple of the Dēvī. Then the Dēvī, appearing before the *Āchārya*, wrathfully exclaimed that she would take means to stop his preventing her servants from coming to her temple. But the *Āchārya* was rich in most effective resources, and had many miracles performed for him by the gods (*deva*); so that the Dēvī for a very long time was not able to prevail over him. At last one day, the Dēvī, observing that the *Āchārya* had been a little remiss in his religious duties (*svādhyāyādī*), cunningly produced a pain in the brow of his left eye; and when the *Āchārya* anxiously began to think what the cause of the pain could be, the Dēvī, appearing before him, told him, that she herself had caused it. But the *Āchārya* resolutely replied that he would repay her the injury (*aphāṣayī-jyām*) by his own power. Being now frightened, the goddess humbly said to him, — "It is not seemly, O Lord, for great sages, like yourself, to dispute and quarrel; if you will give me something to crunch and munch,²³ I will remove your pain and be your servant, as long as the

²¹ Because he was in two places at the same moment of time, to perform the same ceremony.

²² Original, *bōṭkapa*, a Sanskritisation of the vernacular *bōṭkād* or *bōṭkād*. Another vernacular form is *bakard* or *chard*, which is adopted in Skr. dictionaries under the form *varikara*. It may be noted that the vernacular has also a shorter form *bōṭd* or *bōk*, as well as a form *bōṭd* or *bōṭē* which means 'an entire goat'; cf. *bōi*, *bōṭi*, 'power,' 'strength.'

²³ Original, *kaṭṭā-maṭṭā*, an onomatopoeic word; cf. Gujarātī *kaṭ'kaṭ'cuk* 'to crack.'

sun and moon endure." The *Āchārya* replied that he would give her something to crunch and munch; on hearing which, the *Dēvi* retired. Early in the morning, having caused the *Śrāvakas* to bring two heaps of various kinds of cakes and sweetmeats,²⁴ together with camphor, saffron, and other nice things, the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha proceeded with them to the temple of *Sachchikā-dēvi*. Then having made worship apart from the *Śrāvakas* (*śrāvakaiḥ pārtvati*), and crushing a quantity of cake (*pakvānna-sundaka*) with both his hands, right and left, he said to the *Dēvi*, — "I have given you something to crunch and munch, henceforth you must be a follower (*upāsakā*) of me." On his saying this, the *Dēvi* entered the body of a maiden who was standing near, and thence replied, — "O Lord, I wanted one sort of thing to crunch and munch, but you have given me another sort." The *Āchārya* said that what she wanted was an animal sacrifice, but that it was neither proper for him to give, nor for her to take it. He then gave some further religious instruction (*siddhānta-vākya*), the result of which was that *Sachchikā-dēvi*, who was still in the body of the maiden, was converted, in the presence of all the people who were there, becoming a follower (*bhaktā*) of *Mahāvira* in the city of *Upakṣa*, and a believer in the true faith; so much so that, letting alone flesh, she could not even bear the sight of a red flower.²⁵ The goddess (*sati*), by the mouth of the maiden in whose body she had entered, now said to her followers, — "Listen; whoever of you shall worship the image of *Svayambhū-Mahāvira*²⁶ which is set up in the city of *Upakṣa*, and shall follow the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha, and shall serve his disciples and the disciples of his disciples, with him I shall be well pleased, his evils (*durita*) I will remove,²⁷ and his worship I shall heartily accept." In consequence of these words of *Sachchikā-dēvi*, spoken by the maiden in whose body she had entered, a large number of people, in the course of time, adopted the profession of *Śrāvakas*. In due time, in the year 84 after *Mahāvira*, the *Āchārya* Ratnaprabha was translated into heaven.

(7) His successor was the *Āchārya* Yakshadēva, who converted the *Yaksha* Mānabhadra, and thus relieved the troubles of the congregation (*saṅgha*). (8-18) His successors were (8) *Kakka-Sūri*, (9) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (10) *Siddha-Sūri*, (11) *Ratnaprabha-Sūri*, (12) *Yakshadēva-Sūri*, and (18) *Kakka-Sūri*.

Now we will relate the rites connected with the bathing (*snātra*) of (the image of) *Svayambhū-Mahāvira*, and when and why they were instituted.

At that very time,²⁸ a festival which lasted eight days was held by the people in the temple (of *Mahāvira* or of *Sachchikā-dēvi*). Among them there were some young men to whom the evil thought suggested itself, that, as the two knobs on the breast of the blessed *Mahāvira* were only an eye-sore to the worshippers, there could be no harm in removing them, just as one would do with pustules of a skin-disease. The old people tried to dissuade them, saying that it was a sacrilege to apply a chisel, especially to a miraculously-created (*svayambhū*) image of *Mahāvira*. But they disregarded the old men's advice, and bribed a carpenter secretly to cut away the two knobs.²⁹ At that very instant the carpenter died, and from the place where the knobs had been cut away, there issued untold streams of blood. Great distress befell the people. Then they called *Kakka-Sūri*, the head (*adhipati*) of the *Upakṣa-Gaachchha*, together with the four *saṅghas*, to their assistance, and related to him the whole story. The *Āchārya*, with the four *saṅghas*, now kept a three days' fast. At the end of the third fast-day, the tutelary *Dēvi* appeared to the *Āchārya* at night, and told him that the young

²⁴ Original, *pakvānna kṣeffakādi-sundaka-dvayam*. The word *sundaka* is obscure; cf. the Marāṭhī *sunāḥ* or *sunā* 'a bundle.' It occurs again below. *Kakka*, Hindi *kāḥā*, is a kind of crisp sweetmeat, like pie crust.

²⁵ Original, *daḍḍā snāhānā karuṇam apī rakṣāṇā n'ācchhātī*. Here *daḍḍā* for Prākṛit *achchhāṇā*, see Hēma-chandra, IV. 215 (Pischel's translation), also Beames' *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. III. pp. 182, 183.

²⁶ It is called *svayambhū*, 'self-made,' because it was not made by men's hands.

²⁷ Original, *dalayānti*, used in the Prākṛit fashion, with the meaning of 'to place outside,' 'to remove;' see my edition of the *Udayagadāśa*, Vol. II. p. 180, footnote 237. The modern Hindi verb is *dalī'nā*.

²⁸ i. e. apparently in the time of (18) *Kakka-Sūri*.

²⁹ This would show that the image was a wooden one, and apparently had breasts as of a woman.

Śrāvakas had committed an outrage in mutilating the image and depriving it of its round parts (*kālā*); and that, in consequence, the town of Upakēsa would gradually become deserted (*uddha*), a schism would arise in the *gacchhā* and quarrels among the *Śrāvakas*, and the guilds (*gōshhikā*) would be dispersed in all directions. The *Āchārya* replied, — "O great goddess, what must be, that must be, but do thou stop the flowing of the blood." The goddess said, — "All the 18 *gōtras*, *viz.*, the nine right-hand ones, [1, Tātahaḍa, 2, Vāpaṇā, 3, Karpāṇa, 4, Vala-larā, 5, Mōrakaha, 6, Kulahaṇa, 7, Virahaṇa, 8, Śrēṣṭhāmālā, 9, Śrēṣṭhā], and the nine left-hand ones [1, Suohantā, 2, Āiohanā (or Ādrachānā?), 3, Bhūri (Bhōṭavārā), 4, Ligāśākhā-chhaibhādra (or Vaibhādra?), 5, Ohlohaṇa, 6, Kumbhaṇa, 7, Dīṇḍā, 8, Ranōja, 9, Laghuśrēṣṭhā] must assemble, and, after having kept a fast for three days, they must bathe (*the image*) with a jar of clarified butter (*ghṛita*), a jar of curds (*dadhā*), a jar of sugarcane-juice, a jar of milk, and a jar of water; in no other way will it be possible to stop (*the flow of blood*). In the three hundred and third year (303) after the day of the setting up (*of the image*) of Mahāvīra and its original consecration, the loss of the two knobs on the breast of Mahāvīra occurred by the act of fate (*daivya-yōgāt*).³⁰

(14-16) Kakka-Sūri was succeeded by — (14) Dēvagupta-Sūri, (15) Śri-Siddha-Sūri; (16) Śri-Rātnaprabha-Sūri.

(17) After them, in due order, in the 585th year after Mahāvīra, there was (*babhūva*) Śri-Yakshadēva-Sūri. He was a man of great power (*mahā-prabhāva-karī*). During the famine (*durbbhiksha*) which lasted for 12 years, the four disciples of Vajrasēna, the disciple of Vajrasāmin, *viz.* Nāgendra, Ohandra, Nivṛitti and Vidyādhara, were, after the death of their Guru Vajrasēna, initiated by Yakshadēva, and established four *sākhās*.

(19-33). He was succeeded by (19) Kakka-Sūri, (20) Śri-Dēvagupta-Sūri, (21) Śri-Siddha-Sūri, (22) Śri-Rātnaprabha-Sūri, (23) Yakshadēva-Sūri, (24) Kakka-Sūri, (25) Dēvagupta-Sūri, (26) Siddha-Sūri, (27) Rātnaprabha-Sūri, (28) Yakshadēva-Sūri, (29) Kakka-Sūri, (30) Dēvagupta-Sūri, (31) Siddha-Sūri, (32) Rātnaprabha-Sūri, (33) Yakshadēva-Sūri.

(34) He was succeeded by (34) Kakkudāchārya, who performed the penance called *śaśhkhātapa* with *āchāmā* for twelve years.³¹ By means of a hymn in praise of him, the *Śēṭh* Sōmaka, in Marōṭakōṭa, had his fetters broken. He then resolved to go and worship the feet of him, through the praise of whose name he had got rid of his bonds. So he went to Bharu-vaohohha (Bharōch), where he arrived just when all the *Munis* had gone on their rounds of begging. Only the goddess Saohchikā (spelt here Saohyakā) was in attendance on the Guru, and the door was closed. On seeing this, he began to form suspicions, whereupon Saohchikā "gave him a lesson"³² (*śikshā dattā*), and he began to vomit blood from his mouth. When the *Munis* returned, the oldest disciple (*priddha-gaṇḍhā*)³³ informed the Guru, that the *Śēṭh* Sōmaka was lying at his door. The *Āchārya* at once understood that this was Saohchikā's doing; so the goddess was called, and Sōmaka was asked what he had done. He replied, — "Lord, I have done wrong." (*They reproved him*), — "Thou sinner, how should the Guru

³⁰ Here the MS. adds the following marginal note: — "This occurs as the 17th *śloka* in the *Upakēsa-gacchhā-chāritra-sūtra*."

³¹ The *śaśhkhā-tapa* is a penance which consists in taking only one meal in every three days, or fasting for two days and a half at a time. The meal is taken on the evening of the third day, before sunset (see my edition of the *Udāgādaślo*, Vol. II. p. 51, footnote 141). *Āchāmā* is a Jain technical term meaning 'the eating of dry food simply moistened or boiled in water.' The term is said to be a compound of *āch* and *amā*; the former is said to mean *dravapa*, i. e. 'boiling in water,' and the latter is said to mean 'vegetable' (*ter'kār*). The whole compound is said to mean *rākhā bhājan pāni kē adh bhājē kē bhānd*, i. e. 'to eat dry food moistened with water.' The object, of course, is to intensify the hardship of the fast; only one meal is to be eaten every third day, and that meal is to consist only of dry food moistened in water. Kakkudāchārya kept this fast for twelve years in unbroken continuity.

³² She must have boxed his ears!

³³ Any disciple, who is put in charge of a few others by his *Āchārya*, is called a *Gaṇḍhā*. If there are several such *Gaṇḍhās*, the oldest among them, i. e. he who was first made a *Gaṇḍhā* by his *Āchārya*, is called *Priddha-Gaṇḍhā*.

through the taking of whose name thy fetters have been broken, be capable of indulging in sensual pleasures after the manner of prostitutes; especially as we should be returning immediately." The *Guru* pacified them, and at the intercession of Sachchikā restored him (*sajjharita*). In the name of both, *Sri-Ratnaprabha-Sūri* and *Sri-Yakshadēva-Sūri*, store-houses were established. They both were very powerful. But this *Kakka-Sūri*, by fixing his stick on the slope of the *Arbudā* mountain, produced water for the congregation when perishing with thirst, and, out of affection for his co-religionists, brought clarified butter (*ghrita*) from *Jāsalpur* (now *Jāsalmer*) to *Bharuvachcha* (*Bharūchh*).

(35-40) He was succeeded by (35) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (36) *Siddha-Sūri*, (37) *Kakka-Sūri*, (38) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (39) *Siddha-Sūri*, (40) *Kakka-Sūri*.

(41) In the year 995 (of the *Vikrama era*),³⁴ he was succeeded by (41) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, who was sprung from the *Kahatriya* caste, and was addicted to playing on the lute (*vinā*). This made him negligent in the performance of his duties; and accordingly the four *saṅghas* placed —

(42) *Sri-Siddha-Sūri*, the *Visaviśōpaka*,³⁵ in his post.

(43) He was succeeded by (43) *Kakka-Sūri*, the author of the work called *Pañcha-pramāṇa* ('the five proofs').³⁶

(44) In the year 1072 A. Vikr. he was succeeded by (44) *Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri*, who was the author of the work called *Nava-pada-prakarana*.³⁷

(45-49) He was succeeded by (45) *Siddha-Sūri*, (46) *Kakka-Sūri*, (47) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*, (48) *Siddha-Sūri*, (49) *Kakka-Sūri*.

(50) In the year 1108 A. Vikr., he was succeeded by (50) *Dēvagupta-Sūri*. On the occasion of the feast of his installation (*pada-mahōtsava*) in the town of *Bhinamāla*, the *Sāh Bhēmsāksha* spent seven *lākhs* of money; and the water with which the *Guru's* feet were washed on that occasion, was found to be a remedy against poison. The same *Sāh Bhēmsāksha* who celebrated the feast of the installation of *Sri-Dēvagupta*, had formerly deposited the glass bangles³⁸ of his wife *Bhaist* in *Diḍuvāpur*. Being now washed³⁹ at the advice of the *Guru*, they turned into silver; and from this silver the *gadaḥṭya*-coins were struck⁴⁰ (*itēna rūpāṇa gadaḥṭya mudrā pātita*). That happened in this wise. The mother of *Bhaistāksha*⁴¹ once made a pilgrimage to *Sri-Batrūjaya*. On the way, in *Pattana*, she ran short of money (*kharch*); so she applied for assistance to the *Sāh* *Īvara*. He asked her whose mother she was, and on her telling him that she was the mother of *Bhaistāksha*, he laughed and said that he thought she was the mother of him who used to carry drinking-water (*pāntya*) to his house. However, she received (assistance) from him, and completed her journey; and having paid her devotions to the *saṅgha*, she returned home. Her son then asked her, — "Mother, how far over the country has my fame spread?" She replied — "Your fame reaches as far as the gate of the main street of the town." He was displeased at these words; whereupon she repeated to him the derisive words of the *Sāh* *Īvara*. He then said, — "I will give the lie (*vādayishyāmi*, = *vādayishyāmi*) to those words, before I sit down for my evening meal (*dvitīya-vāḍ-bhōjana*)." Having made this promise, he put on a common dress and proceeded

³⁴ The MS. gives this and the following dates either * * * *varah* or *asvini* * * * *varah*, which I take to be years of the *Vikrama era*.

³⁵ A Jain technical term, meaning 'one in whose body and soul (*kartr aur dīnd*) all the marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of an *Āchārya* are found.' Muni *Ātmārām-jī* could give me no etymology of the word.

³⁶ A quite unknown work. Muni *Ātmārām-jī* says he has never seen it.

³⁷ On this work see "*Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*," Vol. IX. p. 180, No. 3080.

³⁸ The MS. has *bagāṭa* which I identify with the Hindi and Gujarātī *baṅgāṭ*, 'a bangle,' usually made of glass.

³⁹ Apparently with the water in which the *Guru's* feet had been washed.

⁴⁰ This is a very curious story regarding the origin of the well-known "*Gadhia kā paisā*," on which see *Prinsep's Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 341 (plate xvii. fig. 18-19). They are generally considered a very crude imitation of Sassanian coins.

⁴¹ The name is spelled varyingly *Bhaistāksha* or *Bhaistākha*.

to the market-place at the gate of Pattana. There he asked the *Sēṭh* whether he would take silver. The *Sēṭh*, greatly annoyed, replied that he would take all that the other could give. He then took a formal agreement (*sañchakāra*, = *satyañchakāra*) from the *Sēṭh*. Then having taken one and a quarter *lāks* of (silver) coins (*mudrikā*), and loaded it on asses (*gardayā nibhārayitvā*),⁴² he went to Pattana, and asked that the silver might be counted. On hearing the amount, the *Sēṭh* was astounded, and he, together with all other *Sēṭhs* of Pattana, fell at the feet of Bhaisākha. The latter told the *Sēṭh*, that he should bring drinking-water into the Gurjara country on a buffalo; after that he would be forgiven. At his direction, the money was spent in the country on a *saptakṣhētra*.⁴³ In this way arose the Gadahiya-Bakha.

(51) He was succeeded by Sri-Siddha-Sūri.

(52) In the year 1154 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by Sri-Kakka-Sūri. On the advice of Hēma-Sūri⁴⁴ and Kumārapāla, he expelled the *Munis* who neglected their religious duties (*kriyā-kīrti*).

(53) He was succeeded by Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri, who gave away one *lākḥ* of money (*dravya*).

(54) He was succeeded by Sri-Siddha-Sūri.

(55) In the year 1252 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by Sri-Kakka-Sūri, who restored (*pragaṭī-kṛtā*) Marōtakōṣa.

(56-65) He was succeeded by (56) Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri, (57) Siddha-Sūri, (58) Eakka-Sūri, (59) Dēvagupta-Sūri, (60) Sri-Siddha-Sūri, (61) Kakka-Sūri, (62) Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri, (63) Sri-Siddha-Sūri, (64) Kakka-Sūri, (65) Dēvagupta-Sūri.

(66) In the year 1330 (A. Vikr.) he was succeeded by Sri-Siddha-Sūri. The feast of his installation was celebrated by the Sāh Dēśala in Pālhanapura. Under the patronage of Samara, this Siddha-Sūri set up the image of Ādinātha, of the time of the sixth *Uddhāra*,⁴⁵ on the Satruñjaya mountain.

(67) He was succeeded by Sri-Kakka-Sūri, whose feast of installation was celebrated under the patronage of the Sāh Sahaja in the year 1371 (A. Vikr.). He composed the work called *Machchha-prabandha*, in which the character and conduct (*charitra*) of Samara and Sahaja, the two sons of Dēśala are described.

In this manner there arose many *Sūris* in the Upakēsa-Gachohha, who were distinguished through their power, their writings, and their unworldliness. Of these some account shall be given.

(68) The sixty-eighth successor in the pontifical chair was Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri, the world renowned poet, the head-jewel of the whole circle of the learned, the thorough master of the *Siddhānta* (or Jain Canon), the touchstone of all sciences. The feast of his installation was celebrated in Delhi, in the year 1409, by Śārandhara, at a cost of five thousand gold *moḥars* (*si-varṇa*).

⁴² I take this to be a clerical error for *gardayā nibhārayitvā*, as there seems to be in it a reference to the name of the coins *gardayā*.

⁴³ By a *sapta-kṣhētra* or 'seven spheres of action' is meant (1) to build a temple (*mandir*), (2) to endow it with an image (*pratimā*), (3) and sacred books (*śāstra* or *pustak*), (4 and 5) at the time of doing the above, to bestow food and clothes on the male and female *Sādhas*, and (6 and 7) to distribute money, according to one's ability, to the male and female *Śrāvaks* (or lay adherents).

⁴⁴ This is the well known Hēmachandra, the Sanskrit and Prākṛit Grammarian and Lexicographer, who is said to have died in 1173 A. D., in his 84th year.

⁴⁵ The Jains believe that from the time of Rishabhadeva down to the time of Bahādur Shāh, the son of Aurangzeb, there have been 16 great *Uddhāras* (besides innumerable small ones) on Mount Satruñjaya. An *Uddhāra* is one who at vast expense rebuilds all the old temples. The figure of Rishabha which was set up by the sixth *Uddhāra*, was put away in a hidden cave at the time of the seventh *Uddhāra*. When Samara made the fifteen *Uddhāra*, he got Siddha-Sūri to recover the image of the sixth *Uddhāra* from the hidden cave; and this image was set up again by Samara on the Satruñjaya mountain.

(69) He was succeeded in the year 1475 A. Vikr. by Sri-Siddha-Sūri, who was full of good qualities. The feast of his installation was celebrated in the town (*pattana*) of Anahallapura by his patron (*āgraha*, but spelt *dgrika*), the Sāh Jhāmbāntimba of the Ohōravēḍiyā gōtra.

(70) In the year 1498 A. Vikr. he was succeeded by Sri-Kakka-Sūri, and the feast of his installation was celebrated in Chitrakūṭa (Chitōr) by the Sāh Sāraṅga of the Ohōravēḍiyā gōtra and the Rājā of Sōnāpur. He it was who in the year 1444 procured the prohibition of all slaughter (*amāsi*)⁴⁵ in (*the province of*) Kachha, who converted to Jainism the Jām Sri-Vīrabhadra, from whom came forth ambrosial streams of Sanskrit and Prākṛit compositions, in which he deeply dived into all sciences (*śāstra*), who was equal to Vāchaspati in elegance of speech, who was accomplished and fervent in the exercise of all arts, who was very weighty through his knowledge of the Law (*dharma*), and who was foremost in the possession of all good qualities.⁴⁷

(71) In the year 1528 A. Vikr. the installation of his successor Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri was celebrated with great pomp by his patron the prime-minister Jayanta, the son (*ātmaja*) of the prime-minister (*mantriśvara*) Sāhūla of the Śrēṣṭhi gōtra. He built a palatial temple (*prāsāda*) of Pāravanātha and a *pōshadhā-śālā* (or a retreat for keeping the *pōshadhā* fasts), and made a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya. He also appointed five readers (*pāṭhaka*), whose names are the following: 1, Sri-Dhanasāgara-Upādhyāya;⁴⁸ 2, Sri-Dēvakallōla; 3, Upādhyāya-Padmatilaka; 4, Upādhyāya-Hamsarāja; 5, Upādhyāya-Matisāgara.

(72) He was succeeded by Sri-Siddha-Sūri, the full of good qualities. The feast of his installation was celebrated, in the year 1555 A. Vikr., in Mōdintpur (Midnapur), by the prime-minister Lōlāgara,⁴⁹ the son (*ātmaja*) of the prime-minister Dabāratha, of the Śrēṣṭhi gōtra.

(73) He was succeeded by Sri-Kakka-Sūri, who became the head of the *gachchhā* (*gachchhādhipa*) in the year 1595 A. Vikr., in Yōdhapura (Jōdhpur). The feast of his installation was celebrated in Jōdhpur by the prime-minister Dharma Sīnha, the son of the minister Jaga (*mantri Jaga*), of the Śrēṣṭhi gōtra.

(74) He was succeeded by Sri-Dēvagupta-Sūri, whose feast of installation was celebrated in the year 1631 A. Vikr., by his patron, the minister Dēda, the son (*putra*) of the minister Sahasa Vīra, of the Śrēṣṭhi gōtra.

(75) He was succeeded by Sri-Siddha-Sūri, on the 13th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra in the year 1655. The feast of his installation was celebrated, with great pomp, in Vikramapur (Bikrampur) by the greatest of ministers, the prime-minister (*mantriśvara mantri-mahāmantri*) Vākura Sīnha, of the Śrēṣṭhi gōtra, the most competent administrator of the kingdom, known throughout the whole world as the noblest (*lit.* mount Mōru) and most brilliant (*lit.* head-jewel) of ministers.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 189. — BHŌJ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE RATTI MAHAMANDALĒSVARA KARTAVIRYA IV. SAKA-SAMVAT 1181.

This inscription has been incidentally noticed by me in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 83; but it is now published for the first time. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1879, from Sivagaṇḍa Bin Satyagaṇḍa, a member of the Pāṭils' family of Bhōj, which is a village about nine miles north-west of Chikōḍi, the chief town of the Chikōḍi Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency. The village is entered in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40; Lat. 16° 33', Long. 74° 30'.

⁴⁵ On this, see footnote 234 in my edition of the *Udāgarāda*.

⁴⁷ In the original these epithets are made to rhyme.

⁴⁸ On upādhyāya see the introductory remarks.

⁴⁹ Original, *Lōlāgarāṭya*. Perhaps, however, it is a clerical error for *Lōlāgarāṭya*, 'by his patron Lōla.'

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1' 2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The edges of them were raised into rather high rims, and the writing is essentially in a state of perfect preservation throughout. But many of the letters are filled up with so hard an incrustation of rust, which cannot be cleared out, that they hardly show at all in an ink-impression; and this inscription can be properly read only on the original plates. — The ring on which the plates are strung, passes through ring-holes in the upper part of each plate. It is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had not been out, when the grant came under my notice. The seal, in which the ends of the ring are secured, is oval, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in high relief on a deep countersunk surface, the figure of a man kneeling on his right knee and facing full-front, and holding in his left hand what seems to be a sceptre, and in his right hand some small object which is not recognisable. The full details of the figure cannot be made out; but it seems to be a representation of Garuḍa. This, however, is rather peculiar; for, the family, a member of which made the grant recorded in this charter, — the only copper-plate record of the family that has as yet come to my notice, — had the crest of an elephant and the banner of a golden Garuḍa; and, on the analogy of the Chalukya grants, the seal ought to shew the elephant-crest. — The weight of the three plates is about 15 lbs., and of the ring and seal, 8 lbs. 3 oz.; total, 18 lbs. 3 oz. — The characters are Nāgarī. The *virāma* is represented by a sign which might be mistaken for the subscript long *ṛ*; but that the latter is represented throughout this record by two strokes, each of which might ordinarily suffice for it. The letter *b* is represented throughout by a *ṇ*, with a dot in the centre of the loop. The Drāviḍian *ṛ* is represented by a double *r*, in 'ārruṇaṇ', line 103; instances of the same practice, in other inscriptions in the Nāgarī characters, occur in *mārta-kāṇḍu*, = *māṛta-konḍu* (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 276, line 87), and in *kiruvālarigā*, = *kiṛuvalarigā* (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 244, line 13); and even in Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary the practice is the same, in the few instances in which any attempt is made to distinguish the *ṛ* from the ordinary *r*. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraving is regular and good. The letters are fairly deep; but, the plates being massive, they do not show through at all on the reverse sides of the first and last plates. Where the letters are not filled up with rust, the interiors of some of them shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool; but this is confined chiefly to the curved strokes; and the engraving for the most part is very firm and clean. — The language is Sanskrit. As far as the end of line 85, the record is in verse; except for a short passage of *gadya* or alliterative prose, in lines 61 to 64. The rest is substantially in prose. But one verse is introduced in lines 105 to 108. And, in addition to four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 112 to 120, the inscription ends with two verses which give the names of the composer and the writer of it. — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *śh* for the *visarga* before *k* and *p*, in *su-karash-kalit-ōdayaśh*, line 36, and *yāśash-pitra*, line 42, and in other instances in lines 40, 44, 57, 71, 74, 75, 80, 83, 91, 107, 117, 118; that it is only an affectation, is indicated by such instances as *śśhaśh kūśhaśh*, line 29, and *kalpa-bhāśhaśh parājitaśh*, line 31; (2) the doubling of *bh* after *r* by *bh* (instead of by *b*), in *garbhāśhaśh*, line 42, and in other words in lines 64, 66, 67, 70; (3) the doubling of *ch* (by *ch*, in the proper manner) after the *anusvāra*, in *lāśchchhānaśh*, line 88, and *ōbhivāśchchhānaśh*, lines 88-89; and (4) the representation of *ṛṇṇ* by *ṛṇṇ*, e. g. in *tūrṇṇāśh*, line 29; though the double *ṇṇ* is formed correctly in *prakṣhṇṇāśh*, line 27.

The inscription is one of the Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Kārtavīrya IV., of the family of the Raṭṭas of Saundattī and Belgaum. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village, to a number of Brāhmaṇas, made by him while, in conjunction with his younger brother, the Yvārāja Mallikārjuna, he was ruling at the *skandhāvāra* or camp of Vāṇagrāma.

The village granted was the modern Bhōj itself, which is mentioned under the older name of Bhōyija, and is defined as being in the Koravalli (i. e. Koravalli) *kampana*, which was a division of the Kāṇḍī Three-thousand district. With it there was given its hamlet,

Sonnavaḍa, which, if it is still known by that name, is not entered under it in the map. Vēṇu-grāma, where Kārtavīrya IV. and Mallikārjuna were ruling, is one of the forms of the ancient name of Belgaum. The Koravaḷḷi kampāṇa is mentioned also in one of the two Raṭṭa inscriptions which were formerly at Belgaum, but were lost eight of many years ago (see *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 184). The map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40, shows 'Koorolee,' fourteen miles almost due north of Tāsgaum in the Sātārā District; 'Kurroolee,' which probably is really Karḷḷi, seven miles south-east of Tāsgaum; and another 'Kurroolee,' twenty miles north-west of Athṇi in the Belgaum District. Either of these places, with a preference in favour of the last, may be the town from which the Koravaḷḷi kampāṇa took its name. The only other place that seems at all possible is 'Koorlee,' or 'Kurali,' about eighteen miles west by north of Chikōḍi in the Belgaum District. The Kūṇḍi or Kūḥṇḍi Three-thousand is a territorial division, the boundaries of which were first fixed by the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya I. (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 201), about A. D. 1040 to 1070, and which seems to have specially constituted from that time the government of the Raṭṭas. I do not find any place now existing, from which its name can have been taken. But a reminiscence of it seems to have been preserved in the term *Māru-sāviraḍ-Āyya*, "the *Āyya* of the Three-thousand," which is the title of an *Āyya* or Liṅḡyat priest at Hubḷi in the Dhārwaḍ District. His predecessors may have been the high-priests of the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand.

The date on which the grant was made, was, Śaka-Saṃvat 1181, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly qualified either as current or as expired; the Vibhava saṃvatsara; the month Kārttika; the bright fortnight; and the twelfth tithi, coupled with Budhavāra or Wednesday.¹ And here we have a clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this instance, the Vibhava saṃvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 1181 current (1180 expired). And in this year the given tithi, Kārttika śukla 12, ended on Wednesday, 22nd October, A. D. 1208, at about 28 *ghaṭṭa*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay).

Among the fiscal terms in this grant, mention is made of the *aṣṭabhōga-tājaḥ-svāmya*, which means literally 'the proprietorship of the glory of the *aṣṭabhōga*.' The word *aṣṭabhōga* is given in Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary as denoting 'eight sources of enjoyment, *vis.* a habitation, a bed, raiment, jewel, women, flowers, perfumes, and areca-nuts and betel-leaves.' But Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *akṣhiṇī*, alludes, though without specification, to 'eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property;' and this is more probably the true meaning of the term. In the Bhīmankatṭi Math spurious grant (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 383, line 25 ff.), we have the expression *nidhi-nikṣhēpa-jala-pāśhāṇa-akṣhiṇī-āgāmi-siddha-siddhya-tājaḥ-svāmya*; here, *aṣṭabhōga* plainly has been omitted through carelessness; and, inserting it, we find it preceded by eight specific terms. Again, in a Harihar grant (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII. p. 347, line 87 ff.), we have *nidhi-nikṣhēpa-jala-pāśhāṇa-akṣhiṇī-āgāmi-siddha-siddhya-kechchāṇṇike* (sc. *kechchugāṇṇike*) *moda-āda-sakala-aṣṭabhōga-tājaḥ-svāmya*; where again, if we now take *nidhi-nikṣhēpa* as one term, we find the word preceded by eight specific terms. And this second passage seems to give still more clearly the meaning of *aṣṭabhōga*; the translation being "the proprietorship of all the glory of the *aṣṭabhōga*, which commences with (or rather, which consists of) deposits of buried treasure, water, stones, *the akṣhiṇī*, that which may accrue (P), that which has been made property (P), that which may be made property (P), and augmentation." Such passages as the present one, in which the term *aṣṭabhōga-tājaḥ-svāmya* is distinctly separated from *nidhi-nikṣhēpa* &c., may tend against the acceptance of such an explanation of its meaning as I propose. But, on the whole, the passages in the Bhīmankatṭi Math and Harihar grants, seem to define exactly the *aṣṭabhōga*; with a slight variation in different parts of the country.

¹ *budhavarā-samavṛtibhāṇa*. The analysis of this compound is *budhavarāṇa samavṛtibhāṇa*. And this instance may serve to explain the occasional use of the instrumental case (without any such word as *samavṛtibhāṇa*) instead of the more customary locative, to denote the week-day.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

1 Ōm Ōm³ Namaḥ 'Sivāya || Mahīyasyā⁴ mahī yasya dāmshtṛayā prōddhat-ō-
 2 dadhāt⁵ | śriyē(yai) bhūyād-varāhō=au jagatām jagatām nidhih ||
 3 Yasy⁶=ālmngana - ranya - r ū p a - G i r i j ā - s a m b h ō g a - s a m b h ā v i t a - s v ā -
 4 d-āmbhaḥ-kapa-chumbit-ōbhaya-tāta-prōdbhāsi bhāl-āmbakam | prānta-prō-
 5 ta-viśuddha-mauktika-lesan-māṇikyā-madhya-arajāḥ śōbhām=āta-
 6 untē tanōtu sa 'Sivāḥ śrēyāmsi bhūyāmsi vaḥ || Asti⁷ Baṭṭ-āhvayā
 7 varṇaḥ | Kṛishṇa-rāja-kṛit-ōnnatīḥ | krama-vikrama-sampamna-sampat-sampōshi-
 8 ta-prajāḥ || Asmin=samasta-bhūpāla-mauli-lālita-sāsanaḥ | samjā-
 9 tas=saphal-ārambhaḥ-Sōna-rājas-satām mataḥ || Maryādāsu sthitābhyō
 10 yaḥ prajābhyah prajāy=ānvitāḥ | pramōdam pradadau nityam niyamā
 11 nītivittaraḥ || Yat-khaḍga-khamditās=samkhyē bhūbhujāḥ prathit-anja-
 12 sah | pāpimdhamaḥ divas-chakrah panthānam paripamthinaḥ || Vāṇ¹²
 13 Śrīr-vvasudhā tav=āsti vaśagā kim kanta kāryam mayā ruṣṭ-ōv=iva-
 14 m=ih=āśrit-ōnnatimatī yat-kīrtit=āśi-patī | sō=bhūn=namra-
 15 narēmdra - mauli - vilāsaṇ - m ā ṇ i k y ā - b ā l ā t a p a - v y ā k ṣ ṭ - ṭ j [j³] v ā l a -
 16 pādapadma-yugalāḥ śrī-Kārttaviryyas=tataḥ || Dadhan⁹ nija-bhujā-sta-
 17 bhā śālabhāmjīm=iva sthirām | vijaya-śriyam=ātmiya-guṇa-śrēṇi-va-
 18 śīkṛitām || Yasy¹⁰=āri-nārī-nayan-āmbu-dhārā pīna-stan-ālmngana-ra-
 19 mya-rūpā | kānti-chchhatām dikṣhu samudgiramāḥ muktāvali-vibhra-
 20 mam=ābabhāra || Udayam¹⁰=upagatō-smāl=Lakṣmidēva-kṣhitīkās=sa ki-
 21 la sakala-bhūbhṛin-mastaka-nyasta-pādāḥ | dalita-dṛiḍha-tamaskō gō=sa-
 22 hās-ābhīramyō ravir=iva bhṛita-padmas=tyakta-dōsh-ānushaṅgaḥ ||
 23 'Sākam¹¹ Sākambhar-ībō bhajati na bhajatē Mālavō Mālav-ā-
 24 sām Ohōlō vālā-vanāya sprihayati bibhṛitē Gū(gu)rjjarō nirjjan-ā-
 25 śām | jētum jāta-prayāṇē ripu-nṛipa-jagatīm Lakṣmidēvō nṛi-dēvō ye-
 26 sminn=asmin=dravanti drutataram=aparē=py=asta-tamdrāḥ kṣhitīmdrāḥ || Yad¹²-yā-
 27 trāsu turāṅga-puṅgava-khura-prakṣuṇṇa-prithvitāla-prōddhāt-ōddhura-dhū-
 28 li-dhūsaram=adhas=sambhāvya bhū-maṇḍalam | vyōm=ōḍḍīya bhajanti bhā-
 29 nu-turagās=tūrṇa(rṇa)m kham=ūrdhvaḥ svataś=Śōshaḥ kincha dadhāti ch=āvani-
 30 talām na-
 30 mṛibhavat-kandharaḥ || Artthind¹³=artthitēn=āpi prāpt-ārtthān=yēna ku-
 31 rvatā | dadad=artthita ēv=Arttham kalpa-bhūjaḥ parājitaḥ || Vaktā-

Second Plate; First Side.

32 nī¹⁴ vairi-pramadājanānām śamsanti yasya prabalam pratāpam | lāmb-ālak-ōnmṛishta-
 33 vichitra-patra-vyāpāṇḍu-gaṇḍasthalavanti santām || Jananam¹⁵=abhavad=asmāt=Kārtta-
 34 viryyasya yasya prakṛiti-lālita-mūrttēs=sarvva-dig-vyāpi-kīrttēḥ | prapata-
 35 nṛipati-ohūḍratna-rāji-prabhābhir=d viguṇita-nija-kāntiś='Śrī-pād-āmbhōja-
 36 bhājāḥ || Yaś=cha || Sāmtupta(ṣṭa)¹⁶=vibudhas=śrīmān=su-karash-kalit-ōdayaḥ |
 37 rājatē Kā-
 37 rttaviryyō=yaḥ rājā kuvalaya-priyaḥ || Yasy¹⁷=ātapatrē vilasaty=udagrē prachohhāya-
 38 samśanta-para-pratāpē | chitram ripu-strījana-mānasāhu prābalyam=atyantam=a-
 39 vāpa tāpāḥ || Sāmgrāmē¹⁸ karavāla-kālī-dalita-pratyartthi-bhūbhṛich-chayān=nishkrā-

² From the original plates.³ The first ōm is represented by a decorative symbol; and the second in writing, — ōm.⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next three verses.⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁹ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁰ Metre, Mālinī.¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.¹³ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹⁴ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁵ Metre, Mālinī.¹⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹⁷ Metre, Indravajrā.¹⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛdita.

- 40 madbhir-ejasram-asra-salilais-sampādyā nān-āpagāḥ | svash-kāntā-nikarān-apām-a-
 41 pi nidhīn-kurvann-ananta-priyān-ēka-chohhatram-imān khamām-avati yāś-śri-
Karttavi-
 42 ryyō nripaḥ || Yādī¹⁰-viśālā-yāśash-pūra-pūritā vyōmni samoharan | kshirābdhi-
 garbbhba(rbbha)-
 43 vāsasya smarāt-iva kalānidhiḥ || Vira²⁰-ś-ri-ramapasya yasya vijaya-prasthā-
 44 na-bhōtiravaṁ śrāvaṁ-śrāvam-arāteyap(ah)-prithu-javaṁ prithvidharāpām guhāḥ |
 gatvā
 45 tatra bhayamkaram prātiravaṁ śri(śru)tv-ātha samśratā kim kurmmaś-sarapam
 bhajēmahi
 46 vayam kim kva pratishṭhāmahē || Kōyūra²¹-sth-ēmdranīlasya chohhalēn-ēyam sthiram
 sthirā |
 47 yasya śri-Karttaviryyasya bhūsatā bhujam-āśritā || Vira²²-ś-ri-parirammbha-sam-
 48 bhrama-bhrita-pratyartthi-prithvipati-krodh-āndhikṛita-gandha-sindhura-ghaṭā - ka ṇ ṭ h - ā-
 49 sthi-kunṭhikṛitaḥ | yat-khaḍgō-yam-arāti-mauli-vilāsan-māṇikyā-śā(śā)-
 50 ṇōpala-śrēṇi-śri-periohumbana-krama-bhuvā kāntyā punaś-sēvyatā ||
 51 Yasya²³ mātaram-ānamra-jana-pakṣa-āvichakṣaṇām | iti śri-Chandrikādēvīm katha-
 52 yantaś-ohakāśati || Dōsh-ānushaṅgam-aprāptā padm-ōnmēsha-vidhāyini | kantu-
 53 kam Chandrikādēvi sa-mitrā nityam-unnatā || Bhātī²⁴ ślāghya-guṇā pativratata-
 54 yā dēvi chiram Chandrikā samprāptā ghaṭa-sarppa-jāta-vijayam Lakshmidhara-
 prēyaś |
 55 vira-ś-ri-vara-Mallikarjuna-yuta-ś-ri-Karttaviryy-āmbikā nānā-dāna-vinō-
 56 da-chāru-oharitā chāturyya-varyya-sthitāḥ || Nichaladēvīm²⁵ kāntām kamantya-ka-
 57 lā-vilāsa-sampannām | dhanyas-samajani lōkaś-kathayann-iti bhūbhujō yasya ||
 58 Yasya rājñi || Nichaladēvi Sambhōś-ohumbita-charaṇāna puṇya-bharaṇāna | kumud-ōm-
 59 dīvara-mālām spijyata iva dīrghī-mātrēna || Yasya || Mauktika-gōlaka-la-
 60 kshmiṁ vidadhānam gagana-rūpinaś-Sambhōḥ | Nichaladēvi rājñi sakalam vimalam
 yāśa-
 61 s-tanūtā || Yasy²⁶-ānujam nija-bhuja-bala-vijit-ś-ri-ohakram Ohakradhara-vikramam
 krama-
 62 śaraṇam rapa-raṅga-chaturam turāṅgama-kōli-nilayam laya-rahitam hita-mahita-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 63 vāoham Vāhaspati-mahimānam mām-ōnnatam Mallikarjunaś-dēvam-ēvam-ā-
 64 śirvachana-nichayair-abhinamdayanti || Dīrggh-āyur²⁷-bbhba(bbha)va bhāgyavān-
 bhava bha-
 65 va Ś-ri-pāda-bhaktō bhava nyāy-ālamkaraṇō bhava pratidīśam prakhyā-
 66 ta-kirttir-bbbha(bbha)va | Ś-ri-kāntō bhava dhārmikō bhava jan-ānamd-ābdhi-
 chaṇdrō bha-
 67 va tvam jishṇur-bbbha(bbha)va Mallikarjuna ohiram lōkēna sēvyō bhava ||
 Yō-yam ||
 68 Aruhy²⁸-āvaśyam-āśvam jita-pavana-javam sarvva-sal-lakshma-bhājam vaktre siddham
 vidhātum
 69 nava-patha-ohaturam paṁcha-dhārā-praviṇam | vādy-āli-kōli-sampad-bhava-sama-saunayai-
 70 r-bbbbf(bbhf)ma-bhāśi-nināḍair-nnyakkurvvaḥ-vairi-varggam prachalita-manasaṁ rājatā
Kā-
 71 rttaviryyaḥ || Kara²⁹-kalita-khaḍga-lōkhā dharapitāśh-Karttaviryyadēvasya

¹⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

²² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

²⁴ This passage is an instance of *padya*, or alliterative prose.

²⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

²⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

²⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next verse.

²⁸ Metre, Āryā; and in the next two verses.

²⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

²¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

²² Metre, Āryā.

72	yasya	ripu-vraja-lakshmi-lipi-karana-samâpti-lêkh-êva ||	Dadad ³⁰ -â
73	namdam=âbhâti	pratâpa-tapanas=sadâ |	chitrañ kuvalayây=âsmai ya-
74	syâ	lakshmi-nidhê=catâ ||	Yâs-cha || Lâvanyam ³¹ vijaya-êriyash=kula-
75	griham	satyasya	sim'-ônnatâr=unmâdash=pramadâ-vilôchana-tatê-
76	r=utpâda-bhûs=sampadâm |	unmêshas=sukritasya	manâdana-vidhis=tyâga-
77	syâ	lîlâ dhiyâm kshêtram	kshatriya-têjasâm vijayatê êri-Kârtta-
78	viryyô	nripah || Vyâptê=amin=bhuvana-trayê	narapatêr=yyasy=ênidu=sainspa-
79	rddhinâ	Kailâsâyitam=Anja(ñja)na-kshiti-bhritâ	hamsâyitam kôki-
80	laih |	nîl-âbjaishe=kumudâyitam	Yamunayâ Gamgâyitam sâga-
81	raih	kshirôdâyitam=unnatêna	yâsâ Sarvvâyitam Vishpunnâ ||
82	Vîra ³² =êri-bhrâji	yasya sthiram=avanim=imâm	vi(bi)bhratô dâshpi jishnô-
83	s=samrâjash=prâjya-râjya-prakâpta-garima-ttô(s t ô) m a - d h â m - a i k a - m û r t t ê h |		
84	kîrttîm	drishvâ kim-êshâ	rajatagiri-tâñ kumudî kim sudhâ kim
85	Gamgâ	kim kin-nu chândrî	tanur=iti kavayas=sâmpratam samgiranatê ||
86	Sô-yam	samadhigatapamchamahâtabda-mahâmamâdalêvarô ³³	Latta-
87	nûr-ppuravar-âdhîvarah	trivall-târyya-nirgghôshahô	Ratpa-ku-
88	la-bhûshahah	simdûra-lâmohohhanas=saphalkrita-vidvaj-jan-âbhivâm-	
89	chohhanah	vîra-kath-âkarâna(rûpa)na-jâta-rômâmohas=sâhitya-vidyâ-Vi-	
90	rimohah	suvarâna(rûpa)-Garudadhvajas=sahaja-makaradhvajah	samgrâma-kau-
91	tâballkrita-nija-gadâ-damâsh=kadana-prachamâdhah		simdhur-ârâti-bam-
92	dhura-kabamâdha-nartana-sûtradhârô		vairi-mamâdalika-gamâda-tala-prahâ-
93	rah para-vadhû-namdanô	vibhava-samkramâdanah	sâhas-ôttumgas=samâra-

Third Plate.

94	dhita-Mahālingah		ēvam-ādi-nāmavall-virājamānas-śrīman-Kā-
95	rttaviryyadēvō	rājā	nij-ānujēna yuvarāja-Mallikārjju-
96	nadēvēna	samanvitā-śrī-Vēnugrāma-akamdhāvarō	sukhō-
97	na	sāmrajya-lakṣmīm-anubhavan ||	Saka-nripa-kālasya-aika-tri(tri)mbad-u-
98	ttara-sat-ādhika-sahasratamasya		Vibhava-sahvatsarasya Kā-
99	rttika-māsasya	sukla-dvādaśyāh	Budhavāra-samanvitāyāh Kīrñ-
100	di-trisahasra-madhyavartti-Koravallī-kampan-āmtarggatañ		nidhi-
101	n i k s h ô p a - j a l a - p ā s h ā n - ā r ā m - ā d i - c h a t u s h p r a k ā r a - b i r a v a n a -		
102	pārīkhāya-sahitam-sahābhōga-tējas-svāmya-damāda-sulka-yuktam		mā-
103	nyēshu	dēsa-maryyād-ārruvā ³⁴ -ānvitam	sarvv-āya-sahitam rājā rājaktyai-
104	r-apy-an-aṅguli-prēkṣaptyam	pravipta(śha)-Sodhnasvādāh	prasiddha-simā-samanvi-
105	tañ	Bhōyyā-nāmānāñ grāmam ||	Vidharita ³⁵ -duritēbhyaś-śāntiman-māna-
106	sēbhyaś-samedhika-mahimahhyaś-sarvva-vidyā-nidhibhyaḥ |		kṛita-nikhila-ma-
107	khēbhyaś-satyavadbhyaś-kṛiti bhyaś-sitakara-sama-kīrtti-vyāpta-lōkatra-		
108	yēbhyaḥ ||	Vimāty-ādika-sata-samkhyākēbhyaḥ	nānā-gōtrē-
109	bhyaḥ	brāhmaśēbhyaś-samasta-rāja-chihñ-ōpalakṣitam	sarvva-
110	namasyam	kṛitvā dhārā-pūrvvakam	bhakti-yuktam dattavān || Ōm ³⁶ ||
111	Asya dharmmasya	pālanē phalam=iti ha am-āhur-Mmanv-ādayō maha-	
112	rahayaḥ ||	Dāna ³⁷ -pālanayōr=mmadhyē	dānāch-ohhrēyō-nupālanam
113	dānāt-svarggam-avāpnōti	pālanād-achyutam	padam || Gaṇyantē
114	pānasvō	bhūmēr-ggaṇyantē	vīśhñi-hindavah | na gaṇyatē Vidhāt-ā-
115	pi	dharmma-samrakṣatē	phalam || Ata ēv-āha Rāmachandrah || Sāmā-
116	nyō ³⁸ -yam	dharmma-sētur-nripānām	kālē-kālē pālanīyō bhava-

³⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).³¹ Metre, Śraddhâ.³² I. e. "Aśvina".³³ Represented by a decorative symbol, closely resembling that which stands at the beginning of the record.³⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next verse.³⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and in the next verse.³⁶ It should be noted how the terminations of these epithets rhyme.³⁷ Metre, Mālinī.³⁸ Metre, Śālinī.

117	dbhiḥ |	sarvātān=ātān=bhāvinash=pārtthivēndrān=bhūyō-bhūyō	yāchatē
118	Rāmachandraḥ ||	Mad ³⁶ -vāmśa-jāsh=para-mahīpati-vāmśa-jā	vā pāpād-a-
119	pēta-manasō bhūvi bhūmipālāḥ |	yō pālayanti mama dharmmam=i-	
120	mam samagran tēbhyō mayā	viraohitō-mjalir-ēsha mūrdhni ||	Iyam ⁴⁰
121	vāṇi-var-ōnnidra-śakti-vyutpatti-sāmpadaḥ |		jayaty-Ādityadēva-
122	sya kṛitir-audārya-tālini ||	Sāsanam	vairi-śilpaka-gandha-sim-
123	dhura-kēsari |	Balavarmm=ālikhach=chitraṁ sūtradhāra-Pitāmahaḥ [11*]	Om ⁴¹ [11*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse in praise of Viṣṇu as the Boar, and another in praise of Śiva, the inscription proceeds:—There is the **Raṭṭa** lineage (line 6), the elevation of which was effected by king **Kṛishṇa**.⁴² In it there was born **Sēna** (II.) (l. 9). His son was **Kārtavīrya** (III.) (l. 16). His son was **Lakṣmidēva** (I.) (ll. 20, 25), or **Lakṣmidhara** (l. 54), at whose marching forth the lord of **Sakāshbhari** ate only herbs (l. 23); the king of **Mālava** could not enjoy the country of **Mālava**; the **Ohōla** longed for a safe refuge in the forests on the sea-shore (l. 24); and the **Gurjara** found his territory deprived of its inhabitants. From him there was born **Kārtavīrya** (IV.) (ll. 38-34, 36-37, 41-42, 47, 55, 70-71, 78), or **Kārtavīryadēva** (l. 71). His mother was **Chandrikādēvi** (ll. 51, 53), or **Chandrikā** (l. 54), who was the wife of **Lakṣmidhara** (l. e. **Lakṣmidēva** I.); who attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen water-jar;⁴³ and who was the mother both of **Kārtavīrya** (IV.) and of **Mallikārjuna** (l. 55). The wife of **Kārtavīrya** IV. is **Bhohaladēvi** (ll. 56, 59, 60), who acquired much religious merit by her worship of **Sambhu** (Śiva); and his younger brother is **Mallikārjunadēva** (l. 63), or **Mallikārjuna** (l. 67).

While, in conjunction with his younger brother, the **Yuvardja Mallikārjunadēva**, he is enjoying the good fortune of universal sovereignty (I) at the famous camp of **Vēṇugrāma** (l. 96), he, the illustrious **Kārtavīryadēva** (IV.), (ll. 94-95), — a **Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara** who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda* (l. 86); who is the supreme lord of **Lattantir**,⁴⁴ the best of towns; who is heralded by the sounds of the musical instrument called *trivaḥ*; who is the ornament of the **Raṭṭa** family (ll. 87-88); who has the crest of an elephant;⁴⁵ who has the banner of a golden **Garuḍa** (l. 90); who strikes the cheeks of hostile **Māṇḍalikas** (l. 92); and who has appeased the god **Mahāliṅga** (Śiva) (ll. 93-94), — on the twelfth tithi, coupled with Wednesday, in the bright fortnight of the month **Kārtika** of the **Vibhava saṁvatsara**, which is the one thousand one hundred and thirty-first year of the era of the **Saka** king (or kings) (l. 97), with libations of water has given (l. 110) to one hundred and twenty **Brāhmanas** of various *gōtras* (l. 108), as a *sarvanamāya*-grant characterised by all the signs of royalty, the village of **Bhōyija**, according to its established boundaries (ll. 104-105), — together with

³⁵ *Metre*, *Vasantatilaka*.⁴⁰ *Metre*, *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next verse.⁴¹ Represented by a symbol, somewhat plainer than those used in lines 1, 110.⁴² i. e. the **Rāṣṭrakūṭa**, king **Kṛishṇa** II.; about **Saka-Saṁvat** 737 to 838. — For the full genealogy of the **Raṭṭas** of **Saundatti** and **Belgaum**, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 80.⁴³ *anupripta ghata-sarpa-jāta-vijayak*; line 54. Exactly the same expression occurs in the **Raṭṭa** inscription at **Rāyḍāg** (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. II. p. 537, line 3); and the same expression, or very similar ones, in the two **Raṭṭa** inscriptions that used to be at **Belgaum**. And in a translation of the **Rāyḍāg** inscription (*Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. VIII, pp. 415-417) it is interpreted as meaning that “**Chandrikādēvi** died of the disease called *Ghata-sarpa* (*Cynancha maligra*)”! In the **Kalhoji** inscription (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 223, line 27), in a prose passage, the present words are represented by the epithet *ghat-śāra-śhila-sarpa-darpa-bhāṇane*. When editing that inscription, I thought that the epithet meant that she overcame pride or vanity, which, in its evil effects, is like a venomous serpent safely encoined in the interior of an earthen vessel. But the words in the present inscription are hardly capable of that interpretation. And the allusion seems to be really to her having killed some snakes which had hidden in a jar.⁴⁴ The **Lattalūr** of some of the other inscriptions of this family.⁴⁵ *śindāra*; see page 165 above, note 25. The word *śindāra* itself occurs in lines 91 and 123 f. of this record; but not at either place in a technical expression, as the present one may be taken to be.

the contiguous (hamlet of)⁴⁶ *Sonnavaḍa*, — which is in the *Koravalli kampaṇa*, which is in the *Kūṇḍi Three-thousand* (ll. 99-100). The grant carried with it the *bhavaṇa-pārikhāya*⁴⁷ of four kinds, on deposits of hidden treasure, water, stones, and pleasure-gardens, &c. (ll. 101-102); the fines and duties of the *ashṭabhāga-ttjāḥ-svāmīya* (l. 102); the *arruwaṇa* (i. e. *ṣṛuwaṇa*) on *mānya*-lands, as was customary in the country⁴⁸ (ll. 102-103); all the *āyas*;⁴⁹ and the privilege that it was not to be pointed at with the finger (of *confiscation*) by the king or by any of the king's people (ll. 103-104).

Lines 111 to 120 contain four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the record ends with two verses, which state that the inscription was composed by *Ādityadēva* (l. 121); and that the charter was written by *Balavarman* (l. 123), who was a very *Pitāmaha* (Brahman) among *Sāradhāras*.

A NEW COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVA OF KANAUJ, DATED SAMVAT 1188.

BY PROF. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, Ph.D.

The original plate was received by me, in October 1888, from Mr. W. Grierson Jackson, the Collector of Fathpur-Haswa, in the N.-W. Provinces. In a letter referring to it, dated the 2nd October 1888, he stated that "it had been found a few days previously in the debris of a fallen high bank of the Jamnā river, close to the inhabited site of the village *Bēn*, not far from the village and police-station of *Lalanūl*." The village *Bēn* lies just within the northern boundary line of the *Mutaur Parganā* of the *Ghāziपुर Tahsil* of the *Fathpur District*. The grant is now deposited in the *Lucknow Museum*.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 3" by 11½"; the edges being slightly raised into rims. It is furnished with a massive, bell-shaped, circular-faced seal, which slides on a thick plain ring that passes through a hole in the top of the plate. The weight of the plate (including the seal) is 6½ lbs.

The face of the seal is well preserved and shows in high relief, across the centre, the legend *Śrīmad-Govindachandra-dēva*. The *anusvāra* of *chandra* is doubtful. *Dēva* is spelt without a final *visarga*, and the vowel *e* is side-marked; this being the only instance, throughout the plate, of the use of the older fashion of writing that vowel. Above the legend, filling the upper half circle, there is the usual kneeling or crouching figure of *Garuda*, composed of a human body facing to the front and the face of a bird facing to its proper right. The hands are joined, palm to palm, in adoration, across the breast. In the lower semicircle, below the legend, there is the figure of a *śaikhā* or sacred shell. The margin of the face of the seal is beaded or rather serrated.

Unfortunately the plate was subjected, apparently by the finders, to a barbarous process of cleaning, before it was made over to Mr. Jackson. It has been cleaned and polished with such right good will, that here and there whole letters, and in many other places portions of letters, have been polished away. In fact, in its present state, it would be very difficult, if not

⁴⁶ This seems to be the force of *praviṣṭa*, line 104. Compare *praviṣṭa-grāma-dēva-saṅgata* (ante, Vol. XIV. p. 317, line 61, with which we have also to take the fuller expression in lines 59-60).

⁴⁷ This fiscal term remains to be explained. In *bhavaṇa*, we seem to have the *Kanarese* *pona*, a particular weight or coin, which is also a component of *ṣṛuwaṇa*, 'six *ponas*,' a little further on. *Bhā* may be the Sanskrit *vi-*, 'a brave man, a hero.' *Pārikhā* or *pārikhā* may be a Prākṛit form of *parikhā*, 'an investigation, examination.' *Āra* is the word that occurs in *śara-āya-saṅgata*, line 103; it is used both in *Kanarese* and *Marāṭhī* to denote the dues or perquisites of hereditary village servants. — In line 35 f. of an inscription at *Miraj* (*P. S. and O.-E. Inscriptions*, No. 96), mention is made of the *kanavina-pārikhāya*.

⁴⁸ *dāta-maryādā-ṣṛuwaṇa*; or the meaning may be "(the coins or weights) current in the country;" compare *dāta-parivartana-pōgyāṣi chatur-dāta-saṅgahyā-parimāta-nishkaikā* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 44, line 56 f.).

⁴⁹ See note 47 above.

impossible, to decipher the whole of the contents of the grant, if we were not already in possession of several other nearly identical versions.¹ By rare good luck, however, the only really important parts of it, — all names and dates with the only exception of one, — have remained sufficiently uninjured to be fairly distinguishable.

The date is given both in words and figures, and states that the grant was made on Friday (*śukra-dina*), the fifteenth or full-moon day of the month Kārttika, in the year 1131 of the Vikrama era. This, as calculated for me by Prof. Kielhorn, corresponds to Friday, the 6th November 1131 A. D.; and the year of the date, 1138, is, as usual, an *expired* Vikrama year. It is of importance, as proving that Gōvindaachandra was still reigning in the year 1131 A. D.; his latest date, hitherto known, was 1128 A. D. (S. 1185), and his earliest date is 1104 A. D. (S. 1161).

The grant was made at Benares; for, though the city is not mentioned, one of its *ghāṭs*, *Ādikēśava*, is named as the spot where it was made. The donee was the Brāhmaṇ *Lāhaḍa-tarman*, a son of *Dāhaḍa*, grandson of *Chalaḥaḍa* and great-grandson of *Svāmin*. He belonged to the *gōtra* of *Garga*, and had the five *pravaras* of *Garga*, *Angiras*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Jamadagni* and *Vrihaspati*.

The grant consisted in a certain portion of land, belonging to the village of *Dosahālī*. This name, fortunately, is perfectly distinct; but the name of the district (*paṭṭalā*) in which it was situated is probably hopelessly injured. The only point certain about it is that it consisted of five *akṣaras*. The village *Dosahālī* has been identified for me by Mr. Jackson as the modern *Dasaulī*, which lies about two miles south of *Lalsaulī*, and six miles south of *Rēn*, close to the river *Jamnā*. It is described, in the grant, by the term *haladagḍagḍ* (see below). The meaning of this term puzzles me; and very possibly it is not correctly read, though the letters seem fairly enough to be what I read them. As read, however, I take the word to mean — “in that portion (*angḍ*) (of the village) which contains (*ga*) water (*da* for *ada*) and arable land (*hala*).” I would translate the passage referred to thus: “In the above-written village, in that portion of it which contains water and arable land, 10 ploughs (*hala*) of fertile land (*śakva-bhāṣa*), with its water and soil, with its iron and salt, &c., is given by me this day,” and so forth. The quantity of land, granted to *Lāhaḍa*, in the village of *Dosahālī*, is stated to have been *hala* 10, or ‘seventy ploughs.’ *Hala* would seem to be here used as a measure of land, but I do not know how much land it would exactly indicate. About the numeral figures, I am not quite certain.

The name of the district it is impossible to identify. Mr. Jackson suggests that it may be *Argal*, which is about sixteen miles off, in a straight line, lying in a north-westerly direction in the *Kōrā Parganā* of the *Fathpur* District. He writes that “it seems most probable that that place, as well as the rest of the *Fathpur* District, formed at the time part of the dominions of the *Rājās* of *Argal*, who were then powerful tributaries of *Kanauj*. The family still survives at *Argal*, but in the lowest degree of poverty. The family tree² of this family shows 34 generations between the time of a *Rāja Jay*, *Pāl* (also called *Ajay Chand*) of *Kanauj*, whose daughter *Rāja Śring-rikh* of *Argal* married, and that of the *Rahtōr Rāja Jay Chand* of *Kanauj*. It seems that the *Argal Rājās* must have been semi-independent during this period; at any rate they were able to make large grants of lands to members of other friendly *Rājput* clans. *Rāja Betan Singh* of *Argal* shared the defeat of *Jay Chand* by *Shihābu-d-dīn Ghōrī*, but the family continued to be of note until *Rāja Hari Baran Deo* took the wrong side in the revolt of *Shāh Shāh* against *Humāyūn*. Their fort was destroyed, and all semblance of independence taken away after the defeat at *Kālpī* about 1660 A. D. by one of *Akbar’s* commanders.”

¹ See in particular other grants of this dynasty published by Prof. Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV. p. 6 ff., and Vol. XVIII. pp. 9 ff., 129 ff.; also three grants of Gōvindaachandra himself, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 106 ff., where references to other published grants will be found, on page 107.

² Compare the word *dagḍagala* from *da* = *ada*, *ga*, and *argala* in *Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit Dictionary*.

³ See Mr. F. S. Growse’s notes on the *Fathpur* District, in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LIV. p. 157.

Another suggestion is that the district might be the modern *Asôthar*, which is also an old site, not far off, originally called *Asvatthamapura*. A third suggestion is that it might possibly be *Ghâsipur* itself, the head-quarters of the *Tahsil* in which the grant was found, or rather the old site in its immediate neighbourhood. On this Mr. Jackson writes: "There are also a mile north of *Ghâsipur*, in lands now included in the village of *Painâ*, extensive ruins of an ancient fortified town. The original name of this is lost; but local tradition says that it was originally a stronghold of the *Chandêls*, from whom it was taken by the *Kichars*. The present local name *Fathgarh* probably dates from the conquest. The outer line of walls and towers encloses a large area, and in the centre was a high citadel surrounded by a broad and deep moat. This is not more than 12 miles as the crow flies from *Rân* (or 14 miles from *Daseulf*), and possibly the name in the grant may be the lost name of this place, which must certainly have dominated the neighbouring territory. This is, however, a mere conjecture." Perhaps of the three suggestions, the last conjecture has most probability; and in that case, it is all the more to be regretted that the name has been injured beyond recognition. The two first suggested names, *Argal* and *Asôthar*, appear to me to meet with no support from the existing traces of the name. But the present appearance of the letters of the name is altogether deceptive; and it is almost impossible to say what they may not have originally represented.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit, written in *Dēvanagari* characters, exactly of the same style as those to be seen in the grants of which facsimiles have been published in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 106 ff. The execution is rather bad; the letters are often very ill-shaped, and the composition is full of errors. A good deal of this imperfection is undoubtedly due to the barbarous process of polishing, by which the real shape of the letters has often been entirely altered, or assimilated to the shape of quite different letters, and this renders the reading of the letters very deceptive. The interlinear or top-marked signs (for *i*, *ī*, *ê*, *ô*, *u*, &c.) have especially suffered; in many cases they have entirely disappeared. All this has to be discounted; but enough remains to prove that the grant was prepared by a person who was either very ignorant, or very negligent. Some illustrations of this will be found below in the portions of the text which I shall quote. The letters *m* and *s*, *y* and *z*, *y* and *p*, *v* and *ch*, *v* and *dh*, even after making every allowance for injuries by the cleaning, are constantly confounded.

On the other hand, the new grant exhibits some curious new readings which do not occur in any of the previously published grants. In the present condition of the copper-plate, however, it would serve no useful purpose to publish either a facsimile or the full text of the grant. It will suffice to put together all that is either new or peculiar in it.

The grant takes up 24 lines. Up to *Gōvindhachandra-dēv vijayê*, towards the end of the 12th line, it is substantially identical with the published grants (e. g. grant, No. I. in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 108, down to middle of the 14th line). There occur, however, the following variations: line 1, the salutation is *Om namô bhagavatê Varudêvâya*; for *akṣayîh* stands *abulô*, *ptîha* for *ptîha*, and *br̥tyasêsha vah* for *br̥tyasêstu vah*.

L. 3 (verse 4), *kr̥ānta-dvisha-chāndralô* (sic) *rt̥puroddhata-dh̥tre-yôdha-timiraḥ*, for the usual *kr̥ānta-dvishan-maṇḍalô vidhvastôddhata-v̄ra-yôdha-timiraḥ*.

L. 4 (verse 4), *pradgôpapravah* (sic) for *prajôpadravah*.

L. 5 (verse 5), *dijatê* (or *dvijatê* f) *yaj̣bbhyô* for *dadatê dvij̣bbhyô*; *sataustu*° for *śatāstu*° or *śatātāstu*°; (verse 6) *tatyatsajô* (sic) for *tasyātsajô*; *iṭa kuttandra*° for *iṭi kuttindra*°.

L. 7 (verse 7), *kumam asu* for *kṣamam asu*.

L. 8 (verse 8), *°chadkḥīhakhaddhanavarāḍyagajô* for *°bandḥḍvarudha-nava-rāḍya-gajô*; *sāndra-bḥṭiṭaḥ drava*° for *sāndrāṃita-drava* or *sāndrāṃita-drava*°; in itself the reading *sāndra-bḥṭiṭaḥ* would give sense, but it is neither grammatically nor prosodically correct; *prabhô* for *prabhavô*.

L. 9 (verse 9), *raha-kshamāśa-s-tisrīshu* for *raṇa-kshamāśa-s-tisrīshu*; this reading yields the sense of "equals in copulation," which suits the context rather better than the usual reading "equals in combat."

L. 10, *paramabhaḥḥārakaḥ mahārāja°* for *paramabhaḥḥāraka-mahārāja°*; *kanyakubja°* only for *śrī-kanyakubja*.

I might have given a large number of other, sometimes ludicrously, false readings; but owing to the injured state of the plate one cannot be quite certain as to their reality. It will be noticed, on comparing previously published grants, that in some of the cases, above quoted, they give equally false readings.

Towards the end of the 12th line, after *vijayā*, comes the specification of the grant, which runs thus, down to the end of the 15th line:—

..... la^(P)-pattalāyām (read *pattalāyām*) Doṣahāl-grāma-nivasinō (read *nivāsinō*) janapadān upagatān api (and so forth, as in the other grants) puruṣhām-ś-cha vijñāpayadi⁵ bōdhayaty-ādikāti oha yathā viditam astu bhavatām yad upari-likhita-grāmō hala-da-g-āngō (P) hala 10 śakva-bhūmih śa-jala-sihālā śa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara śa-gartt-ōkhara (read °ōkhara)-śa-matay-ākara-śa-madhūka-āmha-vana-vātika-trīpa-jūti (sic, read *yūti*)-gōvavararyahā (sic, read *gōchhara-paryantā*) chatur-āghāta-visuddhā (read *viśuddhā*) śva-sīmā-paryantā ||

With the 16th line commences the statement of the date and the locality of the ceremony, which runs as follows:—

Saṁvat-ashṭāśṭy-adhikē śuklāśa (read °śukla)-śatē Kārtika-purnṇamāsyān tithau Sukra-dinē-ś'katoopi saṁ 1188 Kārtika-sudi 15 Sukrē || Ady-śha śrī-Ādikṣeva-samipō Gaṅgāyām (read *Gaṅgāyām*) śmātvā, and so forth, as usual. There are, however, the following slight variations: °mahasa-śamu-rōchisham (sic) for °mahasa-m-ushṇa-rōchisham; *ābhyarohya* for *śamabhyarohya*; *prachurapāyāsna*, as in some grants, for *prachuratera-pāyāsna*; *jaśōbhī* (a vernacularism; compare *jūti*, above) for *yaśōbhī*; *gōkurnṇa* for *gōkarnṇa*; *kūśa-pāta* for *kūśa-latā-pāta*.

Towards the end of the 18th line begins the statement of the particulars of the donee, which runs as follows:—

Garga (read *Gārga*)-śa-gotrāya | Garga-Āngiras | Viśvamitra | Jamadagni-Vārhaspati (read *Vārhaspati*)-pañcha-pravarāya Svāmi-prapautrāya Chalahana-pautrāya Dahada-putrāya Lāhada-śarmanō brāhmaṇāya |

About the middle of the 20th line commence the usual concluding verses, introduced by *bhavantī ch-ātra ślokaḥ*. In the present case the following six verses are quoted; I only give the opening words of each: 1, *bhūmih yaḥ pratigrihādi*; 2, *śamīkhaḥ bhadrāsanaḥ chhattram*; 3, *vai-dbhra-vibhramam idam*; 4, *śarvān cātān bhāvinaḥ*; 5, *bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā*; 6, *gām śukān svarṇam śkūḥ*.

The closing words are: *likhitam idam itṃra-pattakāśu Fibarāpātā-ti*. The writer of this grant, Viśvarūpa, is probably the same person as he who wrote the Raiwān grant of Saṁvat 1180, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. p. 113.

There is no need to translate the excerpted passages. Full translations of three others of Gōvindaachandra's grants, by Dr. Führer, will be found in Vol. LVI of the Journal above referred to; and of other grants of this dynasty, by Prof. Kielhorn, — who first fixed the translations (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 56), — in this Journal, Vol. XV. p. 6 ff., and Vol. XVIII. pp. 9 ff., 129 ff.

⁴ Of this name the only certain akṣara is the last, *la*.

⁵ The letters on the plate really look like *vijñāpayadi*.

MISCELLANEA.

A DOUBTFUL CHAULUKYA GRANT.

In the Chaulukya copper-plate grant which I have edited in this Journal, Vol. XVIII. p. 108 ff., the date (lines 1 f., 5) is — *sarvat* 93 *Chaitra* *śu* *di* 11 *Ravan* *ady-śha* *śrīmad-Anahilapātaka* *adya samkrānti-parvvanī*, — “the year 93, (the month) *Chaitra*, the bright fortnight, the (eleventh) day 11 (and the eleventh *tithi*), today, here at the famous (city of) *Anahilapātaka*, ... today, at the festival of a *samkrānti*.”

I was editing at the same time a grant of *Bhimadēva* II., which is dated expressly in *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1286 and *Simha-Sarvat* 96 (*id.* p. 110 ff.). And it seemed plain that the year 93 of the grant under notice must be *Śirha-Sarvat* 93; with the result that the *Bhimadēva* of this grant also was *Bhimadēva* II. But, in giving the English equivalent of the details, I had to point out that a correct result could be obtained only by assuming a mistake in the record, and by altering *śu*, ‘the bright fortnight,’ into *ba*, ‘the bright fortnight’; and this, in spite of the fact that the original is perfectly distinct, so that it is not possible to read any of the details otherwise than as I have given them above.

Some little time back, however, Dr. Hultzsch brought to my notice his view that the grant in question should be a record, not of *Bhimadēva* II., but of his ancestor, *Bhimadēva* I. The grounds for this view are:—(1) The identity of the person who wrote this grant, *vis.* the *Kāyas-tha Vatśēvara*, the son of *Kāśchana*, with the person who wrote the *Rādhanpur* grant of *Bhimadēva* I. that is expressly dated in *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1086 (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 183). (2) The identity, in each case, of the *Dātaka*, *vis.* the *Kaṇḍasādhivigrahika* *Chandāsarma*n. And (3) the probability that the same *Vatśēvara* is the person who is mentioned as the father of the writer of a grant, recently obtained by Dr. Hultzsch, of *Karna* I., the son and successor of *Bhimadēva* I.

From this it would follow that the grant under notice is in reality intended to be dated in *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1093, and gives an instance of “omitted hundreds.”

The results for the date, however, are not such as to prove this. They are as follows:—

In northern *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1093 current, *Chaitra* *śukla* 11 ended on Saturday, 22nd March, A. D. 1035, at about 37 *ghaṭṭe*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). The *Māsha-Samkrānti* occurred on the Sunday, at about 48 *ghaṭṭe*. But the *tithi* then current was the

thirteenth, which commenced at about 35 *ghaṭṭe* 10 *p.* on the Sunday. And there are no means by which the eleventh *tithi* can be extended to the Sunday, or by which the *parvadda* of the *samkrānti* can be connected with the eleventh *tithi*.

In northern *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1093 expired, and southern *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1093 current, *Chaitra* *śukla* 11 ended at about 18 *ghaṭṭe* 45 *p.* on Thursday, 11th March, A. D. 1036; and this was twelve days before the *Māsha-Samkrānti*, which occurred at about 3 *ghaṭṭe* 30 *p.* on Tuesday, 23rd March.

In southern *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1093 expired, *Chaitra* *śukla* 11 ended at about 17 *ghaṭṭe* 10 *p.* on Wednesday, 30th March, A. D. 1037; and this was seven days after the *Māsha-Samkrānti*, which occurred at about 19 *ghaṭṭe* on Wednesday, 23rd March.

And Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, whom I consulted as to the possibility of obtaining any better result with the first of the above three years, has found that, as a matter of fact, from *Saka-Sarvat* 851 to 1201, there is only one year in which the *Māsha-Samkrānti*, — the only *samkrānti* that can be connected with the given *tithi*, — took place on *Chaitra* *śukla* 11, and on a Sunday. The year is *Saka-Sarvat* 863 current; when *Chaitra* *śukla* 11 ended at about 43 *ghaṭṭe* 10 *p.*, and the *Māsha-Samkrānti* occurred at about 13 *ghaṭṭe* 5 *p.*, on Sunday, 22nd March, A. D. 940. But this date, belonging to southern *Vikrama-Sarvat* 997 current, or northern *Vikrama-Sarvat* 998 current cannot in any way be connected with the reign of *Bhimadēva* I.

Accordingly, even with Dr. Hultzsch’s suggestion, we must assume a mistake in the record; in writing the eleventh *tithi*, instead of the twelfth expired, or thirteenth current.

If this grant of the year 93 is to be regarded as a spurious document, — for which view, however, apart from the question of the identification of *Vatśēvara* and *Chandāsarma*n, there are no apparent grounds, except the impossibility of obtaining a correct result for the date as it stands. — then I am inclined to think that it was concocted on the basis of the grant of *Bhimadēva* I. of *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1086, or of some document ver similar to that; but that it was really intended to be a charter of *Bhimadēva* II., dated in the *Śirha* era.

But it is equally possible that the spurious record is the grant of *Vikrama-Sarvat* 1093. The only point against this view, is, the possibility of identifying the *Vatśēvara* who is mentioned in

it, with the Vaṭṭēvara of Dr. Hultzsch's grant of Karṇa I. This item, however, is not conclusive, without further information as to the father of the Vaṭṭēvara of the grant of Karṇa I. And on the other hand, in the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086, there is the suspicious point that, unlike all the other Chaulukya grants, it omits to give the week-day of the *tithi*; so that the details of the date cannot be actually tested by calculation. Also, even if the two grants really were drafted by the same person, — which seems to me improbable; partly because of the differences in the orthography; and partly because the grant of the year 93 does not use the *avagraha* at all, while the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 uses it three times, in lines 15, 16, and 21, — still they certainly were not written or sketched on the copper, for the engraver's guidance, by one and the same hand. I have ink-impressions of the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 before me; for comparison with my lithograph of the grant of the year 93. In some respects there is a considerable resemblance in the characters; but not more so than should be due to the preparation of them within a century or two of each other. But there are two letters which appear to settle the point. In the two grants, the lingual *ḍ* has a totally different form. And, whereas in the grant of the year 93 the *r* is throughout the ordinary *r*, as throughout the grant of Mālarāja I. (see the Plate, *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 192, 193), — except perhaps in one case, *narakam*, line 14; where, however, it is really *nachakam* that is written, — in the grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086, in eleven instances the ordinary *r* is used, but in the remaining twelve instances the *r* which resembles *ck*, and which occurs, for instance, in *paramabhaddraka-mahardjiddhirdja-paramēvara-paramandhēvara* in

line 43 f. of the grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakka III. (see the Plate, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 263.)

One or other of the two grants seems to be undoubtedly spurious. But which of them is so, is a question that can only be decided hereafter on further information.

When I edited the grant of the year 93, I was under the impression that I was bringing it to notice for entirely the first time. I find, however, that there has been a previous notice, either of it, or of another grant of the same year.¹ Dr. Bühler has bracketed the year (10)93 opposite the name of Bhīmadēva I. in his genealogy of the Chaulukyas (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 213). And he obtained the reference (see *id.* p. 185, notes) from a Gujarātī History of Kachh, p. 17. He tells us that "the historian of Kachh says, that Bhīmadēva's grant is dated in S. 93, and he refers this date to the years of the Chaulukya dynasty. If the grant really is dated 93, which may be doubted, as it has been imperfectly deciphered, it is more likely that the hundreds have been left out, according to a very common habit of Hindu writers."

On this question of "omitted hundreds" for any early times, I am quite open to conviction; if any one will establish the use of the system, without quoting the Lōkakāla reckoning as proof of it. But I doubt completely the use of omitted hundreds as early as even the time of Bhīmadēva I.; and this is one reason for which I am not inclined to refer the grant under discussion to him. Apparently, the earliest instances of "omitted hundreds" in the Vikrama era that Prof. Kielhorn can give, belong to the sixteenth century of that era (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 251-253).

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

OMENS.

In Madras.

If a child, when learning to walk or crawl, acquires a way of stopping and looking back between its thighs, it portends the early advent of a brother. As most lively children will do this, such prognostications are frequent, and curiously enough are most persistently made in spite of their necessarily constant failure to turn out correct.

S. M. NATHER SASTRI.

Madras.

In the North-West Provinces.

The *chapka*, i. e. the goat-sucker bird (*caprimulgus*), flying over an ox or cow, especially over a cow buffalo, and allowing its shadow to fall on the animal, causes its death in a short time. The remedy is for some one to kill the bird and rub his hands or a stick in the blood and then wave it over the animal. There are special men noted for their powers in this respect all over the district.

WILLIAM CROOKER.

¹ It is difficult to say which, without knowing how the plates edited by me came into the possession of the

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and how long they have been there.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.

With reference to *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 219, the custom of giving opprobrious names to avert the jealousy of evil powers is common in the Telugu country: *pich-o'i*, 'mad'; *verri*, 'idiotic'; *engdi*, 'spittle,' are very potent for the purpose. Another device is to give a Hindu child a Musalmán or English name, such as Badô Sáheb or Bápean (corruption of Eobertson).

Masulipatam.

H. G. PRENDERGAST.

THE ONKO RECKONING OF ORISSA.

In connection with the subject of Hindu regnal years, the following passage seems worth quoting from page 2 f. of a small work entitled *South-Indian Chronological Tables* by the late W. S. Krishnanaidu Swami, edited by Mr. R. Sewell, M. C. S. The passage shews the existence, in the neighbourhood of Orissa, of a variety of the luni-solar calendar, according to which each year begins with Bhádrapada sukla 11 or 12. The *Onkos* or years of the reigns of the local princes and Zamindárs, are made to coincide with these luni-solar years; so that, whatever may be the antiquity and origin of this reckoning, it plainly preserves some original system of regnal years. And it is an interesting point that a regnal year commencing in the middle of an *Onko*, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the following Bhádrapada sukla 1C or 11.

"A fourth Style of the Luni-solar Calendar, called the *Onko*,¹ obtains in a part of Ganjam. This is an Orissa Style. This Style follows the *Márvádi* in the order of the sequence of its fortnights, but begins the year on the 12th (according to some, 11th) of *Bhádrapada-suddha*, calling that day, as with the *Márvádis*, the 12th or 11th, as the case may be, not the 1st. In other words, the Year changes its numerical designation every 11th or 12th day of *Bhádrapada-suddha*.

'It is impossible, as yet, to say decidedly when the *Onko* reckoning commenced. Some perfectly valueless records in the great temple of Jagannátha at Puri show, and Dr. Hunter repeats, that it commenced with the reign of Súbhánideva in 319 A. D., but the absurdity of this is shewn by the fact that the chronicler states that the great Mughal invasion took place in 327 A. D. in the

reign of his successor!² Some say that this reckoning commenced with the reign of Ohôdaga-ganga or Ohôrganga, the founder of the Gânga-vardîa, whose date is assigned usually to 1131-32 A. D., while Sutton in his *History of Orissa* states that it was introduced in 1580 A. D.

"In the zamindari tracts of Parlakimeđi, Pedakimeđi and Ohinnakimeđi, the *Onko* Calendar is followed, but the people there also observe each a special Style, only differing from the parent Style and from one another in that they name their years after their own zamindars.

"A singular feature common to all these four kinds of regnal years is that, in their notation, the years whose numerals are 1 or 6, or whose numerals end with 6 or 0 (except 10), are dropped." For instance, the first regnal year of a prince or zamindar is called the 2nd *Onko* of that prince or zamindar, and the year succeeding the 5th and 19th *Onkos* are called the 7th and 21st *Onkos* respectively. It is difficult to account for this mode of reckoning; it may be, as the people themselves allege, that these numerals are avoided because according to their traditions and *śāstras* they forebode evil, or it may possibly be, as some might be inclined to suppose, that the system emanated from a desire to exaggerate the length of each reign.

"There is also another unique convention, according to which the *Onko* years are not counted above 59, but the years succeeding 59 begin with a second series, thus, "Second 2," "Second 3," "Second 4," "Second 5," "Second 7," and so on.

"It will also be important to note that, when a prince dies in the middle of an *Onko*, his successor's 2nd *Onko* (first year of reign), which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th or 10th day of *Bhádrapada-suddha* following.

"To find, therefore, the English equivalent of a given *Onko* year, it will be necessary first to ascertain the Style to which it relates, i. e., whether it is a Jagannátha *Onko* or a Parlakimeđi *Onko*, and so on; secondly, to value the given year by excluding the years dropped (namely, the 1st, 6th, 16th, 20th, 26th, 30th, 36th, 40th, 46th, 50th and 56th); and thirdly to ascertain the day when the prince or zamindar whose name is given ascended the throne.

¹ Or *akko*? — (R. S.)

² The real date of the Muhammadan invasion seems to be 1668 A. D. (*J. A. S. B.* for 1883, LIII. p. 233-4, note). The invasion alluded to is evidently that of the Yavanas, but as to dates these temple chronicles must never be believed. — (R. S.)

³ Mr. J. Beames states that "the first two years and every year that has a 6 or a 0 in it are omitted," so that the 37th *akko* of the reign of Rámachandra is really his 29th year, since the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26, 30, and 36 are omitted (*J. A. S. B.* 1883, Vol. LIII. p. 234, note). — (R. S.)

"There are lists of Orissa princes available, but up to 1797 A. D. they would appear to be perfectly unauthentic.* The list of princes from that date forwards is reliable, and below are given the names of those after whom the later *Okto* years have been numbered, with the English dates cor-

responding to the commencement of the 2nd *Okto*s (first years) of their respective reigns.

"*Okto* 2 (first year) of Mukundadeva Sept. 2, 1797.
Do. do. Rāmachandradeva. Sept. 22, 1817
Do. do. Virakṣēvaradeva .. Sept. 4, 1864.
Do. do. Divyāsinhadeva Sept. 8, 1889."

BOOK-NOTICES.

CATALOGUE OF HINDUSTANI PRINTED BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By J. F. BLUMHARDT, London: Longmans & Co.; Quaritch; A. Asher & Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 1889.

The indefatigable Mr. Blumhardt has produced in his new catalogue a most valuable book for students of Hindustāni. The catalogue is a comprehensive one, as it comprises—(1) purely Hindustāni works; (2) translations of such works into English or other European languages; and (3) polyglot works, in which occur Hindustāni translations, paraphrases, or commentaries, on Arabic, Persian and other originals. Dictionaries and Grammars written in English for English readers have been excluded. It is perhaps a pity these were not included in an appendix, to complete the references required by students.

The catalogue itself is arranged by authors' names, by which is meant their personal names, but as the various additions and aliases which Muhammadan authors affect all over India and the East, to the great confusion of students, are always given in cross-references, the arrangement will be found to be practical and useful by all who may use the catalogue. We have tested many of the cross-references, and they have proved complete, careful, and well-selected. Higher praise cannot be given to a work of this kind.

The book is completed by an index of titles with references to the catalogue under authors' names, and by a subject-index to the principal works in the catalogue giving titles and authors' names.

THE SĀYANA-PANČĀNGA FOR THE ŚAKA YEAR 1811. Edited by VIRAJI RAGHUNATH LELU, JANARDAN BALAJI MODAK, and SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT. Printed by Hari Narayan Limaye; the Satyāśōdhaka Press; Ratnāgiri.¹

During the last few years the editors of the *Sāyana-Pančāṅga* have attempted a reform of the Hindu calendar, the nature of which may be readily explained, without entering too much upon minute details or abstruse calculations.

The Hindu luni-solar calendar is to a great extent based on the solar calendar. When we wish to construct an almanac for a luni-solar year, we must first ascertain the duration of the corresponding solar year, and of the several solar months of that year; because the extent of the luni-solar year is regulated by that of the solar year, and because the (lunar) months of the former receive their names, according to certain fixed rules, from the (solar) months of the latter. A solar year begins when the sun enters the first sign, Mēsha (or Aries), of the fixed solar ecliptic; and so a solar month begins whenever the sun enters any one of the twelve signs of the fixed ecliptic. Given the epoch from which we have to start, the times of the entrance or *Savitrānti* of the sun into the several signs may be easily calculated from certain data which furnish, in days and parts of days, the exact length of the solar year, as well as that of every month of that year. Here, it is only necessary to draw particular attention to the fact that the solar year spoken of, on which the luni-solar calendar has been hitherto based, is the sidereal year (i. e. that space of time during which the sun, departing from a star, returns to the same), which, according to the *Sārya-Siddhānta*, contains about 365 days, 6 h. 12·6 m.

If we were to calculate the *Savitrāntis* and the phases of the moon for the expired Śaka year 1811, the result would be as in Table 1, on the opposite page 257.

From that Table it will appear that, by the rule according to which a lunar month receives the name of that solar month in which occurs the new-moon at the commencement of the bright fortnight of the lunar month, the lunar months of the expired Śaka year 1811, lasted—

the *amānta* Chaitra, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, from the 1st April to the 15th April, 1889,

* Sewall's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 64. *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. II. p. 204.

¹ The *Pañchāṅga* for the Śaka year 1811 is published at the Khandesh Chitragupta Press; Dhulia.

TABLE 1.

The Luni-solar Calendar based on the Sideral Year.

Saka 1811 expired. Samkrāntis of the Sideral Year.	A.D. 1889.	Saka 1811 expired. Solar Months.	Phases of the Moon.
			● 31 March.
Mēsha (Vishuva), on	11 April, 18 h. 52·5 m. ²	Vaiśākha.	○ 16 April.
Vriśha,	„ 12 May, 17 h. 5·4 m.		● 30 April.
Mithuna,	„ 13 June, 2 h. 46·1 m.	Jyāishtha.	○ 15 May.
			● 29 May.
Karkāṭa, or Dakṣiṇāyana,	„ 14 July, 17 h. 25·4 m.	Āshāḍha.	○ 13 June.
			● 28 June.
Simha,	„ 15 August, 4 h. 42·2 m.	Śrāvaṇa.	○ 12 July.
			● 27 July.
Kanyā,	„ 15 Sept., 5 h. 34·2 m.	Bhādrapada.	○ 11 August.
			● 26 August.
Tulā (Vishuva),	„ 15 October, 16 h. 31·1 m.	Āśvina.	○ 9 September
			● 25 September.
Vriśchika,	„ 14 Nov., 14 h. 9·8 m.	Kārttika.	○ 9 October
			● 24 October.
Dhanu,	„ 14 December, 2 h. 19·5 m.	Mārgaśīrṣa.	○ 7 November
			● 23 November.
	A.D. 1890.	Pauṣa.	○ 7 December.
Makara, or Uttarāyana,	„ 12 January, 10 h. 40·8 m.		● 22 December.
		Māgha.	○ 6 January.
Kumbha,	„ 10 February, 21 h. 35·1 m.		● 20 January.
		Phālguna.	○ 5 February.
Mina,	„ 12 March, 16 h. 56·7 m.		● 19 February.
		Chaitra.	○ 6 March.
Mēsha (S. 1812),	„ 12 April, 1 h. 5·2 m.		● 20 March.
			○ 5 April.

² i. e. 18 h. 52·5 m. after mean sunrise at Ujjain; and so below.

the *amānta* Vaiśākha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889 ;

the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889 ;

the *amānta* Jyāishṭha, from the 30th May to the 28th June, 1889 ;

the *pūrṇimānta* Jyāishṭha, from the 16th May to the 13th June, 1889 ; and so on.

And the same result would be obtained from the rule by which both the *amānta* and the *pūrṇimānta* months receive their names from the *nakṣatra*, in which the moon happens to be when full. For, on the 15th April, 1889, the moon was full in Chitrā, on the 15th May in Viśākhā, on the 13th June in Jyāishṭhā, on the 12th July in the group Ashādhā, and so on. The whole lunar year Śaka 1811, expired, would, of course, last from the 1st April, 1889, to the 20th March, 1890.

Among the twelve *Samkrāntis*, by which this lunar year is practically regulated, the *Mēsha*- and *Tulā*-*samkrāntis* are distinguished from the rest by being called *Vishuva-samkrāntis*; and the *Karkāṭa*- and *Makara-samkrāntis* are also called *Dakṣiṇāyana*- and *Uttarāyana-samkrānti*, respectively. *Vishuva* is defined as the time when day and night are of equal length; and, accordingly, the *Mēsha-samkrānti* and the *Tulā-samkrānti*, since they are called *Vishuva-samkrāntis*, should be expected to coincide — the one with the vernal, and the other with the autumnal equinox. Similarly, *dakṣiṇāyana* being characterised as the time during which the days become shorter and the nights longer, and *uttarāyana* as the time during which the reverse is the case, the *Karkāṭa*- and *Makara-samkrāntis*, if they are to be really *Dakṣiṇāyana*- and *Uttarāyana-samkrāntis*, should clearly take place — the former on the longest, and the latter on the shortest day of the year. But if we turn to our scheme of the Śaka year 1811, we find that, by the ordinary Hindu calendar, the *Mēsha-samkrānti* of that year took place on the 11th April, twenty-two days after the vernal equinox, and the *Tulā-samkrānti* on the 15th October, twenty-three days after the autumnal equinox; and that, in like manner, the *Karkāṭa*- and *Makara-samkrāntis* took place from twenty-two to twenty-three days after the longest and shortest days of the year respectively. And if, on the same principles, we were to construct a calendar for the Śaka year 2311, we should

find that, five hundred years hence, the *Samkrāntis* mentioned would be later than they would be expected to be, by a whole month.

The reason of this ever-increasing discrepancy is this, that the Hindu calendar, as we have seen above, has been hitherto based on the sidereal year, while the return of the seasons depends on the tropical year which, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, is about 22 minutes shorter than the sidereal year. According to some Hindu astronomers, the commencement of the sidereal year coincided with that of the tropical year in Śaka 444.³ In subsequent years, the sidereal year would, owing to its greater length, commence later than the tropical year, and the time by which it thus commences later, and by which the *Samkrāntis* therefore fall later than we should expect them to take place, has now increased to about 22 days. And by so much the ordinary calendars at present make the seasons commence later than they commence in reality; and the *Samkrāntis* put down in those calendars are clearly no longer what, according to the definitions of ancient and authoritative works, they should be.

To put an end to this incongruous state of things, the compilers of the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg*, (i.e., as I would put it, "a calendar which takes into account the precession of the equinoxes") have based their luni-solar calendar on the tropical year. The change which they have thereby effected will be made clear by Table 2 on the opposite page 259, for which I have calculated the times of the *samkrāntis* with the help of European Tables,⁴ and in which I have again indicated the phases of the moon, for reasons which will appear below.

Here, then, it will be seen that, in the new calendar, the *Mēsha*- and *Tulā-samkrāntis* do coincide with the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, and that the *Karkāṭa*- and *Makara-samkrāntis* fall really, as they should, on the longest and shortest days of the year. And if the same principle were followed in future calendars, this would be always the case; and, to mention a point which may be of particular weight in India, a Hindu who, in the performance of his religious ceremonies, should allow himself to be guided by these calendars, would at all times perform those ceremonies at the right season, and would not, as might otherwise often be the case, for instance,

14 h. 51' 2 m. and 14 h. 53' 6 m. after mean sunrise, respectively.

⁴ My results will be found to agree so closely with the times put down for the *Samkrāntis* in the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅg* that the difference in no case amounts to more than one minute; and I therefore cannot help thinking that the editors too have here used European Tables.

³ I find that in Śaka 444 the *Mēsha-samkrānti* of the sidereal year, calculated by the rules of the *Sāyana-Siddhānta*, took place on the 18th March, A.D. 523, 1 h. 35' 6 m. after mean sunrise; and that of the tropical year, calculated according to European methods, on the same day, 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise. For Śaka 450 expired, the dates for both would be the 18th March, A.D. 528,

TABLE 2.

The Luni-solar Calendar based on the Tropical Year.

Saka 1811 expired. Samkrāntis of the Tropical Year.		A.D. 1889.	Saka 1811 expired. Solar Months.	Phases of the Moon.
				● 1 March.
				○ 17 March.
Māsa (Vishuva), on		20 March, 8 h. 54.6 m.	Vaiśākha.	● 31 March.
				○ 15 April.
Vṛisha,	"	19 April, 20 h. 50 m.	Jyāishṭha.	● 30 April.
				○ 15 May.
Mithuna,	"	30 May, 20 h. 46.6 m.	Āshāḍha.	● 29 May.
				○ 13 June.
Karkāṭa, or Dakṣiṇāyana,	"	21 June, 5 h. 12.6 m.	Śrāvaṇa.	● 28 June.
				○ 12 July.
Siṃha,	"	22 July, 16 h. 7.1 m.	Bhādrapada.	● 27 July.
				○ 11 August.
Kanyā,	"	22 August, 22 h. 46.1 m.	Āśvina.	● 26 August.
				○ 9 September.
Tulā (Vishuva),	"	22 Sept., 19 h. 39.9 m.	Kārttika.	● 25 September.
				○ 9 October.
Vṛiśchika,	"	23 October, 4 h. 10.5 m.	Mārgaśīras.	● 24 October.
				○ 7 November.
Dhanuḥ,	"	22 Nov., 1 h. 1.1 m.	Pauṣa.	● 23 November.
				○ 7 December.
Makara, or Uttarāyana,	"	21 Dec., 13 h. 54.6 m.	Māgha.	● 22 December.
				○ 6 January.
		A.D. 1890	Phālguna.	● 20 Jan. 22 h. 43 m.
Kumbha,	"	20 January, 0 h. 30.6 m.		○ 5 February.
Mina,	"	18 February, 15 h. 1.8 m.	Chaitra.	● 19 February.
				○ 6 March.
Māsa (S. 1812)	"	20 March, 14 h. 44.5 m.		

do during the *uttarayana* what his sacred books require him to do during the *dakṣiṇyana*, or *vice versa*.

The change thus inaugurated by the compilers of the *Sāyana-Pāñchāṅg*, appears then indeed to be an important reform of the calendar, similar to that reform of the European calendar which was first introduced about 300 years ago. But the editors will no doubt have to agitate for their idea steadily and patiently; and if their endeavours should not at once meet with any very general support, they must remember that a reform which not even now, after more than 900 years, has been introduced in every country of Europe, is not likely to be generally adopted in India in the space of two or three, or even twenty or thirty years.

Highly as I esteem the work of the editors of the *Sāyana-Pāñchāṅg* so far, I cannot help thinking that in their treatment of the lunar year there is one point which perhaps will hardly meet with approval. I allude to the fact that the editors have applied to the *pūrṇimānta* months the rule *Māhādī-tithi savitari*, which, so far as I can see, without offering any advantages may cause much practical inconvenience and confusion, and which I cannot find to have ever been observed in practice, from any of the numerous dates which I have examined.

From Table 2 it is clear that, by the ordinary rule which hitherto has been generally followed, the lunar months of Śaka 1811 expired, when based on the tropical year, would stand as follows:—

Amānta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 2nd March to the 31st March, 1889;

Vaiśākha, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

Jyāishtha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889; and so on.

Pūrṇimānta scheme.

Chaitra, bright fortnight, from the 2nd March to the 17th March, 1889;

Vaiśākha, from the 18th March to the 15th April, 1889;

Jyāishtha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889; and so on.

Here the several bright fortnights would belong to the same months under both the *amānta* and the *pūrṇimānta* schemes, while the dark fortnight of a month would follow the bright fortnight of the same month in the *amānta* scheme, and precede it in the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. The lunar

year would begin on the 2nd March, 1889, which would be the 1st of the bright half of Chaitra according to both the *amānta* and the *pūrṇimānta* schemes. All this would agree with the practice which has been followed in India for a long time, and which renders it easy to turn a date of the *amānta* calendar into one of the *pūrṇimānta* calendar, or *vice versa*.

But the editors of the *Sāyana-Pāñchāṅg* name the months by a rule which says that the lunar month, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*, which ends while the sun is in Mēṣa, is called Chaitra, while the sun is in Vṛiṣa, Vaiśākha, and so on; and in their calendar they accordingly give the several months thus:—

Amānta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 2nd March to the 31st March, 1889;

Vaiśākha, from the 1st April to the 30th April, 1889;

Jyāishtha, from the 1st May to the 29th May, 1889; and so on.

Pūrṇimānta scheme.

Chaitra, from the 18th March to the 15th April, 1889;

Vaiśākha, from the 16th April to the 15th May, 1889;

Jyāishtha, from the 16th May to the 13th June, 1889; and so on.

Here, then, it is the *dark* fortnight which is common to the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* month of the same name; and this, though contrary to the practice hitherto followed, might be put up with, if only we could say generally that in the new calendar a dark fortnight will *always* belong to the same calendar month, under both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes. But this is by no means possible. For, when on the same principles we construct a calendar for the Śaka year 1810 expired, we find that during the first five months of that year it is the bright fortnight that is common to the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months of the same name; and, in fact, we find that by the rule *Māhādī-tithi savitari* the Śaka year 1810 by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme contains one month more than by the *amānta* scheme, just as we find that by the newly introduced principle the year 1811 commences on different days according as we follow one or the other scheme of the lunar fortnights. In theory all this may be unobjectionable, but it certainly carries with it great practical inconvenience, and may thus tend to retard the general adoption of the *Sāyana-Pāñchāṅg*, to which I would wish every success.

Göttingen.

F. KIRLHORN.

EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY B. HULTZSCH, PH.D., BANGALORE.

(Continued from Vol. XVIII. p. 106.)

No. 3. — EXTRACTS FROM THE SECOND TARANGA.

THE Second Taranga, containing 171 verses, is the shortest of the eight books of the *Rajatarangini*, and treats of six kings, whose reigns fall between that of the banished king Yudhishtira I. and that of Māghavāhana, the first king of the restored dynasty of Gōnanda III. Kalhana allots to these six kings a total of 192 years, from B. C. 180 to A. D. 12. He places the reign of the first of them, Pratāpāditya I., between B. C. 180 and 148, and says (verse 5) that this king was brought by the ministers to Kāśmīr from another country, and was a relative of a king Vikramāditya, who had been wrongly identified by 'others' with Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Saka (*Sak-dri*, verse 6). Neither the starting-point of the Vikrama era (B. C. 58), nor that of the Saka era (A. D. 78), falls within B. C. 180 to 148, the period to which Kalhana allots Pratāpāditya I., the relative of some Vikramāditya. Therefore, in rejecting the identification made by others of this Vikramāditya with Vikramāditya-Sakāri, Kalhana might be supposed to refer to either of the two eras. In order to answer the question, which Vikramāditya is meant, it will be necessary to remind the reader of some well-known statements regarding the Vikrama and Saka eras.

In his famous chronological chapter, Albérūni discusses successively the era of Vikramāditya and the Sakakāla. He reports that the latter commenced from the battle of Karūr, in which some tyrant Saka was killed by a certain Vikramāditya, who came from the east; and concludes by remarking: — "Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Saka, we think that that Vikramāditya, from whom the era has got its name, is not identical with that one who killed Saka, but only a namesake of his."¹ Albérūni's statement regarding the origin of the Saka era is corroborated by, and was evidently borrowed from, some of the Hindū astronomers, by whom, as he himself says, this era was especially used. The commentator Bhaṭṭotpala (A. D. 966) explains Varāhamihira's expression, 'the time of the Saka king' (*Sak-śandra-kāla* or *Saka-bhūpa-kāla*),² by 'the time when the Saka kings were conquered by Vikramāditya.' And the astronomer Brahmagupta (about A. D. 640) uses, with reference to this epoch, the expression 'the end of the Saka king' (*Saka-nrip-anta*)³ In an inscription, which is still earlier by more than half a century, Mr. Fleet discovered the correct explanation of the origin of the Saka era. This is a Bādāmi inscription of the Early Chalukya king Maṅgalēśa, which is dated "when five hundred years from the anointment to the kingdom of the Saka king (*Saka-nripati-rājyābhishēka*) had passed."⁴ It follows from this testimony that Bhaṭṭotpala's explanation of *Sak-śandra-kāla* or *Saka-bhūpa-kāla*, — the expression used by Varāhamihira (died A. D. 587), — was wrong, and that this term has to be taken in the simple sense of 'the time (of the anointment) of the Saka king.' Thus, the earliest instance of the erroneous substitution of *Saka-nrip-anta* for *Saka-nripa-kāla*, is that of Brahmagupta (about A. D. 640) and his mistake has been copied by Bhaṭṭotpala (A. D. 966), by Albérūni (about A. D. 1030) and, as we shall see presently, by Kalhana (A. D. 1148).

With regard to the so-called Vikrama era, Mr. Fleet has shown that it existed in the fifth century A. D. under the name of the Mālava era, and that, in Central India, it was known by this name up to the ninth century A. D.⁵ Although Albérūni knew the Mālava era only under its

¹ Albérūni's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. II. p. 6.² *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, viii. 20, 21.³ Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Madras, 1872, Vol. II. p. 475. Kern's Preface to his edition of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, pp. 5 and 14.⁴ *op. cit.*, Vol. VI. p. 263.⁵ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 66 of the Introduction.

modern designation, by which it is connected with the name of Vikramāditya, and although the expression *Vikramāditya-kāla* occurs already in an epigraphical record of 898 of the Vikrama era, = A. D. 842,⁶ the above-mentioned series of quotations from Hindū astronomers and from Al-Bērūnī leaves no doubt, that Kalhana's expression, "Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Saka," refers to the supposed founder of the Saka era. The reason for which Kalhana rejected the identification of Vikramāditya, the relative of Pratāpāditya I., with Vikramāditya-Sakāri, was evidently the difference of 258 years between his date for Pratāpāditya I. (B. C. 180) and the starting-point of the Saka era (A. D. 78). He speaks rather contemptuously of 'others,' who had made that identification; but wisely forgets that, in order to save his own chronology, he is obliged to attribute the monstrous reign of 300 years to king Ranāditya.⁷ If Kalhana's lists of ancient kings could be at all relied on, part of these awkward 300 years might be got rid of by assuming that Pratāpāditya I. was a contemporary of the founder of the Saka era, and by cutting down the total of the dynasty, to which Ranāditya belonged, to 589 — 258 = 331 years.

A second incidental mention which must be considered, — though, as will be seen afterwards, only with a negative historical result, — is found in verse 7, where Kalhana says that, during the time from the banishment of Yudhishthira I. to the accession of Pratāpāditya I., Kāśmīr was tributary to Harsha and other kings. This Harsha must be distinct from Harsha, *alias* Vikramāditya, of Ujjayinī, who will be introduced in Taraṅga iii. verse 125, as a contemporary of king Mātṛigupta, and who was the father of Pratāpāsīla, *alias* Śilāditya (*ibid.* verse 330), the contemporary of Pravarasēna II. According to Kalhana, Pravarasēna II. reigned from A. D. 111 to 171; Mātṛigupta from A. D. 106 to 111; and Mātṛigupta's predecessor Hiranya, whose younger brother was Tōramāna, from A. D. 76 to 106. All these reigns are considerably antedated. For, in order to reconcile them with the initial point of the Kārkōṭa dynasty (A. D. 601), Kalhana is obliged to allot a reign of 300 years (A. D. 223 to 523) to Ranāditya, the third king after Pravarasēna II. Among the kings of Kāśmīr, who are mentioned in the third Taraṅga, there is only one, whose name can be connected with a person known from epigraphical records. This is Tōramāna, the younger brother of Hiranya. He appears to be meant for the historical Tōramāna, who, as discovered by Mr. Fleet, was the father of Mihirakula. According to Taraṅga i., Mihirakula reigned from B. C. 704 to 634. Thus Kalhana appears to be guilty of having placed the father no less than 700 years after his own son! Mr. Fleet has shewn that Tōramāna's accession probably took place about A. D. 460,⁸ and that his son Mihirakula commenced his career about A. D. 515, and established himself in Kāśmīr about A. D. 530. Further, Śilāditya, the son of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and contemporary of Pravarasēna II., may be meant for Śilāditya of Mālava, who flourished 60 years before Hsien-Tsiang,⁹ say about A. D. 580. It seems that the only possible method of adjusting the chronology of the third Taraṅga, will be to substitute the dates of Tōramāna and Mihirakula for that of Hiranya (A. D. 76 to 106), and Śilāditya's date for that of Pravarasēna II. (A. D. 111 to 171). In this way we should come very near to the initial point of the Kārkōṭa dynasty (A. D. 601), which Kalhana, however, still antedates by some years.¹⁰

To return to the mention of a king Harsha in verse 7 of Taraṅga ii., it can only be said that this Harsha must be different both from Harsha-Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, whom Kalhana places between Tōramāna and Śilāditya, and from the great Harsha or Harshavardhana of Kanauj, who ascended the throne at a still later date, in A. D. 606.

⁶ *Zeitschrift D. M. G.*, Vol. XL. p. 42; *ante*, p. 35, No. 57.

⁷ Taraṅga iii. verse 470.

⁸ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12 of the Introduction; *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 230.

⁹ *Si-yu-ki*, translated by Beal, Vol. II. p. 261. According to p. 267, Śilādityarāja of Mālava was the uncle of the then reigning king of Valabhi.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 91 f. Bühler, *Kāśmīr Report*, p. 55.

CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASHMIR.

VI — The Dynasty of Pratāpāditya I., and its three Successors.		Length of reign. Years.
1. Pratāpāditya I.; B. C. 180		32
After the banishment of Yudhishtira I., Kāśmīr was tributary to Harsha and other kings (7). Yudhishtira I. did not attempt to recover his kingdom (2); though 'some' have said that he did so and was eventually caught and imprisoned (4). Pratāpāditya I. hailed from 'another country' than Kāśmīr, and was a relative of king Vikramāditya (5). 'Others' have erroneously identified this Vikramāditya with Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Śaka (Śak-śra) (6).		
2. Jalauka II., son of the preceding; B. C. 148		32
3. Tuñjina I., son of the preceding; B. C. 116		36
He, together with his queen Vākpushpā (11), built a Śaiva temple, called Tuñgēśvara, and a town (<i>pattana</i>), called Katika (14). During their reign lived the great poet (<i>mahākavi</i>) Ohandaka, who was the author of a famous drama (<i>nāṭya</i>) (16). Once, an early fall of snow destroyed the autumn crops and thereby caused a great famine (17 to 20). This was at last stopped by miraculous flights of dead pigeons, which appeared every day (50, 51). Queen Vākpushpā founded the <i>agrahāras</i> of Kātmushā and Rāmushā, — the modern Kamōh and Rāmōh (55). After the death of her husband, she became a <i>sati</i> (56). The spot, on which she entered the flames, is even now called 'the forest (<i>aśvat</i>) of Vākpushpā' (57). There she founded an alms-house (<i>śattra</i>), which was still in existence at the time of Kalhana (58). Tuñjina I. left no offspring (59).		
4. Vijaya, of another family; B. C. 80		8
He surrounded the temple of Vijayēśvara (at Bṛjbiḥāra) with a town (<i>pattana</i>) (62).		
5. Jayendra, his son; B. C. 72		37
He was jealous of his minister Saṁdhimati, and put him to death by impaling him on a stake (65 to 79). Saṁdhimati's <i>Guru</i> , called Īśāna, remained at the cemetery near the skeleton of his pupil (82 to 97). At midnight, a troop of witches (<i>yōginī</i> or <i>yōgīśvarī</i>) restored life to Saṁdhimati, by reconstituting his body, and bestowed on him the two new names of Saṁdhimati (i.e. 'the composed') and Āryarāja (98 to 110).		
6. Saṁdhimat, also called Āryarāja; B. C. 35		47
He was a fervent worshipper of Śiva, and made a vow to set up a thousand <i>lingas</i> of Śiva every day (128). Once, when they were not at hand, he ordered his servants to engrave one thousand Śivalingas all round a rock; these were still visible in Kalhana's time (129). In the cemetery where he was revived, he built a Śaiva temple called Saṁdhīśvara, and another called Īśēśvara after the name of his <i>Guru</i> , Īśāna (134). He also founded temples of Śiva, endowed with <i>maṭhas</i> , idols and <i>lingas</i> , at Shēdā, Bhīmadēvi and other places (135). As this pious king neglected the affairs of government, his ministers became dissatisfied with him (143), and offered the kingdom to Mēghavāhana (151), the son of Gōpāditya, who again was the son of the son's son of the exiled king Yudhishtira I. and had lived under the protection of the king of Gāndhāra (145, 146). Mēghavāhana was married to Amṛitaprabhā, the daughter of the king of Prāgyōtisha; and possessed a wonderful parasol (<i>ohhatra</i>), which king Naraka (of Prāgyōtisha) had originally obtained from the god Varuṇa (147 to 150). Āryarāja abdicated voluntarily and retired to Nandikshētra, where he led the life of an ascetic (152 to 171).		

Total 192

TRANSLATION.

(1) Victorious is that body of the lord (Śiva), which is formed of a female and a male half, and which is suitable for him, who is extremely fond of various combinations (*as is shown*) by his assuming a bow, which is made of one horn of a goat and one of a cow, and (*by his assuming*) an attendant, whose body is composed of one half of a man and one of an elephant.

(2) Old age and the voice of ascetics, (*both of*) which were whispering into his ear, induced that prince (Yudhishthira I.) to give up the attempt of recovering his kingdom. — (3) This chief of sages, who was exalted by humility, forgot the objects of the five senses (*vishaya*), together with his realm (*vishaya*). — (4) But some have said that, while roaming about with the desire for his kingdom, he was in the course of time caught and looked up in a fortress by his ministers.

(5) Then these (ministers) brought hither from another country a relative of king Vikramāditya, called Pratāpāditya (I.), and anointed him in the kingdom. — (6) Confounding (this Vikramāditya) with Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Śaka (Śak-āri), others have written erroneous (*and*) conflicting (*reports*) concerning this (*event*), (*which I have silently*) rejected. — (7) From that time (*i.e.* from the banishment of Yudhishthira I.) forward, this country, — weakened through internal dissension, — had been for some time tributary to Haraha and other kings. — (8) Just as a husband (*cherishes*) his newly-married wife, this shrewd prince (Pratāpāditya I.) cherished the earth, as if she had previously belonged to his family, though she had not.

(9) When he had gone to heaven after enjoying the earth for thirty-two years, his son Jalauka (II.) became the ornament of the earth. — (10) He (*reigned*) for the same period as his father, who had been the reason of his increase; just as, at the equinox, the full-moon shines equally long as the sun.

(11) Then his son Tuṅḡśa (I.) delighted the people by ruling the earth together with (*his*) queen Vākpuṣpā, who was endowed with divine power. — (12) This couple adorned this earth, just as the Gaṅgā and the digit of the moon (*adorn*) the matted hair of Śiva. — (13) These two righteously ruled the country, which was adorned with various castes, just as the lightning and the cloud hold the rainbow, which is adorned with various colours. — (14) And (*these*) two victorious (*rulers*) built a temple of Śiva (*called*) Tuṅḡśvara, (*which resembled*) a coquettish ornament of the earth; and a town named Katika. — (15) Through their power, a number of trees, which had just been planted, bore fruit at an extremely hot place in the Maḍavarājya. — (16) In their time lived the great poet Chandaḥ, who wrote a drama (*nāṭya*) which was generally admired, and who was a partial incarnation of the sage Dvaipāyana (*i.e.* Vyāsa). — (17) Once upon a time, an unbearable calamity happened to befall the people, in order to test, as it were, the greatness of the power of these two. — (18) In the month of Bhādrapada, a great mass of snow suddenly fell in the country, whose fields were covered with the autumnal paddy, which was nearly ripe. — (19) In this (*snow*), which resembled (*in whiteness*) the wild laughter of Death, who is about to destroy the universe, the paddy was buried together with the people's hope of life. — (20) There ensued a terrible famine.

Verse 1. गोपुष्पा° P. विविध° PT. लट्मा° P. The *matyala* is addressed to Śiva in his form of Ardhanārīśvara, in which he is half male and half female, and alludes to his bow *Ājagara* and to his chief attendant Gaṇeśa.

2 Possibly अत्यासक्त must be read instead of अत्यस्यत; compare a similar construction in verse 67.

3 I am unable to explain the double तान्.

4 दुर्गार्लिकाया° P. बहुत्व° P.

11 मुस्तुत्तुत्तुनोरञ्जयत्पञ्च P.

12 दंपतिभ्या° P.

13 सानावर्षमनो° PT.

14 कश्चिन्मद्व° P. पोस्वजे P. According to General Cunningham (A. G., p. 94), the valley of Kāmraj is divided into a northern half, the district of Kāmraj, and a southern half, the district of Merāj. The Trigonometrical Survey Map marks 'Kāmraj' in the N.-W. and 'Merāj' in the S.-E. of the valley. Dr. Buhler (K. B., p. 10) has identified Kāmraj with Kramarājya, a district which is frequently mentioned in the *Rājataranginī*. It is extremely probable that Maḍavarājya, which is of equally frequent occurrence, must be identified with the district of Merāj or Merāj.

15 कश्चिः P. चन्दको P.

16 चन्दको P.

17 पतसमाकुलः P. प्रकारे P.

plague, in which the starving people looked like ghosts, and which (*therefore*) appeared to be a (*new*) kind of hell. — (21) Feeling weak, greedy and hungry, everybody forgot affection for his wife, love for his children, and respect for his parents. — (22) Kissed by (*the demon of*) self-preservation by food, and ogled at by misfortune, the world forgot shame, pride and nobility, out of hunger. — (23) The father abandoned his emaciated, dying and imploring son, or the son his father, and filled his own belly. — (24) Ghostlike men, of whose disgusting body nothing but sinews and bones remained, but who thought of nothing but preserving their life, were fighting for food. — (25) Of coarse speech, emaciated by hunger, of horrible appearance, and rolling the eyes in all directions, everybody strove to support his own life (*at the sacrifice of that*) of his fellow beings. — (26) In this great and terrible calamity, which was extremely difficult to be borne by living beings, none but that lord of the world (Tufjina I.) skewed sympathy (*with others*). — (27) Having withdrawn the doorkeepers, he removed by his mere sight, that resembled (*that of*) a plant (*which bears*) jewels, the exhaustion of the distressed, (*which was produced*) by the calamity. — (28) He and his wife bought food with their own treasures and with the riches of the ministers, and relieved the people by day and by night. — (29) In forests, incemeteries, on roads and in houses, no hungry man was overlooked by this prince. — (30) Having completely spent his wealth, he perceived that all the food on the earth was exhausted. Then, once upon a night, he sorrowfully spoke thus to the queen: — [(31 to 44) The king complains that he is unable to cope with the famine and threatens to commit suicide. The queen comforts him as follows:] — (45) "Oh king! whence this perversion of the mind, (*produced*) by the evil deeds of (*thy*) subjects, in which, unlike thyself, thou voluntarily strivest for what is unworthy of the brave? — (46) "Oh protector of the earth! Why is greatness attributed to the great, if (*they have*) no power to stop unsurmounted calamities? — (47) "How could Indra, or Brahman, or the miserable Yama, transgress the commands of kings, who are true to their duty? — (48) "The duty of wives is to be devoted to their husbands; the duty of ministers, not to betray (*their lords*); the duty of kings, to be exclusively engaged in the protection of their subjects. — (49) "Cheer up, foremost of the performers of their duty! How could my words be untrue? Protector of the people! there exists no more danger from hunger to thy people." — (50) When she had emphatically pronounced these words, and had turned her thoughts to the deities, a flight of dead pigeons fell down on every house. — (51) Having perceived this (*miracle*) in the morning, the prince gave up his intention to die, and the people sustained their life with the pigeons, which came (*again*) every day. — (52) Surely, these were no (*real*) pigeons, but some other substance, which this virtuous lady created, in order to support the life of men. — (53) For, beings like her, who are full of unfeigned sympathy with their fellow-creatures, could never stain their virtuous conduct by destroying the life (*even of a pigeon*). — (54) Gradually the sky became as bright as the deeds of the queen, and the famine ceased together with the sorrow of the king. — (55) This pure and virtuous lady founded a prosperous and wealthy *agrahāra* of Brāhmins, (*called*) Katimushā, and (*another*) (*called*) Rāmushā. — (56) When her husband died after (*a reign of*) thirty-six years, she got rid of the fever of separation (*from him*) in the flames of fire (*which resembled*) a cover of lotus-fibres). — (57) The spot on which she, whose conduct was pure, followed her deceased husband, is even now

२१ स्मरञ्ज्ज P.

२२ पुत्रो वा P.

२३ रुक्मा P.

२४ शोभिना PT. Ratnashālī, 'the jewel-plant,' seems to be used in the sense of *kalpalatā*, 'the creeper that yields everything desired.'

२५ ततो P. स दुःखितः P.

२६ भक्तिर्नितः P.

२७ तद्दशा P. कावे P.

२८ कर्तृमुखा and रामुखा P. According to a MS. note of Dr. Bühler, Katimushā is the modern Kamsh on the Volter lake, and Rāmushā, Rāmsh (Anglo-Indies Rāmsh) on the road from 'Shipian' to Srinagar.

२९ दहनज्वाला P. The fibres of the stalk of the water-lily (*bies* or *swindia*) are used as cooling applications; see verses 57, 66 and 74 of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntala* (ed. Bohtlingk). Kalhapa boldly compares with them the flames of the pyre on which the queen became a *śail*.

३० चारिकया P. शकुन्तला PT.

called the forest of *Vākpuṣṭā* by the people. — (58) In the alms-house (*sattra*), which this virtuous lady had founded there, crowds of poor people, who arrive on various paths, are fed even now. — (59) The Creator shewed his good taste in not according any offspring to this couple; this was doubtlessly because he thought that no (*child of theirs*) would be able to surpass their deeds. — (60) The Creator shews the highest connoisseurship in not trying to produce a fruit of the sugar-cane; (*for if he did so*) could then (*its*) usefulness, which surpasses (*that of*) the finest nectar-juice, be turned to better account, after having left it? — (61) Some (*say*) that the queen committed her body to the fire, because she thought that the country had been deprived of the sun by a long period of dark days in consequence of some misdemeanour of her own.

(62) Then a descendant of another family, (*called*) *Vijaya*, was king for eight years; he surrounded (*the temple of*) *Vijayāvara* with a town.

(63) Then the son of this lord of the earth, who had been a very *Mahendra* on earth, the long-armed and far-famed king *Jayendra*, enjoyed the earth. — (64) His arm, that resembled a pillar, bore a statue of the goddess of victory, who was resplendent with a fluttering garment (*consisting of*) the waves of (*his*) constant fame. — (65) This king had a minister, called *Samdhimati*, whose history was wonderful, who was adorned with devotion to *Siva*, and who was the best of the wise. — (66) There is no means in the world, by which kings can be prevented from lending their ears to slander, just as there is none to prevent rutting elephants from flapping their ears. — (67) Thus, the courtiers filled the king with hatred against that minister, by suggesting that his wonderful intelligence should make him an object of distrust. — (68) Out of anger and without reason, he banished him from the court, confiscated his property, and made him poor for life. — (69) Not even by a report did the courtiers refresh him, who was parched by the hatred of the king, which resembled the steam of the hot weather. — (70) As soon as a speech reaches the profound king, his attendants, like the echoes of a mountain, distinctly repeat the words. — (71) But he did not wince under the king's enmity and (*his own*) poverty, as he delighted in the worship of *Siva*, to which he could now attend without obstacles. — (72) Then, through (*the influence of*) the greatness of future events, the unheard-of report spread in every house, that the kingdom would belong to *Samdhimati*. — (73) The king, who was reminded by his confidants that no rumour could spread without having been circulated, became frightened and threw him into prison. — (74) After he had there been pining, his feet being compressed by frightful fetters, for ten full years, the king's life came to an end. — (75) About to die without a son, the king was burnt both by the pain of disease and by the thought of him (*Samdhimati*). — (76) Steaming with the fire of hatred, which was burning incessantly, he found no other means to prevent what was to happen, than to kill him. — (77) The very means which dunces adopt in order to lock up coming events, must be considered as the door thrown open (*for them*) by fate. — (78) If the Creator wishes to suddenly impart unequalled power to a spark of fire, which flickers feebly on a heap of glowing coals, he causes a bystander, who wants to extinguish it, to mistake a vessel filled with molten ghee for a pot of water. — (79) By the king's order, cruel executioners killed *Samdhimati* at night, by fixing him on a stake. — (80) When the sick king heard that he had been impaled, the

ॐ सुसुभारस° PT. योग्यता PO. तत्समा° P. The allusion is to the fact that the sugar-cane bears no seeds and can be propagated only by slips.

ॐ मराक° P.

ॐ मरकार P. On *Vijayāvara* or *Vijayā*, the modern *Bijbihāra*, see A. G., p. 96 f. The temple itself has been mentioned in Kalhana's account of the reigns of *Aśoka*, *Jalanka I.*, and *Mihirakula*.

ॐ मरुपयः T.

ॐ मरुतो P.

ॐ योपोहितं PT.

ॐ स कोपाचम° P.

ॐ सरस्वती PT.

ॐ मरुभार P.

ॐ मरुपे P.

ॐ मरुपुत्रः

ॐ मरुतिः P.

sting of sorrow left him first, and life afterwards. — (81) When, at the end of (a reign of) thirty-seven years, he had died without offspring, the earth was without a ruler for some days.

[(82 to 120) Saṁdhimati's Guru, called Īśāna, remains in the cemetery near the skeleton of his pupil. At midnight, a troop of witches (*yōginī*) reconstitute Saṁdhimati's body, by replacing all the limbs from their own. He regains life and takes part in the orgies of the witches as *chakrandāyaka* or 'leader of the circle' (106). At daybreak the circle of the witches (*yōgīśvart-chakra*) disappears, bestowing on the revived Saṁdhimati the two new names of Saṁdhimat, i.e. 'the composed' (110, 111), and Āryarāja (110, 152). The latter is anointed in the kingdom. Verses 121 to 141 describe his fervent devotion to Śiva.] — (123) In the midst of his royal duties, he did penance on every day (on which) he was prevented from visiting (the temples of) Bhūtēśa, Vardhamānēśa (or) Vijayēśa. — (128) This king's vow, to set up a thousand Śivaliṅgas every day, was never broken. — (129) Even now there are seen one thousand Liṅgas, which were (once) engraved on a rock all round by his servants, when, owing to some oversight, these (liṅgas which he wanted to set up) were not ready. — (134) Having built (a Śaiva temple named) Saṁdhīśvara on the cemetery (where) the composing (*sandhāna*) of his body (took place), he founded (another temple of) Hara, (called) Īśīśvara after the name of (his) Guru Īśāna. — (135) He adorned Shédā, Bhīmadēvi and other places, step by step, with palaces (of Śiva) which were endowed with *maṭhas*, idols and *liṅgas*. — (142) Thus making fruitful the regal power, which he had obtained in a most wonderful manner, the pious (king) passed fifty years diminished by three. — (143) At that time, his ministers lost their attachment to him, as he was devoted to quietism and neglected the affairs of government. — (144) (While) they were searching for some ruler of the kingdom, they heard of a victorious and illustrious prince of the race of Yudhisṭhira (I.). — (145) For, at that time the lord of Gandhāra afforded protection to the son of the son's son of Yudhisṭhira (I.), called Gōpāditya, with the view of conquering the king of Kāśmīra. — (146) Dwelling there without obtaining the sovereignty, this (prince) in his turn begat a son, Mēghavāhana, (whose) unfailing (success was foretold) by divine marks. — (147) By his father's command this youth went to the realm of the Prāgyōtishā king, — who was born from the race of Viṣṇu, — at the occasion of the *svayamvara* (i. e. the personal selection of a husband) of (the latter's) daughter. — (148) There, in the presence of kings, the king's daughter, Anṛitaprabhā, placed on him the bridegroom's garland, while the parasol of Varuṇa cast on him its shadow. — (149) By this sign the people could foresee his future increase, just as that of a cloud by the western wind. — (150) For, this parasol, which king Nāraka had obtained from Varuṇa, cast its shadow on none but an emperor. — (151) When he returned to his father, accompanied by his wife and by good fortune, the ministers offered him the country, which was suitable for his race. — (152) Having perceived that his kingdom was lacerated by dissension, Āryarāja offered no resistance, though able to do so, but remained inactive, as he was desirous of renouncing (it). — [(153 to 158) The king resolves to abdicate.] — (159) Next day he assembled all his ministers in the hall of audience, and returned the kingdom to them, like a deposit which had been safely kept. — (160) In spite of all entreaties, nobody could prevail on him to take it back, after he had voluntarily given it up, like the skin cast off by a lord of snakes. — (161) Grasping the *liṅga* of worship, clad in white garments, bare-headed and on foot, the lord of men started for the northern region. — (162) With silent tears the citizens

81 प्रज्ञानमूर्ति POT; read प्रज्ञाने ऽमूर्ति.

128 वेदां च भीमदेवी and महावर्त्म P.

129 क्षमं PT.

144 वसवप्राप्तं P.

151 वक्षं P. योगया PT.

159 संनिपत्य and प्रत्यर्पयं POT; read संनिपत्य and प्रत्यर्पयं.

120 प्रसादं G.

146 कल्पं कश्मरिन् P.

147 स युवा पित्रं P.

152 सक्तोपि तस्यो ह स्वकुं P.

158 कश्चित् PT.

followed the path of their lord, who walked along calmly and with downcast eyes. — (163) Having marched one *gavyāti*, he sat down under a tree, and took leave of each of his weeping people with kind words. — [Verses 164 to 168 describe the lonely journey of the king.] — (169) Next day, having duly worshipped the early dawn, and having shaken off sleep at a neighbouring lotus-pond, the ruler of the earth reached the tirtha of Bhūtabhartṛi, which is inhabited by Nandīśa, and whose water, (called) Sōdara, was familiar (to him). — (170) While he stayed there in Nandīkshētra in the presence of the lord of the three worlds, he was wistfully gazed at (even) by old ascetics, as, in order to attain his desire, he covered his body with ashes, arranged his hair in a knot of braids, carried a rosary, and had *rudrākṣa* (seeds) for his emblems. — (171) He was treated with great hospitality by (ascetics), who had vowed themselves to Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva), and who wandered about for alms; in every hermitage, female ascetics eagerly hastened to offer him alms; and the trees (themselves) filled the skull (in which he collected) alms, with heaps of pure fruits and flowers. Thus he, who was worthy of honour, did not undergo the humiliation of begging from others, though he had renounced the world.

(To be continued.)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 190. — HONWAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF SOMESVARA I. — SAKA-SAMVAT 976.

Honwād is a village in the Bijāpur Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency; and is situated about nineteen miles almost due west of Bijāpur. It is entered as 'Honwar' in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40, in Lat. 16° 49', Long. 75° 30'. The old form of the name, Ponnavaḍa, occurs in lines 8, 27, 28, and 35, below. The stone-tablet containing the present inscription, is in the Collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. There appears to be no exact record there, as to the locality from which it was obtained. But the village-officials of Honwād tell me that, forty years or so ago, a fine inscribed stone was taken away from their village by some European gentleman; and the contents of the present record render it quite certain that this is the one. The inscription is, I believe, now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it from the ink-impression made by my own man.

The sculptures at the top of the stone are: — In the centre, in a shrine, a standing figure, probably of the Jinendra Śāntinātha, the building of whose temple is the principal subject of the inscription; and on the proper right side, a cow and calf, with the moon and a crooked sword, dagger, or knife, over them. The sculptures on the proper left side of the stone have been destroyed. — The writing covers a space about 1' 9½" broad at the top and 1' 11¼" at the bottom, and 3' 1" high. It is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout; and can be read without any uncertainty, except at one place, in line 44, where there has been a correction in the original, in respect of a point which will have to be made clear by extraneous information not at present available. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the eleventh century A. D. They include, in

¹⁰⁰ As remarked in the note on verse 123 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 70), Nandīśa or Nandīrudra was the name of a shrine at Nandīkshētra (see the next verse) and Sōdara the name of a spring at the same sacred place. A comparison of verse 169 with l. 148 (Vol. XVIII. p. 71) shows that Bhūtabhartṛi, Bhūttīśa or Bhūttīśvara (see note on l. 347) has to be taken either as a synonym of Nandīśa, or as the proper name of another shrine at Nandīkshētra. Verse 161 suggests that this locality was situated to the north of the capital, and verse 160, that the distance was two days' journey. According to Dr. Bühler, K. R., p. lxxii., 'it is situated in the Lār Parganā, not far from the Haramukupagaingā, and is a station on the pilgrimage to the latter.'

¹⁰¹ 'मिहिरासो' P. 'मिहिरासो' P.

lines 33 and 38 to 47, all the decimal figures except 8. The *virāṃsa* is represented throughout by its proper Kanarese sign. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraving is bold and good. — The language is Sanskrit, in verse, in lines 1-2, and 11 to 32; the rest of the inscription is in Old-Kanarese prose. The Sanskrit portion contains the following words which are not given in Monier-Williams' Dictionary; *śaṅkhadratā*, line 1; *vyāśāṅga*, line 15; *ka-mādhaka*, line 16; *prōjirimbhita*, line 21; and *braṇbhuka*, line 27. This last word seems to mean something like 'an object of wonder.' Except that the first syllable is spelt with the aspirated *bh*, whereas here the simple *b* is very distinct, it occurs also in an inscription at Kīlāpur, which commences *para-nārapāṇa-bhūbhuka-baṇa*. — In respect of orthography, the only points that need be noticed are (1) the use of *j* for *y* in the word *śrīya*, for *śryya*, line 20; (2) the doubling of *d* and *bh* (by *bh*, instead of by *b*), before *r*, in *bhaddra* and *śaṅkhadratā*, line 1, and in *bhāṇamaraṇa*, line 12-13; and (3) the use of *chh* for *ch* in *gachchhēshu tuchchēshē*, line 19; though not in other places.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king, Sōmēsvara I., who is here mentioned by his *virāṇa* of Trailōkyamalladēva. And it mentions his wife, Kētaladēvi, who was governing or managing the Ponnavaṇḍa *agrahāra*. It is a Jain inscription; the object of it being to record how Chāṅkirāja, Chāṅkanārya, or Chāṅkimayya, of the Vāṇasa or Vāṇasa family, an officer of Kētaladēvi, built shrines of Śāntinātha, Pārva, and Supārva, at Ponnavaṇḍa, in a *chaityālaya* called 'the ornament of the three worlds' (*tribhuvana-tiṭṭha*), and how the shrines were endowed with certain lands and horses.

Of the places mentioned in this record, Ponnavaṇḍa is, of course, the modern Honwāḍ itself. It is mentioned as an *agrahāra* in the Bāge Fifty; this sub-division probably took its name from the ancient Hāvina Bāge of inscriptions, which is the modern Raibāg or Raybāg in the Kōlāpur State, about forty-eight miles to the south-east of Honwāḍ. The Bāge Fifty is further described as a *kampāṇa* or sub-circle in a group of Six-hundred towns, the name of which is not given, in the Tardhavaṇḍi Thousand. The district that is thus referred to, is the Tardavaṇḍi or Taddavaṇḍi Thousand, or Tardavaṇḍi nāḍ and Taddavaṇḍi viśaya, of other inscriptions, which took its name from a place that still exists as a small village, viz. Taddewaṇḍi, — the 'Tuddehwarree' and 'Tudewadde' of maps, — on the south bank of the Bhīma, in the Inḍī Tāluka, thirty-seven miles to the north of Bijāpur. The inscriptions establish four forms of this name: — (1) It occurs as Tardavaṇḍi in the Bijāpur inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 996;¹ in two other Bijāpur inscriptions of Saka-Saṃvat 1073 and 1118; in a Kannōḷi inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 1086; and in a Sālōḍgi inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 1092. (2) The form Taddavaṇḍi occurs in a Managōḷi inscription of the time of Jaitugi I., and in another Bijāpur inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 1156: here, we probably have the more popularly current form of the name. (3) The present inscription gives the form Tardhavaṇḍi; the actual reading, in line 7, being *tarddhavaṇḍi*, and the subscript *dh* being very clear; the same reading occurs also in a Sālōḍgi inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 1045; while a Sindagi inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 1050 gives, still more pointedly, *tarddhavaṇḍi*, in which the *dh* has been wrongly doubled, after the *r*, by *dh* instead of by *d*; and this last instance seems to shew quite conclusively that, whatever may be the explanation of this form of the name, with the aspirated *dh*, it is at any rate not a mistake. (4) And finally, a Dēṭṭi inscription of Saka-Saṃvat 985, gives what was evidently the original form of the name, viz. Taḍavaṇḍi; and this form, in connection with that of Tardavaṇḍi, which must be the next in

¹ In editing this inscription, — from not altogether satisfactory impressions, — I gave the reading of *taddavaṇḍi* (*outs*, Vol. X. p. 127, line 9). It is sometimes very easy to confuse the Old-Kanarese superscript *r* with the superscript *s*. But from Mr. Cousens' ink-impression, I now find that the real reading is undoubtedly *tarddhavaṇḍi*; and the other instances shew that it is not to be treated as a mistake, by the writer or the engraver, for *taddavaṇḍi*. — Curiously enough, the Elliot MS. Collection gives the reading of *taddavaṇḍi* in every instance in which it includes any of the passages referred to by me above; even in the case where *tarddhavaṇḍi* occurs in the original.

order of time, gives an interesting instance of the change, in Kanarese, from *l* to *r*. The grant was made by Sômesvara I. himself, at the request of Kêtaladêvi, at the town of Maniyûra-Appayanaviḍu on the bank of the river Bhīmanadi. This must be the modern 'Munnor' of the map, — undoubtedly Maṇṇûr or Maṇṇûr in correct spelling, — in the Nizâm's Dominions, on the north bank of the Bhīma, about seventeen miles east by south from Taddevāḍi. There is also a Maṇṇûr or Maṇṇûr just opposite, on the south bank, in the Iṇḍi Tāluka of the Bijāpur District; but it is a smaller place, and is probably a later offshoot from the other town. And lines 44 and 45 mention a place named Kannaḍige, in the Kaḷambāḍi Three-hundred (P), which was a division of the Karahāḍa Four-thousand. Karahāḍa, which is mentioned in Nāgavarman's *Karṇāṭakabhāṣābhāṣaṇa*, Sūtra 175 (Rice's edition, p. 62), must be a corruption of Karahāṭa, which was the ancient name of Karāḍ in the Sâtarā District. Kaḷambāḍi, I feel no doubt, is the modern Kanamaḍi in the Athpi Tāluka of the Belgaum District, about six miles north of Honwāḍ. Kanamaḍi is the recognised official form of the name (see *Bombay Places*, p. 53); and to arrive at it, there must have been two changes; first, from *l* to *r*, which is, I think, not infrequent in Old-Kanarese; and then from *n* to *m*, of which we have an analogous instance in Maṇṇûḷḷi, from Māṇṇigavallī, in the Bāgowāḍi Tāluka, Bijāpur District. But the entry of 'Kunburree' in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 40, shows that it is also known as Kanabaḍi or Kanabaḍi. And in English petitions I have found the name written 'Kalabadi;' but, whether this stands for Kaḷabaḍi, which would come quite naturally from Kaḷambāḍi, — or for Kalabaḍi, which entails a third change, viz. of the *n* of Kanamaḍi into *l*, — I have not been able to determine. And Kannaḍige must be either the former name of the modern Bābānagar or Pāwānagar in the Bijāpur Tāluka, six miles north-east of Honwāḍ, or else the name of some other village in that neighbourhood which does not now exist. At Bābānagar, on a stone-tablet in a ruined Jain temple now known as the temple of Śvara, there are the remains of a long Jain inscription of the time of the Kaḷachuri king Bijjaladêva, dated in the Vikrama *saṃvatsara* which was the Saka year 1083 (current).² It mentions Kannaḍige four times (lines 28, 40, 42, 63); and the name is in each instance distinctly written with the lingual *ḍ*. In line 28, the context is not clear. Line 40 refers to a Kuḷkarṇi of Kannaḍige (*Kannaḍigeṇa piṭṭina kuḷakarṇa . . .*). Line 63 mentions "the *śasadi* of Kannaḍige." While line 42 f., among the specification of the boundaries of some land that was granted, contains the words "to the west of the *māṇya*-(land) of the god Rājōśvara-dêva of Kannaḍige;" which distinctly imply that Kannaḍige was at, or in the immediate vicinity of, Pābānagar.

As regards the date, the inscription records that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse of Monday, the new-moon *tithi* of Vaiśakha of the Jaya *saṃvatsara*, which was the Saka year 976. By the southern luni-solar system, which is the one that applies in this case, the Jaya *saṃvatsara* coincided with Saka-Saṃvat 977 current; i. e. with the given year as an expired year. In this year the given *tithi*, Vaiśakha *kṛishṇa* 15, ended on Tuesday, 10th May, A. D. 1054, at about 14 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India. This is undoubtedly the eclipse that is intended. But, why the *parvākāla* of it should be coupled with the Monday, — though of course the new-moon *tithi* may, as a running *tithi*, be coupled with that day, as well as with the Tuesday, — is not apparent; unless the explanation is, that it was taken some three or four hours before the actual moment of the eclipse, and just before the sunrise at the end of the Monday.

In mentioning Kêtaladêvi as a wife of Sômesvara I., this inscription adds a fourth to his three wives already known (see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 45), who were —

² Line 28 f.; the other details of this date are hopelessly illegible, as is nearly the whole of this record. Line 41, where there begins a second part of the inscription, contains another date; but here all that is legible, is (somewhat) *Pushya* *śukla* 12 (712) *Śatvatsara*.

Chandalakabbe or Chandrikādēvi, who was the *piriy-arasi*, or 'chief queen,' in Saka-Samvat 969; Mallaladēvi, who had the same title, and the government of the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, in Saka-Samvat 975; and Bachaladēvi.

The inscription speaks of Kātālādēvi as governing or managing the Ponnavaḍa *agrahāra* according to the *tribhōg-abhyantara-siddhi*. This is a fiscal term which has hitherto been unexplained. There is an allusion to the *tribhōga* in the verse, in one of the Halsi grants, — *aḥbhir dattam tribhir bhuktam sadbhiś cha paripālitaṃ tātāni na nivartantē pūrva-rāja-kṛtāni cha*, — "that which is given with libations of water; that which is enjoyed by three parties; and that which is preserved by good people; these (*grants*), and those that have been made by former kings, come not to an end (*i. e.* are not resumed)" (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 27). And in one of the spurious Western Gāṇga grants, we have the same verse; except that, for *sadbhiś cha paripālitaṃ*, there is substituted *śadbhiś cha pratipālitaṃ* (for *pālitaṃ*), which Mr. Rice rendered by "(a gift) maintained for six generations" (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140). Also, the term *tribhōg-abhyantara* occurs among the conditions attached to the grant of some villages by Kamalādēvi, the wife of the Kādamba Śivachitta-Permaḍi (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 275), and by the Kalachuri king Siṅghapādēva (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 277); while, at the end of the inscription recording Kamalādēvi's grants, certain lands are mentioned as being given *tribhōga-rahita*, 'without the *tribhōga*' (*loc. cit.* p. 270, line 45). In editing the latter two inscriptions, I suggested that the *tribhōga* might indicate something analogous to the Marāṭhi *triptāli-dāna*, 'a grant to be enjoyed by three generations.' But the present use of the term, in connection with the tenure enjoyed by the wife of a reigning sovereign, is opposed to that interpretation; unless it could be assumed that she derived her right from a grant made to her grandfather. Moreover, in the verse quoted above, whether the true original reading in the source, — probably some law-book, — from which it is taken, is *sadbhiś cha paripālitaṃ* or *śadbhiś cha paripālitaṃ*, the words *na nivartantē*, in the second part of the verse, plainly indicate that *tribhir bhuktam* does not indicate a grant the enjoyment of which is to be continued for only three generations, or for any limited time. And the true explanation of the term is undoubtedly supplied by the Dambal grant of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara; which describes how he divided the district of Gadag, consisting of sixty-six villages, into three equal portions, each of twenty-two villages, of which he retained one as the king's share, allotted the second for the rites of two gods at Gadag, and gave the third as an *agrahāra*-grant to a number of Brāhmanas (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 377 f.). This Dambal grant does not actually include the term *tribhōga*. But there can be no doubt that the three-fold division recorded in it, illustrates the meaning of the term. And the full expression *tribhōg-abhyantara-siddhi*, *lit.* 'the accomplishment of that which is included in the *tribhōga* or triple enjoyment,' plainly denotes a joint tenure enjoyed by a private person, a god or gods, and Brāhmanas. The same thing is indicated by such gifts as were made to private persons "with the exception of previously-given grants to gods and Brāhmanas" (*e. g.* *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 190). On the other hand, the term *sarv-abhyantara-siddhi* (*e. g.* *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 83, line 20) plainly denotes a grant with full and complete rights of enjoyment, made to only one class of grantees.

Other terms of the same class are — *śaṣṭhōga* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 347, line 41), *śka-bhōgya* (*id.* p. 385, line 68), and *śaṣṭhōgya-grāma*, coupled with the succession of sons and sons' sons (*id.* p. 389, line 135) which occurs in grants made to one person only, and plainly indicate a sole and entire right of enjoyment; and *gana-bhōgya* (*id.* p. 357, line 120), which qualifies the twenty-two villages that were given by Harihara II. to the Brāhmanas on *agrahāra*-terms, and plainly indicates a joint tenure by a number of persons. We have also *aṣṭabhōga* (see page 244 above); this, however, refers, not to an eight-fold division of property, but to eight classes of objects to which proprietary rights can attach; so that it is not exactly analogous to the others.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ōm⁴ [||*] Bhaddram⁵-astu Jina-sāsanāya sambhaddratām-prati⁶vidhāna-hētavē anya
vādi-ma-
- 2 dahasti-mastaka-sphātanāya ghaṭanē paṭiyasi [||*] Ōm Svasti Samasta-bhūva-
3 n-āraya śrī-prithvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhatā-
4 rakam Sātyāraya-kula-tīlakam Chāluky-ābharaṇam śrīmat-Trailōkyamalladēvara
5 vijaya-rājyam-uttarōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāram ba-
6 ram saluttam-ire [1*] Tad-viśāḥ-ōra[h*]sthāja-nivāsiniyar-appa śrīmat-Kētaladēviyar
7 Tarddhavādī⁷-sāsiraḍ-ōlagan-aruntūrum-bādada khampana⁸ Bāgey-ayvattara
8 baḷiyam-uttamam-agrahāram Ponnavaḍamam tribhōg-ābhyaṁtara-siddhiyind-āntta-
9 m-ire [1*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi gaṇaka-ohūḍāmaṇiyu[m*] Vānasa⁹-kuḷ-āmbara-
bhānuyum
- 10 Arhach-ohhāsa-mūla-stambhavum Kalikāla-śrēyāmsanum samyakt[v*]a-ratnākaranum-a-
11 ppa || Vānasa¹⁰-varha-kūrmma-nibha-Komma-jagad-vinut-Āttikābhikā-sūnur-udātta-kt-
12 rtti-dhavaḷikṛita-dig-Jina-yōgi-rāp-Mahāsēna-munimdra-pādakamala-bhūhṛa (bhūhṛa) ma-
13 ram paripūrṇa-ohāru-vidyā-nidhi-Chāhkirāja-vibhū-ārta-śiṣṭa-jan-ā-
14 shṭa-tuṣṭi-da[h*] || Gambhīrō¹¹ bahu-sāmkha-matsya-makara-śrīmattalamsātvikō¹²
Lakshmi-ja-
- 15 nma-griha-samasta-vasudhā-vyāvēṣṭan-ōdyad-yaśaḥ-antar¹³jyōtita-chāru-ra-
16 tna-nivahō nirdhātā-kalmāshakō jīva-ānanda-ras-ākarō vijayatō sa-
17 myakt[v*]a-ratnākaraḥ || Āhār¹⁴-ābhaya-bhaṣa(sha)jya-śāstra-dānō tathā param
Chāhkan-ā-
- 18 ryyas-samō¹⁵ n-āsti na bhūtō na bhaviṣya(sha)ti [||*] Ōm [||*] Śrī¹⁶-Mūlasaṁghō
Jina-śa(dha)rmma-mūlō gaṇ-ābhi-
- 19 dhātō vara-Sēna-nāmnī gaohhohhō(chohhō)shu tuohhohhō(chchhō)-pi Pogaryy-
ābhikhyō samstāyamānō mu-
- 20 nir-Āryya(sēna)h || Anēka-bhūpājaka-mauḷi-ratna-śōpāmū-bāḷātapa-jālakōni(na)
21 prōjrimbhita-śrī-chāraṇāravimda-śrī-Brahmasēna-pra(vra)tinātha-śiṣya[h*] || Tasy¹⁷-
Āryya-
- 22 sēnasya mun-śvarasya śiṣyō Mahāsēna-mahā-mna(mu)nīmdra[h*] samu(mya)ktva-
ratn-ō-
- 23 j[1*]vaḷit-āntaraṁga[h*] samsāra-nirākara-sēta-bhūta[h*] || Taj-Jaina-yōgimdra-padābja-
24 bhūṁga[h*] śrī-Vānasa-āmnāya-viyat-pataṁga[h*] śrī-Kommarāj-ātmaabhava-su-tāja-
25 s-samyaktva-ratnākara-Chāhkirāja[h*] || Kalāmka¹⁸-muktas-satāt-sikarūpō dōsh-ētara-
26 śrī-nīlayas-samasta-bhavy-ābja-saṁdōha-vikāsa-hātu[h*] virājatō nūtana-Chāhkirā-

³ From the ink-impression.⁴ The symbol here is apparently an eight-leaved water-lily, with a bud projecting downwards; it is, I conclude, intended for the word *dhā*. In the other places, in lines 2, 18, 32, 33, 41, and 43, the ordinary plain symbol is used.⁵ Metre, Rathōddhātā.⁶ Read *prati*. I do not find the word *sambhaddratā*, — nor *sambhaddra*, from which it is formed, — in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. It was perhaps invented for the sake of the metre.⁷ See the introductory remarks.⁸ See note 28 below.⁹ Here the nasal in the second syllable is distinctly the lingual *n*. In lines 11 and 24, it is as distinctly the dental *n*.¹⁰ Metre, Utpalāmālikā. The language here is Sanskrit. But the metre, I believe, is purely Kanarese; and the usual *prāsa*, or alliteration of the second syllable of each *pāda*, which is a peculiar feature of Kanarese poetry, is followed here.¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛita. Here, the *prāsa* is not introduced.¹² Some emendation is needed here. Perhaps *śrī-matta-ānka-dmūtō* was intended, but it does not seem very appropriate.¹³ The proper reading, if *samādā* were adhered to, would be *yaśō-nar*. What we have in the text, must be looked upon as a metrical license.¹⁴ Metre, Śilōka (Anushtubh).¹⁵ Read *ōdryya-samō*.¹⁶ Metre, Upajīti, of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā; and in the next verse.¹⁷ Metre, Indravajrā; and in the next verse.¹⁸ Metre, Upajīti, of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

- 27 ja[h*] || Tan¹⁹-nirmmitam bhuvana-bumbhukam=aty-udattam loka-prasiddha-vibhav-
 28 òmata-Ponnava-
 28 dē rañramyatē parama-Sāmti-Jinēndra-gēham pārva-dvay-anugata-Pārva-Supā-
 29 rēva-vāsam || Mahāsēna²⁰-munē-chohhatram Chāhkirājēna²¹ nirmmitam drashṭukām-
 āgha-samhā-
 30 ri Sāmtināthasya bumbakam || Mahāsēna-munēndrasya chohhatrēna Jinavarmanma-
 chhattri-
 31 kṛita-mahā-nāgam rachitam Pārva-daivataṁ || Janakasya Kommarājasya²²
 dharm-ōddā-
 32 ād-vinirmmitā rājatē Chāhkirājēna Supārva-pratim-ōttamā [11*] Om
 33 Om Sa(ka)ka-varsha 976neya Jaya-sahvatsarada Vaisā(ka)khad-amāvāsya(sya)
 Sōmavārad-amdina sū(sū)-
 34 ryya-grahana-nimitya(tte)dih Bhima-nadiya tādya Maniyūra-Appayanaviḍi-
 35 noḷ Ponnavaḍadol Chāhkimayyana māḍisida Śrī-Sāntinātha-dēvara tribhuvana-
 tilaka-ohai-
 36 tyālayadal-irppa riśi(shi)yar=ajjiyar=āhāra-dānakke sarvvanamāsyā(sya)v-āge(gi) Śrīmat-
 Trai-
 37 lōkyamalladēvar Śrī-Kētaladēviyara binnapadiṁ mūvattu-gēṇa galeyol
 38 biṭṭa nela matta[r*]²³ 35 tōṁṭa matta[r*] 1 nivēṇapad-agalam ā galeyol gale
 4 gēṇu 17
 39 nīḷam gale 9 baḷambe-nivēṇapam mūḍaṇa beladol=ā galeyol agalam gale 3
 40 nīḷam gale 7 gōpurada mūḍaṇa aṁgaḍigam gāṇa 1 alli beṇa-geyya kalkuṭṭiga-
 41 ra mane 1 sāvaga-irppa pole-mane 1 [11*] Om Alliya Supārva-dēvara
 basadi-
 42 ge ā galeyol mattara salike aruvapada lekkade biṭṭa nelam matta[r*] 855
 43 ā galeyol tōṁṭa matta[r*] 1 gāṇa 1 [11*] Om Tammam Jinavarmanmayyana
 māḍisida
 44 Pārva-dēvara basadige Karahāḍa-nālohhasirad-olagaṇa Kalahbaḍi-300ṇa²⁴ baḷiya
 45 Kannaḍigeya Saṁkharasana magam manneyam Vajjarasana guḍḍe-mānya 500-
 matta[r*]-kkey-o-
 46 lage mūvattu-gēṇa galeyol=sarvvanamāsyā(sya)m-āge(gi) Chāhkimayyana māru-gonḍa
 47 biṭṭa nelam matta[r*] 35 [11*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse invoking prosperity for the *Jina-bāsana* or precepts of the Jain religion, the inscription proceeds: — While the ayasum of the universe, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramāvara*, the *Paramabhāṣāraka*, the ornament of the family of Satyākṛaya (line 4), the glory of the Chālukyas, the glorious Trailōkya-malladēva-(Sōmēsvara I.) is reigning: —

And while his wife (*lit.* "she whose abode is on his broad breast"), the glorious Kētaladēvi (l. 6), is governing, or managing, according to the *tribhūg-ābhyanāra-siddhi* (l. 8), the excellent agrahāra of Ponnavaḍa, which is included in²⁵ the Bāge Fifty,

¹⁹ Metre, Vasantakāḷa.

²⁰ Read "munē-chohhatra-chāḍaka."

²¹ Or perhaps 300ṇa. There has been a correction in the first figure. Either 3 was engraved, and corrected into 3; or else 3 was engraved, and corrected into 2. It is difficult to say which was really the case; but I think that the correction was from 2 into 3.

²² *baḷiya* is another form of the Kanarese *baḷiya*, 'near to, in the vicinity of.' But a comparison of Sanskrit with Kanarese passages shows that it is constantly used in exactly the sense of *madhya-vartin*, 'being in the middle of being situated in.' For a fuller note on the word, see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 250, note 27.

²³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

²⁴ Read *janaka-kompa*.

²⁵ See note 29 below.

which is a *khampapa*²⁶ of the Six-hundred-towns which are (a group) in the Tardhavadi Thousand (l. 7): —

Her feudatory, a very crest-jewel of *Ganakas*, a very sun in the sky which is the *Vānasa* family (l. 9), a very foundation-pillar of the precepts of the *Arhat*, the son of *Komma* who was a very tortoise in (the pond which is) the *Vānasa* race (l. 11), and of (his wife) *Attikāmbikā*, — is the lord *Chāṅkirāja* (l. 13), who is a very king among Jain ascetics, and who is a bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of *Mahāsēna*, the chief of saints (l. 12).

Two verses follow in praise of *Chāṅkirāja*, who is also called *Chāṅkāṇarya* (l. 17); and then there is introduced a fuller mention of the descent of his preceptor: —

In the famous *Mūlāsāṅgha* (l. 18), which is the root of the religion of Jina, in the *gapa* or sect which has the excellent name of *Sēna* (l. 19),²⁷ and in the *gachchha* which, small or insignificant though it is among *gachchhas*, has the appellation of *Pogari*, there was the saint *Āryasēna* (l. 20), spoken of with praise. He was the disciple of the holy *Brahmasēna* (l. 21). And his own disciple, again, was *Mahāsēna*, the great chief of saints (l. 22), whose mind is irradiated by the jewel of complete correctness of behaviour, and who is a very bridge over the ocean of worldly existence. And *Chāṅkirāja* (l. 25), a very bird in the sky which is the *Vānasa* family (l. 24),²⁸ the son of the illustrious *Kommarāja*, is a very bee on the water-lilies which are the feet of that same chief of Jain ascetics. By this *Chāṅkirāja* (ll. 26, 29), at the well-known *Ponnavaḍa* (l. 27), there was constructed a shrine of the *Jinendra* *Sānti*, having on its two sides abodes of *Pārva* and *Supārva*; and also an image of *Sāntinātha*, which removes the sins of those who are desirous of beholding it. Also *Jinavarman* (l. 30), another disciple of *Mahāsēna*, fashioned an image of *Pārva*, having a great *nāga*-serpent for its umbrella or canopy. And, for the religious merit of his father *Kommarāja* (l. 31), *Chāṅkirāja* constructed also a most excellent image of *Supārva*.

On account of the eclipse of the sun of Monday, the new-moon tithi of (the month) *Vaiśākha* of the *Jaya saṁvatsara*, which was the 976th *Saka* year (l. 33), at the town of *Maṇiyūra-Appayanaviḍu* on the bank of the river *Bhīmanadi* (l. 34), the glorious *Traḷōkyamalladēva* (ll. 36-37), at the request of the glorious *Kētaladēvi*, gave the following grants, as *sarvaṁśya*-grants, in order to provide food for the saints at the *chaityālaya* called 'the ornament of the three worlds' (*tribhuvana-tīrṭha*), which *Chāṅkimayya* (l. 35) had caused to be built, at *Ponnavaḍa*; viz. by the measure of a staff of the length of thirty spans, 35 *matṭars*²⁹ of ordinary land, and 1 *matṭar* of garden-land; also a house or courtyard, 4 staffs and

²⁶ The usual form of this word is *kampapa*, with the unaspirated *k* in the first syllable, which must be another form of the Kanarese *kampala*, *kampila*, 'a cluster, heap, assembly, multitude.' But I am not prepared to say that the form which we have here, with the aspirated *kh*, is a mistake; it may be a recognised variant.

²⁷ It seems to be identical with the "lineage of *Sēna* (*Sēna-dēva*)," which is mentioned in line 6 of the Jain inscription at Mulgund (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 191).

²⁸ One of the meanings of *dēva* is 'a family, or series of families.' But the use of the word seems to indicate rather 'a school of tradition' than 'a family' in the strict sense of the word. In lines 9 and 11, however, the words used are *kula* and *vastha*; and these indicate 'a family' in the proper sense of the word.

²⁹ The proper form of this word is *matṭar* or *matṭaru*. But, curiously enough, the final *r* has been omitted in this record in every instance in which the word stands in the nominative; and the only indications of the real word are given by the genitive in *matṭara saḷiḷa*, line 42, and by *matṭa-kkey-olḷa* (for *matṭar-kkey-olḷa*), line 45, where the double *k* is caused by the *r*, which, however, has been omitted even here. Similar instances of the omission of the *r*, through carelessness, occur in other records; but generally they give the word at least once in its proper form; e. g. in line 60 f. of an inscription at Tālgund (*P. S. and O.-K. Inscriptions*, No. 119) we have *matṭar-onḍu* *matṭa* 2 *are-vattara lekhade matṭaru* 8 *matṭa* 1 *kaṁma* 20 *avṭa matṭa* 5 *kaṁma* 20; and the words *matṭar-onḍu*, 'one matṭar,' in this passage, are in themselves sufficient to show the real form of the word. — I have met somewhere with the dative case, *matṭarivḷa*; but I cannot just now give the reference. The genitive, *matṭara*, occurs in the above passage (*are-vattara lekhade*, 'by the calculation or rate of half a matṭar'), and in line 42 of the present record. — An older form of the word was *matṭal*; e. g., ante, Vol. XII. p. 70, line 19; and the two forms give another instance of the frequent changes, in Kanarese, between *l* and *r*. — An inscription at Bālamhṭi (*BMH. MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 583 ff.) contains the expressions *kaṁma* 50 *kaṁma* 50 *baṭa matṭar-onḍu* *kaṁma* 60 *kaṁma* 40 *avṭa matṭar-onḍu*; which show that one matṭar was equal to

17 spans broad, and 9 staves in length; also, in the eastern crop-land (*bela* ?), a *balanda*-house or courtyard, 3 staves broad, and 7 staves in length; also one oil-mill among the shops on the east of the *gōpura*; also, at the request of the stone-cutters there, one house; and also one house of low-caste people, in which the *Sāvagas* were. And to the temple of the god *Supāriva* at that place (l. 41), by the measure of the same staff, there were allotted, at the rate of half a *poṣa* as the payment for a *matter*, 355 *matters* of ordinary land, and one *matter* of garden-land, and one oil-mill.

To the temple of the god *Pāriva*, which his younger brother *Jinavarmayya* had caused to be made (l. 43), *Chāṅkimayya* bought and gave, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, 35 *matters* of ordinary land in the culturable land, measuring 500 *matters*, which is the *guḍḍe-mānya*²⁰ of the worthy *Vaijara*, the son of *Saṅkharasa* of *Kannaḍige* (l. 45), which is included in the *Kalaṁbaḍi* Three-hundred (?) which is in the *Karahāḍa* Four-thousand.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.P.L.S.

No. 38.—The Six Good Maxims.¹

In the ancient city of *Mathurā*, in Southern India, there lived a famous king, at whose court was a *Paṇḍit* for whose sayings he had the greatest respect and the most implicit faith. Now the *Paṇḍit*'s son and the king's son were great friends. Their names were *Nayanamanōhara* and *Satyaparākrama*. They were playmates from their earliest boyhood, studied under the same teachers, and from their first acquaintanceship became inseparable companions.

The *Paṇḍit*'s learning and influence with the king had earned him a pretty large fortune, and he was, moreover, a very prudent and cautious man. Being advanced in years he forebaw that he had not much longer to live, and though his son, *Nayanamanōhara*, was a learned man, he had not much confidence in him. His son was indeed a prodigal, given to the company of loose women, and he was sure that as soon as he died he would waste his property in no time if bequeathed to him. So, calling his wife aside, he spoke thus to her:—

“My dear old wife; something within me tells that I am to die before you, and so you will be left in sole charge of all our property. You must therefore exercise a careful watch over it, for otherwise I fear that our son will get rid of it before long. Now, should it ever happen that notwithstanding your watchfulness he should lose all I have to leave, and finds that he has nothing to live upon, give him this scroll, telling him that it is worth six *lakhs* of *moḥars*. But unless such an event happens, never even mention its existence to him.” Thus the old man advised his wife, and she agreed to abide by all that he said. After some months the old man was taken suddenly ill, and soon breathed his last.

Nayanamanōhara was now the master of a large fortune, but his old mother was at first very careful and allowed him to have very little to say to the management of it. However, little by little, after repeated cajoling, he won her over and got the management of the whole property into his own hands. This accomplished, he wasted all his wealth in no time, and before a full year had elapsed after the father's death, it was all gone.

one hundred *kavvas*; but the value of the *kavva*, or *kamba*, has not, I think, been yet determined. — Also, line 60 f. of the *Tālgund* inscription referred to above, seems to show that one *matter* was taken to yield two *khaṇḍika*s of grain (*khaṇḍika* = the Marāṭhi *khaṇḍi*, ‘a candy,’ and Kanarese *khaṇḍaga*, *khaṇḍaga*; also *khaṇḍaka* occurs, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55, line 116). But, whether this is so, or whether *khaṇḍika* is a land-measure, equal to half a *matter*, I cannot say for certain, without seeing an ink-impression of the inscription.

²⁰ This term remains to be explained. *Mānya* means ‘lands either liable to a trifling quit-rent, or altogether exempt from tax.’ *Guḍḍe* means ‘a heap; a square head-cloth, a scant and poor turban;’ also ‘a grave:’ and in certain technical passages, ‘a heap of stones over a grave’ (see *Jour. Be. Br. K. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 211, note 17).

¹ An amplified variant of the stories of the *Four Good Maxims*, see *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 348; Vol. XIX. p. 126.

One day he was sitting sullenly idle, when his old mother, who, in spite of all his faults, loved him very dearly, approached him and said:—"Why are you so moody today? I have been repeatedly advising you against the company you keep, but in your headlong extravagance you never heeded the words of your poor old mother. You must now pay dearly for your folly. You have wasted all our property, and we have not even a mouthful left for our morning meal! But foreseeing how you would behave, your old father left a scroll with me which he said was worth six *lákhs* of *mohars*. You can dispose of it now for whatever you like and with the money that you realize live in comfort for a while longer."

Thus spoke the old lady, and Nayanamanóhara was delighted to hear that there was still some valuable property left to him. Being an educated man and having the greatest regard for his father's attainments, he thought that if the old man had fixed six *lákhs* of *mohars* as the price of the scroll, it must be well worth that amount. So he asked for it; and when it was brought to him, he read in it the following six maxims:—

- (1) A father should always check and never forgive.
- (2) A mother should always forgive and never check.
- (3) Do not send your wife long to her parents' house.
- (4) When in reduced circumstances do not go to your sister's house.
- (5) But when in reduced circumstances seek always your oldest friend.
- (6) A country not examined in disguise will always be ruined.

When Nayanamanóhara read these maxims, he shed many tears at the truth conveyed in the first two, which were so applicable in his own case. As long as the old man had lived he was always checking him, and throughout several years of an evil extravagant life he had not lost any of his property. But in the very first year after his death he had managed to throw away everything. He now saw clearly that it was his mother's repeated forgiveness of all his sinful expenditure that was the cause of his ruin. So finding that the first two maxims had turned out so true, he took it as an indication of the correctness of the four to follow, and therefore considered that the document was fully worth what his father estimated; so he took it and cried its value in the streets, asking who would buy it. Many took him to be mad:—for who would be willing to part with six *lákhs* of *mohars* for an inscribed palm-leaf? So without any success, Nayanamanóhara at length reached the street in which the palace was situated. Satyaparākrama, the prince of the city, was standing in the topmost storey of his house after his morning bath in scented sandal-oil, arranging his hair, when the words, "A scroll of six maxims to sell; each maxim is worth a *láksh* of *mohars*," fell on his ears.

The prince turned his eyes in the direction from which the voice proceeded, and was astonished to see that it was his own boyhood's companion who was thus crying out. Calling to him by his name, the prince enquired after his welfare, as they had never met after their school-days. Then Satyaparākrama enquired, over and over again, whether the maxims were really written by the old Papdit, and on Nayanamanóhara's assuring him as often that they were, and that his father had left them to him as property worth six *lákhs* of *mohars*, the prince began to think to himself:—"Surely! If the old Papdit fixed the price at six *lákhs*, it must be worth that and more, and my friend, though he may be in reduced circumstances, won't receive any presents from me; so in buying this scroll I shall gain a double benefit: one to myself in buying the sayings of a holy man and testing the truth of them, and the other to my friend in giving him the six *lákhs* as their price."

Thus argued the prince and bought the scroll for the sum that was named. The Papdit's son returned home with this fresh and larger fortune, and having now learnt the value of money, began to lead a chaste and simple life. His mother also took part in checking his expenses.

Now, three months before the prince had bought this scroll, he had sent his wife to her parents' house, to be present at a wedding that was coming off there. But one wedding had

followed another, and she had been obliged to stay for all of them, and so had been absent a long while. Meanwhile a calamity befell our prince. His father, the old king, on examining his son's accounts, saw six *lákhs* of *mohars* entered as an item of expenditure for the purchase of a scroll of palm-leaf containing six maxims. Now, he was a miser, and anger came over him. "Fly from my presence, you fool of a prince, who does not know the value of money, and never return to this kingdom without restoring the money thus ill-spent," roared the old man, and our hero, the prince, out of shame and disappointment, ran away from home. He, who had been from his birth in the enjoyment of the best of everything, was now a homeless fugitive. Unwilling to shew his face to the world as a prince banished by his father for his extravagance, he assumed the disguise of a beggar.

Now his wife had jewels which were worth several *lákhs*, and as he was extremely attached to her, he sent her word secretly, informing her of his reduced condition, and asking her to replace the ill-spent money by the sale of a portion of her jewels so that he might return home happily. In reply he was told that her father had possession of all of them, and that he was unwilling to dispose of any of them. Thus disappointed, our hero went as a beggar from village to village and city to city, till at last he reached the town where his sister was living.

His sister was married to a rich *Peshkár* who was a kind of general under the emperor of the Pándya country to whom Satyaparākrama's father, the king of Mathurá, paid tribute, and to her house our hero went. He knocked at the door at about midnight, just as the master and mistress of the house were retiring to rest. "Who is it that knocks?" called out his brother-in-law. "Satyaparākrama," answered our hero from outside. "Begone thou ghost. Do not lie thus. Satyaparākrama would never have had any occasion to come here," replied his sister. But after repeated explanations from our hero outside, his sister at last, without the knowledge of her husband, who cared little whether the person outside was his brother-in-law or not opened the door, and when she found that it was her own brother transformed into a beggar, driven from his home on account of his recklessness in spending his father's money, she had no regard for him, but went inside, telling the servants to give the beggar outside some stale gruel. She was ashamed to acknowledge a brother in so lowly a beggar. Her servants did as they were directed, and gave him a little stale gruel, and went away. Satyaparākrama now thought of the fourth maxim in his dearly bought scroll. A mixed feeling of pleasure and pain came over him; pleasure, that, though his father had thought him reckless in paying so much for the scroll, it still deserved that price for the valuable way in which it had generalised truths; pain, that his sister should have gone so far as to renounce her natural feelings of affection because he was in reduced circumstances. His hunger was so great that, though what was given him was gruel, — and that, too, stale, — he heartily drank a portion of it, and left the rest buried with the pan in which it had been served up in the hay-yard adjacent, and left the place.

He next resolved to go to his wife's house, and live there for a while till better days dawned. Travelling many *kós* for several days he at last reached the town where she lived. It was about midnight when he entered it. Everything in the streets was still, and it was very dark. Not knowing which way to turn, our hero was standing in confusion, when he was accosted by a hoarse voice saying, "Who is there?" "A beggar, newly arrived here, and standing confused because he does not know the way," replied our hero. "Then you can be my lamp-bearer now, and so earn a night's rest in the outer verandah of my house," said the person, who was the *Kótval* or chief police officer of the city.

Satyaparākrama took the lamp and walked in the direction indicated by the police officer who followed him. The *Kótval* was a very rich man, and his house was near the house of our hero's father-in-law. And what is more, Satyaparākrama's wife used to visit him every night. It was reached at last, and telling the lamp-bearer to wait outside, the *Kótval* entered it; and at the very threshold he was accosted by a beautiful young lady whose voice was very clearly recognised by the person standing outside.

"What! Is it my own wife, to whom I want to go next morning, that is now talking so very familiarly to the *Kōtwāl*, and reproving him for having made her wait so long? I must see what is going to happen. Fortune has conducted me here by chance, that I might know about my wife's conduct before going to her house." Thus pondered Satyaparākrama, and the conversation that took place between the lady and the *Kōtwāl* inside, was more than sufficient to indicate her bad character. Unfortunately for the guilty pair, there were no betel-leaves to chew before they retired to bed. "Are we to sleep today without chewing?" asked the woman; and the *Kōtwāl* at once replied, "Don't be afraid, my dear! The fellow who is waiting with the lamp outside, will fetch us some leaves from the nearest *bāśār*." So saying, the *Kōtwāl* searched for his keys. And the woman, not wishing to lose his company for even the time when he would be absent searching for his money, pulled off a ring from her right middle finger, and, giving it to her gallant, said that that would do for the occasion to fetch them some leaves. The police officer came out and called the beggar:—"Halloo! There is a *bāśār* at the end of this street where you will find a *Chēṭṭī* sitting before a lamp with a very small light. Give him this ring, mentioning that the *Kōtwāl* sent it, and fetch me fifty betel-leaves. I will get the ring back tomorrow and give him the price." "Your lordship's orders shall be duly obeyed," said our hero, and instantly disappeared with the ring.

Now our hero did not know that it was his wife that had given the ring as a deposit for a few leaves not worth even a cowry. But the idea that a ring should be sacrificed for a few betel-leaves, awakened in his mind sufficient curiosity to make him examine it to see what it was worth. So he took it to a way-side lamp and examined it, and found it to be his own ring, given by him to his wife just as she was departing for her parents' house. He was pained to see that a wife, who would not part with her jewels to save the life and honour of her own husband, should have so easily given up a valuable ring for a few betel-leaves! But at the same time he was glad of the opportunity thus offered him of proving her guilty character when necessary. So, not wishing to lose it or shew it to any one, he concealed it in his cloth and proceeded to the *bāśār*. He found the *Chēṭṭī* there, seated as described, with a very small light, and thus addressed him:—"Sir, I am the servant of the *Kōtwāl* and he has sent me to you for a few betel-leaves to chew, the price of which he has promised to pay you tomorrow. If you fail to oblige him now when he is in necessity, he has warned you to take care of your head tomorrow."

Now, *Kōtwāls* are always objects of dread to the public, and so the poor *Chēṭṭī* asked our hero to take as many leaves as he wanted. He took about fifty, and, not to be idle on his way, made them into neat halves and folded them up nicely. The master of the house was waiting outside for him, and Satyaparākrama gave the leaves to him folded in half, and while they were being taken into the house, ran off like lightning for his own safety.

The betel-leaves were duly handed over to the woman inside, who at once saw from the manner of folding, which was a special art acquired by her husband, that the pretended servant was no other than her own husband disguised. This made her change colour, and stand as still as a statue. "What is the matter with you, my dear, that you pull such a long face at a time when you ought to be merry?" asked the *Kōtwāl*. "I am undone," cried she; "the person who has so nicely folded these leaves in this fashion must be my husband. He has traced me out, and I am sure that I am lost unless he is now captured and killed."

Meanwhile our hero was flying for his life, for he was sure that his wife would discover him, and send her sinful companion after him. And even so it was. No sooner did the *Kōtwāl* hear that the pretended servant or beggar was Satyaparākrama, than he left the house, and with all his men began the search for him. Every possible nook and corner of the town was searched with no success, for Satyaparākrama had left the town altogether with the quickness of a serpent and disappeared. But the *Kōtwāl*, to console the lady, told her that her husband had been caught and killed.

Our hero, after his escape, went through several places, and at last reached a town. All the way he pondered over his wife's conduct, and was vexed to see that he was partly the cause of it, as, by his sending her away for a long while to her parents' house, he had given her every opportunity to become wicked. In this case, too, he found one of the maxims, which he had so dearly bought, had proved true. Thinking on the way, he heard the sing-song noise of a palanquin passing, and on observing it closely he found an old friend of his seated in it. This at once brought into his mind the fifth maxim of the sage, that in adversity we must always seek our friends. To test the truth of it, he proceeded to the side of the palanquin and accosting its inmate in the most familiar style, said: — "Get down, you fool. Are you not ashamed to ride thus in a palanquin while your old friend is walking bare-footed?" The inmate was the young prime-minister of that empire, and was proceeding to the palace. His name was Snēhapātra. He did not recognise his friend and school-day companion in his disguise, but being a wise man, he thought that there must be some meaning in the familiarity, and so at once coming down from the palanquin, he asked his friend to take his place. Our hero did so, and the young minister wrote a letter to his wife recommending the guest to her kind care, and telling her to behave to him in every way as to her husband. And secretly he sent a confidential letter to her of which we shall hear more by-and-bye.

Thus Satyaparākrama was borne in the palanquin, and reached his friend's house, but his friend was not able to accompany him as there was some important business, pretended or real, on account of which he was obliged to be absent. When the minister's house was reached, the mistress thereof shewed him every kind of hospitality, and our hero found nothing wanting for his comfort. The day passed and night came on, and after supper Satyaparākrama retired to rest. Just then the minister's wife placed before him her husband's letter, which said that she must behave to her guest as she would to her own husband. But as soon as our hero read it, he rose up and falling down before the lady, he said: — "Madam, you are my mother. For even so must we regard our friends' wives."

Thus saying he shed tears, and that most virtuous woman, — for so she was, as our readers shall soon know, — sent her husband word of what had occurred. This was part of the secret and confidential communication to her. The minister had also secretly informed her that, to see whether the pretended friend, whom he did not know, was a real friend or not, he had tried the trick of offering her up to him for his pleasure, because a true and sincere friend would shudder at the idea. Snēhapātra had also arranged with the maid-servants secretly, that the guest should be watched and arrested in case he made any attempts to violate decency and take advantage of the letter. The minister's wife too had obeyed her lord in every way, divining the meaning of his proceedings. Snēhapātra was all the while anxiously waiting in the palace to know the result of his scheme, and as soon as it was communicated to him, he hastened hence, embraced his friend, and like an honest man acknowledged his forgetfulness, and asked him who he was. When it was made known that the person whom he had thus tested was no other than the prince Satyaparākrama, his joy knew no bounds. He enquired into the cause which had reduced him to such a poor state, and when all the prince's history had been related in detail, he wept for his friend's calamities. He then told him to forget the past, and live comfortably in his house till better days, which he said would not be far off. Thus, here, too, our hero found the wisdom of the Paṇḍit's maxim.

Snēhapātra had an object in saying that the time would not be long before his friend saw better days. The emperor of that city was the great emperor of the Pāṇḍya country, to whom Satyaparākrama's father used to pay tribute. He had an only daughter who was approaching the marriageable age, and of whom he was very anxious to dispose. But unfortunately he was not able to secure a suitable match for her. The minister knew all this and on the next day secretly tested the emperor's opinion whether His Majesty would have any objection to accept Satyaparākrama as his son-in-law. His Majesty had often heard of the deep learning of that prince, but of the latter part of his life His Majesty had had no

Then he resumed his march and reached his sister's city. Before going to the house he despatched a special messenger to her, and she and her husband, the *Péshkár*, made special arrangements for feasting the emperor. His Majesty put on a smiling face to every one in the house, but when meal-time arrived and every one had sat down to his supper, he asked one of the servants to fetch the stale gruel in the pan from the hay-stall, and rejecting every grand dish that was served before him, began to eat the dirty old mess. Every one was amazed. Then Satyaparākrama explained its history to the whole assembly, and also the truthfulness of the maxim that one ought not to seek his sister in adversity. The *Péshkár* and his wife were ashamed, and our hero left that place without speaking a word to any of them after the meal.

Thus passing through these two places our hero reached Mathurá, where his father was almost on his death-bed. And when the old man heard that not only had his son become the emperor to whom he himself had to do homage, but also that he was himself coming to do the homage of a son to his old father, his sickness left him in a moment, and he sat up like a healthy man to welcome his son. After shedding tears for his former rash act, and overjoyed to see that that was in a way the cause of his son's greatness, the old man embraced Satyaparākrama, his long lost son. And the son, too, in the joy of the occasion, forgot all his father's former cruelty to him, and kissed his feet. Thus were they again united and lived together for some time.

To reward his friend Sn̄hapātra, who had protected him in his days of trouble, and who had secured him the empire, our hero Satyaparākrama gave him sovereignty over Mathurá and made him lord of that kingdom. Then he returned with his old father to his father-in-law, and reigned as emperor over the whole Pāṇḍya country.

"Thus five of the six maxims having proved true in the cases of Nayanamanōhara and Satyaparākrama our hero was only waiting for an opportunity to find the sixth and last maxim true. He was in the habit of taking a nap at noon every day, and, just before doing so, of being shampooed by his maids. This always sent him off into a snooze. One day when he was thus only half asleep, one of the maids said to another near her:—"Sister, see the beautiful face of His Majesty asleep. While possessing such a husband as this moon among men, why should the empress visit the minister's house every night? And how is it that our monarch, so skilful in every thing else, is deceived in this matter?" Replied the other:—"You do not know the trick. I have long known it. Every night the empress gives the monarch a cup of milk, in which she mixes some powder which brings on such a profound sleep that he never gets up the whole night. Taking advantage of this, she spends the whole night in perfect security by the side of the minister." The monarch, at the first hint that the conversation was about his wife, was all wakefulness, but snored purposely, to make the maids round him believe that he was really asleep. He heard it all, and was much grieved at heart to hear the scandal about his wife, and resolved to find out the truth of it that very night.

It came on as usual, and just before retiring to bed, the empress brought him a cupful of milk. Said he, "I have left my snuff-box at the place where I supped, will you kindly fetch it, my dear?" To shew how very obedient she was to her lord, she ran off in haste, but before her return our hero had upset the milk in a corner of the room, and left the empty cup at the place where it was usually left by his wife. She soon returned with the box, and our hero received it from her hands, thanking her for the trouble, and took a pinch before her. He talked on for some time in a kindly way to her, while she all the while was waiting for the working of the medicine in the milk. She had taken a stolen glance at the cup and to her heart's joy found it empty. "Surely he has taken it and he must soon fall asleep," thought she; and Satyaparākrama, seeing the anxiety in her face, determined to play the villain to catch a villain, and to all appearance fell asleep, while he was really watching the movements of his wife. About a *gāṇṇā* after he began to snore, the empress got up, and quietly placing a long pillow in her place, left the bed. In a moment more she was out of the room.

Satyaparikrama would have given no credit at all to the conversation of the maids, had he not known that he was daily given milk by his wife just before going to sleep. He was so much attached to her that even when he avoided the milk that night, he did not altogether suspect her. It might have been the excitement that kept him awake that night. But the suspicious way in which his wife arranged the pillow aroused every doubt. However, he gave her a full opportunity and did not leave his bed until she had time to get well away, and then searched for her secretly through the palace without success. He then proceeded to examine the town in disguise, to see what had taken place. He cursed himself for his stupidity in not having done this long before, and assuming the disguise of a beggar he left his palace by a secret way, and was soon in the streets of the town.

It was a dark night, and the presence of clouds in the sky made it darker still. Signs of approaching rain also set in, and soon the rain began to pour in torrents. In haste he ran for shelter into the outer circuit of a temple of Gapté,² where he found half a dozen neatherds — suppliers of milk to the palace — collected for a similar reason. Our hero, unobserved by them, sat down in a corner. Just then a lizard began to chirp, and one of the neatherds, who was well up in interpreting such things, said: — “Friends, do you know of anything wonderful tonight?” They said: — “What do we know? We are not well read like you. Our fathers never taught us anything. If you will come out with one of your wonders we are prepared to listen to you.” Said the first speaker: — “I do not know how far it may be true. But, if I am to believe in what my old father taught me, I must tell you that the lizard says that our emperor has left his palace tonight and is now in the town.” “You are a great idiot,” said one of the others, “to impose upon us with such absurd nonsense. In the dead of night, when it is raining cats and dogs, what could induce an emperor to leave his comfortable palace and expose himself to the wet? You are a fool to say so.” Thus was the neatherd, who had nevertheless told the truth, ridiculed, while our hero admired from his hiding-place the deep knowledge of one of his own neatherds!

A *ghapté* after this the lizard again chirped, and the same neatherd said: — “Friends, you disbelieved me on that occasion; now you shall all know the truth of my statement. The lizard says, that in a minute the empress will pass by this very way to the minister’s house!”

Again the other neatherds laughed, and said: — “This is still more absurd. You can thus impose on other neatherds that know nothing of the palace. But we are all suppliers of milk to the emperor and empress, and on several occasions we have met them. Oh! shut your mouth! Do not think that such a paragon of virtue would ever do such things.” Thus did they ridicule him, but the sarcasms were hardly out of their mouths, before they heard the sing-song noise of a palanquin passing. It was a closed one, and they all then thought that after all the soothsayer must have been right in his remarks. But giving the benefit of the doubt to the empress, they still entertained a high regard for her chastity, and went away from that place. The rain had now ceased, and Satyaparikrama, admiring the knowledge of the neatherd soothsayer, and abusing himself for having so doted upon his wife who on such a dreadful night had ventured out so shamelessly to her gallant’s house, and pondering over the treachery of which she had been guilty, left the place too.

He had not gone far, before there were more signs of impending rain. So he again went into an humble verandah, to lie down and thus avoid the rain. In an opposite corner were sleeping two old Brāhmaṇ travellers, a husband and wife. They had come the previous evening from Benares, and wanted to see the emperor next morning and get a present from him.

In the last watch of the night, the old Brāhmaṇ got up to observe the stars and find out how much longer it would be before the lord of the day would appear in the horizon. While doing so he said: — “We are most unfortunate! The tree for whose shade we have

² From this point the reader will find this story similar in some respects to some portions of *Ramayānādyā*, see *conts.* Vol. XIII. p. 281.

come so far, is to be out at the root in a few moments." His old wife, on hearing this, was cumb with sorrow for a few moments, and then asked, "what is the matter?" Replied the old pilgrim, "In an hour or so a black serpent will sting the emperor, and he will die." "Can you not save that good soul who is about to be a great help to poor people like ourselves?" asked the old woman.

The Brāhman pointed out to her that, as they were very poor, it would be impossible for them to commence a rite to ward off the evil, because ghee, milk and so on would be wanted for it. Our hero overheard all that passed between them, and as if suggesting to them a way out of the difficulty, he asked the poor Brāhman to go to the neighbouring house and beg for some money. Accordingly he went, but go where he might he was rebuffed and turned out as a wily beggar who was demanding money under false pretences. The time was fast approaching for the serpent to come, and on wringing his hands at the disappointment of the poor Brāhman, our hero felt a ring on his finger which he had entirely forgotten. He at once pulled it off and giving it to the Brāhman, said:—"Here is a brass ring. Take it to the *Chetti* in the corner of this street who keeps his shop open by night only; make a good bargain and buy what little this can fetch and begin the serpent-rite."

The old Brāhman, glad to find that a beggar should be so merciful, ran to the *Chetti's* shop, and he, recognising the emperor's signet-ring in what was presented to him as a brass ring, and wishing to profit by it by returning it to the emperor next morning, asked the Brāhman to take what he liked. He, however, wanted only some rice, firewood and ghee, to conduct the snake-ceremony with, and taking these he returned to the verandah. The preparations were hastily made and the fire for the sacrifice lighted up. Several incantations were pronounced over it. In offering the rice, it was divided into three parts, one of which was presented to the very person on whose behalf the ceremony was undertaken, for the Brāhman called the supposed beggar who had assisted him with his brass ring, and threw into his cloth the third ball of rice, throwing the other two into the fire. Just at the close of the ceremony, a long and fat black serpent had secretly approached the spot where Satyaparikrama had been watching the sacrifice, but was unable to do him any harm during the charms performed by the Brāhman, and fell before our hero, cut in halves. It was the charm that did this!! Satyaparikrama, after putting the pieces carefully into a spare cloth and warning his benefactors that they should not leave that spot until they had returned his brass ring, left the place secretly with his bundle. He had made the condition about the ring to his benefactors, to prevent them from leaving that place.

Returning home before dawn, he sent several of his servants to the minister's house, to fetch him over early in the morning. He also sent for all his palace neatherds, to find out who had been the speakers of the previous night, and for the poor Brāhman who had put him under the greatest of obligations. As soon as all had arrived, Satyaparikrama asked the south-east neatherd to relate the previous night's conversation between himself and his friends. At first he hesitated, but on finding out that the emperor was in earnest, told him everything and begged his pardon. Satyaparikrama rewarded him for his knowledge, and proving the minister's guilt plainly, committed him and his empress to the stakes. The bundle with the halves of the serpent he produced before the poor Brāhman pair, and falling down at their feet said that he himself was the beggar of the previous night. He rewarded them amply and made them stay in the palace with him. Thus the attempts to examine the truth of the sixth maxim, saved our hero's life.

Ever since that memorable day, he made it always his duty to spend part of his nights in going round the town in disguise and relieving people from misery. Two of his wives had proved faithless to him. So he gave up all thoughts of again marrying; but, ever wedded to those six maxims, and praising the day on which he bought them even for so high a price our hero lived in happiness, conferring peace and prosperity upon his empire.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ROMAKA SIDDHANTAS.

I have just received the May part of the *Indian Antiquary*, and read with interest Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit's paper on the Rōmaka Siddhāntas. In doing so, my attention was at once arrested by the elements given at p. 139, and first by "the length of the solar year, — 365 days, 14 ghaṭṭas, 48 palas," these being exactly the figures given by Ptolemy (*Math. Synt.* lib. III. cap. ii.), viz. 365d 14' 48", — for he uses the sexagesimal division of the day, as well as of the circle; and owing to his reducing the precession of

the equinoxes by one-fourth of the value assigned by Hipparkhos, he had introduced a sensible augmentation in the length of the tropical year as determined by his predecessor. The coincidence here is remarkable, and at once reminds one of Dr. Bhanu Daji's remark (*Jour. B. As. Soc.* N. S. Vol. I. p. 409) that he considered "that the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* was composed in accordance with the work of some Roman or Greek author."

A comparison of the other elements given in the Table with those of Ptolemy may be interesting: thus we have —

Moon's synodic revolution	$1040953d \div 35250r = 29d\ 18h\ 50-09p$
Ptolemy's value (<i>Math. Synt.</i> lib. IV. cap. ii.) is	29d 31' 50-14"
Moon's tropical revolution	$1040953d \div 38100r = 27d\ 19g\ 17-78p$
Ptolemy's value	27d 18' 17-80"
Moon's daily anomalistic motion:.....	$(38100 - 322 \frac{288}{3061}) \times 360^\circ \div 1040953 = 13^\circ\ 8'\ 53-95''$
Ptolemy's value	13° 8' 53-94"
Moon's daily motion from the node ...	$(38100 + 158 \frac{20889}{163111}) \times 360^\circ \div 1040953 = 13^\circ\ 13'\ 45-69''$
Ptolemy's value	13° 13' 45-68"
Moon's daily angular elongation	$\frac{85260 \times 300^\circ}{1040953} = 12^\circ\ 11'\ 26-708''$
Ptolemy's value	12° 11' 26-689"

The agreement in all these is very close, but the values do not materially differ from those of the other Siddhāntas. The use of Ptolemy's value of the length of the tropical year, — much as Utpala says, "what with us is civil time (*śukāra*), is with Pulīśāchārya solar (*saura*) time" (Kern, *Bri.-Sākh.* int. p. 49), — is the peculiarity.

It is much to be desired that the texts of the *Pañchāsiddhāntikā* and *Brāhma-Siddhānta* were published, with a faithful collation of various editions, and perhaps a careful analysis, — if not a translation.

With reference to Mr. Dikshit's assumption that Hipparkhos did not treat of planetary astronomy (*ante*, p. 142), I would remark that, beyond the information on stellar astronomy in his extant commentary on the *Phænomena* of Aratus and Eudoxus, we know nothing of the extent and contents of his astronomical works except from the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy. And the latter was so indebted to the former, that he is sometimes cited as if his data were almost entirely borrowed from Hipparkhos. Statements taken at second hand must, therefore, be used with caution. That Hipparkhos devoted attention to planetary astronomy also is clear from the recorded fact that he 'showed that the hypotheses of his predecessors

failed to explain the double inequality of the planets, and pointed out that the only way to do so was by a combination of the two hypotheses of the excentric and the epicycle.' He could only have done this in the course of a pretty full discussion of their motions. His works, however, may not have been published; they are not cited by any writer except Ptolemy, who may have found the only manuscript of them in the Alexandrian Library.

In speaking of the lunar motions, Ptolemy says (lib. iv. cap. 2), that Hipparkhos 'has showed, from the observations he has recorded on this matter, that the least number of days after which eclipses recur in the same number of months and the like other revolutions, is 126007 days and one hour equinoctial; in this he finds 4267 complete months, 4578 returns of anomaly, 4612 revolutions in the zodiac, and 7½ degrees nearly (*hypocor*) wanting of 345 entire sidereal revolutions of the sun.' Again he says, 'after having determined the anomalistic period, Hipparkhos compared the intervals in months between two remote eclipses perfectly alike in quantity and duration,' and shewed that in 5458 months there were 5923 revolutions with reference to the nodes. Ptolemy then adds that Hipparkhos has given the length of the synodical month correctly enough,¹ but that

¹ Hipparkhos's value is 29d. 31' 50" 8' 9" 20" 11", and Ptolemy's 29d. 31' 50" 8' 30"; the difference is only 0.07 of a second; but Ptolemy's periods of the anomalistic

tropical revolutions are 2566. and 4377. respectively greater than those deducible from the above data.

the other motions are not so correct; and in the next chapter he deduces the elements which he had engraved in the temple of Canopus at Alexandria.

From the above it appears that Hipparchos assumed the length of the sidereal year at about 365·259859 days;³ and as his value for the Precession was 2° in 150 years, his tropical year was 365 days 5h. 54m. 42·8s., being 29 seconds less than Ptolemy's. For the revolution of the moon's apsis we have, 4612 — 4573 = 39 revolutions in 125007 $\frac{1}{24}$ days, or 1 in 3230·9498 days, while

Ptolemy's data in the Canopic inscription and *Synaxis* give 8231·616554. And for the revolutions of the node, $\frac{4267 \times 5923}{5458} - 4612 = 18 \frac{2901}{5458}$ in the same period, or 1 in 6799·6088d., Ptolemy's period being 6796·5367 days. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* values of these two elements are 8231·8196d. and 6796·2917d. respectively, — differing considerably from those of Hipparchos.

J. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 10th July 1890.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE DATE OF KALIDASA.

Professor Kielhorn has recently pointed out (Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität der Göttingen, 1890) that, in the verse commencing in line 17 of one of the Māndasār inscriptions (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 88, and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 198) the real reading is *rāma-sandha-bhavanādara-bhaskar-śrīṣṭa* &c.; and has drawn attention to the similarity between the ideas in this verse, and those in Kālidāsa's *Ritusamhāra*, v., 2, 3 (Śiṣira-varpanā), which run —

Niruddha-vāṭāyana-mandirōdarah
butāśanō bhānumatō gabhastayah |
gurnīpi vāśāṁsy-abulāḥ sa-yauvanāḥ
prayānti kālō-tra janasya savyatām ||
Na chāndanah chandra-marīchi-śītalah
na harmya-prīṣṭhah śarad-indu-nirmalah |
na vāyavah śandra-tushāra-śītalā
janasya chittah ramayānti śmipratam ||

Prof. Kielhorn's point is, that the composer of the inscription must have had these verses running in his mind; and consequently that the *Ritusamhāra* must have been composed before A. D. 472. This seems likely enough. And we know already, from the Aihole Māguṇī inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 239), that the fame of Kālidāsa, as also of Bhāravi, was well established, far to the south of Māndasār, before A. D. 684.

³ If the divisor of 844 revolutions 362½° "nearly" were increased or diminished by 4', it would diminish or increase this value by about 17 seconds. Elsewhere Ptolemy gives quotations from Hipparchos, in which he says 300 tropical years want 5 days of Meton and Euktemon's assigned value; this would strictly give 865d. 5h. 54m. 56·84s., but he couples it with the statement that the same period of 300 years would be 'only a day less than, if we follow Kalippos,' and this gives 865 + $\frac{1}{300}$ days, or 865d. 5h. 54m. 12s., which Ptolemy adopts throughout his work.

THE WINDS OF ASHADHA.

During the early part of the Rainy season, up to about the end of August, over the westerly parts of the Dakhan which are beyond the range of the south-west monsoon rainfall, there blows perpetually a cold, violent, and most worrying and uncomfortable wind from the monsoon quarter. The cultivators of the Kanarese country have the following saying about it: — *Aśādha-māsada ghḍḍi bīsi-bīsi baḍeyuvdga hēsi nanna jīcār hēngas-dga-bārādā*, — "when the gales of the month Aśādha are blowing in gusts and buffeting us about, O my unhappy soul! why canst thou not become a woman?" That is, the poor *ra'tyat*, shivering over his work in the fields, wishes that he could take the place of his wife, who sits in comfort at home by the warm kitchen fire.

THE VIRGIN MARY AND HER SISTERS.

On a hill near Bāndrā, known as Mount Mary,¹ there may be seen a beautiful chapel dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, after whom the hill is called. It is believed that the image contained in it was caught in the net of a Christian fisherman, who was told in a dream, the same night, to erect the chapel on the spot where it now stands.² This image is very popular for its miraculous cures, and thousands of all castes and creeds flock there throughout the year, particularly in the month of September, when a grand feast, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is celebrated with novenas.

¹ Hindus, Parsis, and the like, call it *Mōnāṭh Māṭalichā Dēgār*; Sabeite Christians call it *Mōnāṭhā Dēgār*.

² On the east, i. e. the back of the chapel, is a long flight of steps; and a Roman Catholic procession, on the evening of Palm Sunday, leaves St. Andrew's church and winding its way through the fields ascends these steps, presenting a veritable semblance of 'the way to Mount Calvary.' It then enters the chapel of the Virgin Mary to listen to a sermon.

A curious story is told by some old persons of the neighbourhood in connection with the image,* that the Blessed Virgin Mary was born of Hindu parents, and had six sisters, Sitlādēvi, Sānthāi, Parbādēvi, Mahālakshmi, Mōmbādēvi, and another whose name they do not remember; and it is believed, that when the novenas commence, the Blessed Virgin is in the habit of taking a boat and visiting her sisters, inviting them to the feast.

There are places called after the names of the Virgin's "sisters":—Sitlādēvi is at Andhēri, in Salsette; Sānthāi, at Kantvāri in Bāndrā; Parbādēvi at Mahim, where a fair is held annually, and where there is also a temple to her; and Mahālakshmi, at Bombay, where too is a temple.

These are all on the sea-side; so also is the chapel of the Virgin Mary. Mōmbādēvi is in Bombay, not very far from the sea-side. The sixth I cannot trace exactly.

No one in Salsette can give me the origin of the story. Can any of your readers enlighten me on the subject? All that has been told me is that Mary joined the Christian faith, but my informants cannot give me her heathen name. Till very recently the fishermen and other Christians of Salsette were deeply immersed in Hindu superstitions, and to this, perhaps, may safely be attributed the notion of the legend of Mary and her sisters.

Bāndrā.

GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

BOOK-NOTICES.

GIORNALE DELLA SOCIETÀ ASIATICA ITALIANA. Vol. III. 1889. Rome.

The volumes issued by this new Society are rapidly increasing in importance, and merit the attention of all Orientalists.

That before us opens with an interesting article on the inspiration received by Dante, when writing his Purgatorio, from works about India. This is by Prof. de Gubernatis, and is followed by an article on Persian Poetry before Firdusi by Prof. Pizzi, and then by an important one, the *Āryachhalaguhyadhāraṇīśūtra* and its bearing on the Northern Buddhism.

Another interesting article is on the Jain tale of the king Pāpabuddhi and his minister Dharmabuddhi, of which the text is given with a translation. The text is from an unedited MS. discovered by Mr. Bendall, and now in the British Museum Library under the title of "Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kathanakam."

Under the title of "some Italian words said to be of oriental origin," the reference to Arabic originals of a good many Italian words is discussed.

Dr. Bang, who has already given his notions to the world on the great Inscription of Behistān, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, and in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, gives the text with a rendering of Col. IV. § § iii. — xvii.

DES HYMNEN DES RIGVEDA, herausgegeben von HERMANN OLDENBERG. Band I. Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena. Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz. 1888.

Prof. Oldenberg is not an idle man. Almost before the world has had time to digest his

Buddha, he lays before it the first course of another sumptuous feast, in the volume which forms the subject of the present note. The dish may, to some, appear to be rather a heavy one, for it is cram-full of facts, and abounds in theories founded on these facts, but to greedy students like the present writer it forms in itself a welcome repast to which he eagerly invites his friends. It cannot be denied that there is much in this volume which will and must form the subject of controversy, but even his opponents must admit that Dr. Oldenberg has advanced no theory for which he has not found at least some grounds of justification, and that his facts are marshalled with a completeness and with a clearness which must satisfy his severest critic.

Prof. Ludwig's great annotated translation was finished in the year 1888, and the coping-stone was thus laid on one portion of Vedic exegesis. Much has also been done towards Vedic Lexicology and Grammar. But hitherto no deliberately planned attempt has been made to build up a text of the *Rig-Vēda*, presenting, so far as in the power of the builder lies, the original form which each hymn bore when it was originally composed. This is the task which Prof. Oldenberg has set himself, and it is fitting that the first volume of his work appears in the same year as that which is signalised by the conclusion of Prof. Ludwig's translation.

This first volume consists entirely of prolegomena, in which the author discusses the problems set before him. He first deals with the question of metre (pp. 1-190), and the indications which that furnishes towards a critical restoration

* I am open to correction as to the actual connection of the story with this image, but I believe I am stating what is the fact.

of the text. Each syllable in each line of every hymn is counted out as short or long, and each apparent irregularity is considered with minute detail. Many of these seeming irregularities are shown to be due to traces of rhythm or stress, which are not exhibited in the text we now possess, owing to its being written in a character which only indicates prosodical length. Some of Prof. Oldenberg's remarks on this point are aptly illustrated by the poetry of Modern India. For instance, dealing with the usual double iambic ending of the *Gāyatrī*, e. g.

— — — — —
agnim iṣṭ puróhitam
(it should be remembered that the last syllable is *cæops*), he shows that the most frequent deviation from the rule is for the *pāda* to end thus,
— — — — — instead of — — — — —. Examples are —

— — — — —
babhravā nu svatavasā
— — — — —
bratvā dakṣasya rāthīam
— — — — —
martasya dātā avasā

and so on. On this Prof. Oldenberg remarks, "it is not difficult to imagine a method of recitation, by which the *ictus* in such lines retained its wonted place (the last syllable but one). It would be easy, by laying stress either upon the vowel or upon the consonant which follows, for the last syllable but one of each of these *pādas* to so nearly attain to the value of a long one, that the end of the verse would seem to the ear to be iambic." Now we all know that there is nothing of this sort in Classical Sanskrit, nor in the classical languages of Modern Hindustān do I know anything like it. But Classical Hindi dates from Kāśab Dās, the author of the first important work on Indian Vernacular Rhetoric, who flourished in 1580, and everything of the modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustān which was written before 1580, must be taken as pre-classical. Kāśab Dās fixed the laws of metre according to one uniform series of rules, which were necessarily to a certain extent artificial. But the pre-classical Hindi may be aptly compared with the language of the Vedic hymns, for both were *volkslieder*, couched in the language of the people, adapted to the ears of the people, and not bound by intricate laws of metre subsequently by scholars for polished production.

By far the commonest Hindi metre is the *Chāmpāī*, a line of which consists of 16 instants¹ divided as follows, 6+4+4+2; e. g. the line *dākhī*

hāta kachhū sājha na ōrd should be metrically divided thus:—

6 (2+1+2+1) 4 (1+1+2) 4 (1+1+2) 2
— — — — —
dākhī hāta kachhū sājha na ōrd

The last four instants are especially characteristic of the *chāmpāī*, and are almost invariably two long syllables, thus, — —. Of course they may be any other arrangement of four instants such as — — — —, — — — —, or — — — —, but the usual ending of the line is a spondee, and any other would be as rare as a spondee is in the fifth foot of a hexameter. Hence, to the average reader, the usual practical scheme of a *chāmpāī* is six instants, plus six, plus four, and that four a spondee. The above line would therefore be usually read —

6 (2+1+2+1) 6 (1+1+2+1+1) 4 (2
spondee)

— — — — —
dākhī hāta kachhū sājha na ōrd

This has been the characteristic swing of the *chāmpāī* for hundreds of years, and since the time of Kāśab Dās, i. e. in all classical Hindi dating from 1580 A.D., the syllables have been rigidly counted according to prosodical length.

But let us go back into the pre-classical Hindi. Take Malik Muhammad for instance, who flourished in 1540 A.D., and who wrote actually in the vernacular, for the peoples' ears, without being bound by the rules of Kāśab Dās. In his writings we meet continually, instead of the final spondee, a final iambus, so that there are only 15, not 16, instants in the line. The scheme then becomes 6 + 6 + 3 (iambus).

6 (1+1+1+2+1) 6 (2+1+1+1+1) 3 (1+2)
— — — — —
dākhī sāmūdā dākhātā tāsā dākh
6 (1+1+2+2) 6 (1+1+2+1+1) 3 (1+2)
— — — — —
bāhī sāmūdā —sā bīhāngamā chālā

and so in many others. Now, no ingenuity of scansion will make the first syllables of *dākh* and *chālā* long: and yet, unless they are pronounced as long, the verse will lose the essential characteristic of a *chāmpāī*. The answer to the riddle is that which Prof. Oldenberg gives for the Vedic *pādas* quoted above. We must use accent, *ictus*, as a substitute for quantity. We must there read *svatāvasā*, —sā *rāthīam*, —sā *āvāsā*, just as we may be certain that Malik Muhammad's reciters said *dākh*, and *chālā*. It is more than a mere coincidence that we find the most ancient

¹ An instant is a prosodically short syllable. A long syllable is counted as two instants.

and the most modern of the Aryan Vernaculars of India, availing themselves of a power for metre, which is unknown in each case to the more developed later literary languages.

The second chapter of the work under notice deals with the arrangement of the *Saṁhitā* (pp. 191-270). Here he is treading partly on well-known ground already opened up and explored by the genius of Abel Bergaigne. Bergaigne's lamented death, however, left some questions unanswered, and also left some answers which on subsequent consideration he would no doubt have modified. Prof. Oldenberg has had the courage to follow Bergaigne's elaborate counting of letters and verses step by step, and has thus put the latter's main conclusions to a test which they have well stood. But he parts company with Bergaigne when he comes to the exceptions. Each is considered on its merits and given its value. Bergaigne would have considered each exception to his law as necessarily an interpolation, while Prof. Oldenberg, on the contrary, while admitting that the fact of its being an exception is a suspicious circumstance, refuses to declare it to be an addition to the primitive text, till the particular passage has been weighed and considered in all its bearings.

The third chapter (pp. 271-369) deals with the variations of the text of the *R̥g-Vēda* as found in the other three *Saṁhitās*, and in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Each passage, as it occurs elsewhere, is examined and compared with the same minute painstaking accuracy as is shown in the earlier portions of book. The result is a convincing proof of the general superiority of the *R̥g-Vēda* text over that of the other *Vēdas*, although occasionally useful corrections for corrupt readings of the older *Saṁhitā* can be found in them. By the time that the older portions of the *Sāman*, *Yajus*, and *Atharva* texts had received their ultimate forms, the tradition of the text of the *R̥g-Vēda* was already, with comparatively few exceptions, fixed as we have it to-day. Moreover the superiority of the *R̥g-Vēda* text must have been recognized at a very early time, for the later we come down, the stronger do we find its influence. The later portions of the texts of the other *Vēdas* followed the *R̥g-Vēda* tradition far more closely than the earlier portions.

In this connexion we would specially refer to Prof. Oldenberg's remarks on the *Yajus-Saṁhitā*. They are a model of close reasoning and of diplomatic criticism. After first showing that the popular idea of the *Taittirīya*, as from the first one work of mixed hymns and *Brāhmaṇa*, is not correct, but that the *Brāhmaṇa* forms no original portion of the *Saṁhitā*, he compares

together the readings of the three *Saṁhitās* of the *Yajus*, the *Taittirīya*, the *Maitrāyaṇī* and the *Vājśaneyī*, and shows that the text of the last closely agrees with that of the *R̥g-Saṁhitā*, while the texts of the two others, though both descending from a common source (which he calls X), frequently differ between themselves. A further process of reasoning leads him to consider the common original of the *Vājśaneyī* and of X, to be the original ground-text of the *Yajur-Vēda*, and he finally concludes that this ground-text must have been, almost throughout, identical with that of our *R̥g-Vēda*, — an important guarantee for the age of the latter.

The fourth chapter (pp. 370-489) deals with the orthography or (he prefers to call it) the orthoepy of the ancient Sanskrit Grammarians. The text of the *R̥g-Vēda*, we have already seen, was fixed as we have it now at a very early period, but this statement must be taken with one limitation. We have the words, it is true, fixed fast, but the regulation of the letters, the deciding between, for instance, *divas pari* and *disaḥ pari*, the fixing of the rules for elision or non-elision of initial *a* after *ś* and *ṣ*, the change of *i* and *u* into *y* and *v* before vowels, and so forth, — all these gave scope for speculation, and with regard to them the *disakṛuṣṭa* felt themselves at liberty to alter the text to suit their rules, while leaving the words of the text themselves unchanged. This determination of the orthoepy of the *R̥g-Vēda*, took place, Prof. Oldenberg shows, after the end of the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The quotations in the *Brāhmaṇas* have themselves been edited by the *disakṛuṣṭa*, but the appearance they thus present, is shown, by the contents of the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves, not to have been the form originally quoted by the authors. This leads to some weighty remarks on the *Saṁhitā* and *Paṭa* texts, followed by detailed examinations of each of the orthoepical facts which call for notice.

The fifth chapter (pp. 490-512) deals with the *Sākalā* and the *Vāṣṭakā* recensions of the *R̥g-Vēda*; and the sixth and final one (pp. 513-535) introduces us to the subject of the *Sūtra* literature, and its bearing on the *R̥g-Vēda* text.

Altogether this is an epoch-making work. In such a mass of detail it cannot be expected that isolated points will not be attacked, or that each isolated conclusion will meet with the concurrence of all Vedic scholars. But the entire volume remains a solid monument of Prof. Oldenberg's patience, energy, and learning, and it will be long before it is superseded by other complete works on the text of the *R̥g-Vēda*.

G. A. GRIFFITHSON.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	ज	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍa
ऋ	ऋ	ṛi	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛī	ण	ण	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	त	ta
—	ॡ	e	थ	थ	tha
ए	ए	ē	द	द	da
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ध	ध	dha
—	ॢ	o	न	न	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	प	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	फ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	ḥ	ब	ब	ba
Jhvaṁśītya, or old	—	h	भ	भ	bha
Visarga before क्			म	म	ma
and ण्	—	ḥ	य	य	ya
Uśadhmāntya, or			र	र	ra
old Visarga be-	—	ḥ	—	४	ra
fore प् and ण्			ल	ल	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m̐	ळ	ळ	ḷa
Anusvāra	—	m̐	—	४	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	व	va
ख	ख	kha	श	श	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	ष	ṣa
घ	घ	gha	स	स	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	ह	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the paleographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own *Dēvanāgarī* sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary *Dēvanāgarī* marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn, attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.

A NOTICE OF THE GULABNAMA.

BY E. REHATSEK.

THE author of this work, which is in Persian prose, and consists of 419 folio-pages lithographed at Srinagar in Kasmir in Samvat 1932¹ was Kirpāram, Diwān of Mahārāja Ranbir Singh, then ruling in Jammūn and Kasmir, who compiled it by order. The subject of the biography, Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, predecessor of Ranbir Singh, had previously during his life-time provided the author with the necessary documents, chiefly diaries, for composing it and assisted him also by verbal information, which was augmented by similar information, often to be cited in the following pages, given by the author's grandfather and father, who had both been Diwāns of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, and by suggestions of his contemporaries. Pressure of business delayed the composition of the work for a long time. It was, however, completed at last by the express orders of Mahārāja Ranbir Singh.

All this we learn from the preface, which is headed with a salutation to Gapéša, in place of the *Bismillah* used in books written by Muslims. Then comes a long chapter containing arguments on the creation of the world and the existence of the Creator of it, purporting to follow the tenets of Greek and Indian philosophers on these subjects. In the next chapter, which is even more prolix, the author has, short of deducing the origin of Gulāb Singh from the "protoplasmal, primeval atomic globule" done for him the best he could, by commencing his genealogy with Brahmā himself, and giving accounts of a long series of mythological ancestors.

As the author's account of the ancient chiefs of Jammūn could never be considered to be deserving of much credence, unless supported by at least some chronological data and collateral historical facts derived from other sources, neither of which are forthcoming in any sense till the seventh century of the Christian era, we shall begin to notice the said account for what it is worth from that period.

In St. 724,² Kirtidhar, Rājā of Jammūn, determined to aid with his army Rāi Talūk, the sovereign of Dehli, who had been attacked by Rājā Vikrampāl. The latter was, however, wounded in the battle and perished, and Rāi Talūk, after gaining the victory became master of 144 kingdoms in India. After this the alliance between him and Kirtidhar continued, till the latter died after a prosperous and just reign of 60 years. Kirtidhar's son Ajayadhar reigned 59 years, his grandson Vijayadhar 50, and his great-grandson Bajaradhar 53. Rājā Sūryadēv, son of the last named, is then said to have divided the administration of his government into seven branches, each of which was assigned to a minister, and dealt with on its appointed day of the week. He reigned 72 years and was succeeded by his son Bhōjdēv, who governed for 66 years, and had four sons, one of whom, Kharandēv, succeeded him. The son of this last king, Bīrdēv, occupied the throne after him, and was succeeded by Kābūdēv, whose son, Ālhdēv, reigned after him, being in his turn succeeded by his son Mānakdēv. The latter called his residence Mānkōt and was succeeded by his son Udaidēv, whose son Nāgardēv occupied the *masnad* after him. The latter was succeeded by Utamdēv, after whom his son Hariband reigned, and thus the succession went on for several generations from father to son, till the time of Rājā Bhōjdēv II., an intelligent and far-seeing prince, who had many allies, but was more closely connected with Mahārāja Jaipāl, the sovereign of the Panjāb, than with any other ruler.

When Nāṣiru'ddīn Sabuktigin, the ruler of Ghazni, conceived the design of conquering India in St. 1032,³ which corresponds to A. H. 385, and had slain many Hindūs in Kābul, who had from ancient times been sojourning there, the Mahārāja of the Panjāb collected a large army of Rājputa to resist him and was joined by Rājā Bhōjdēv, who left his possessions in charge of his son Autārdēv. He was slain in battle, and Rājā Jaipāl befriended Autārdēv even more than Bhōjdēv. After the death of Nāṣiru'ddīn, his son Mahmūd of Ghazni continued the

¹ A. D. 1875.² A. D. 687.³ A. D. 975.

war and invaded India in St. 1057.⁴ He was met by Rājā Jaipāl and by Pahlāddēv, sent with troops by the Rājā from Jammūn. The hostilities which ensued, subsequently terminated with the flight of Rājā Indarpāl, son of Jaipāl, who took refuge in the mountains after fruitlessly attempting to resist Maḥmūd. During one of Maḥmūd's subsequent invasions Rājā Autārdēv distinguished himself by repelling the invaders and wounding one of the Shāhsādās. He reigned 44 years and was succeeded by his son Yaśudēv, who founded the town of Jasrōṭa, and governed his subjects with justice for 30 years. He was succeeded by his son Saṅgrāmdēv, who reigned 41 years, and whose son, Rājā Jagdēv, began his reign of 70 years in St. 1151,⁵ during which Malik Khusrav, a descendant of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, conquered a portion of India, and after him the Sultān Shahābu'ddīn Ghūrī continued the conquest. This ruler built the fort of Siālkōṭ with the approbation of the Rājā of Jammūn. Jagdēv was succeeded by Rājā Bharaj-dēv. Shahābu'ddīn then conquered Rāi Pitōrā, a dissipated prince, put out his eyes in A. H. 583⁶ corresponding to St. 1238 [sic], and kept him prisoner near his own person, which last circumstance enabled the captive Rājā to shoot him dead with an arrow! How a blind man could do this it is rather hard to believe!⁷

Timūr invaded India, A. H. 801,⁸ conquering Dehli, where he committed great slaughter, and on his return march to Turkistān massacred wholesale many thousands of pilgrims assembled at Hardwār. When, however, he approached the mountains, Rājā Māldēv of Jammūn surprised him with a numerous army of Rājputa, and defeated him. Māldēv reigned 40 years and died in St. 1456.⁹ He was succeeded by his son Chāmardēv, who governed 26 years, being succeeded by Ajjayadēv, who reigned 31 years. Rājā Brahmardēv, his son, died after a reign of 45 years, during which in A. H. 932¹⁰ Ṣāhiru'ddīn Muḥammad Bābar Bādshāh crossed the Indus for the purpose of subjugating India. He arrived *via* Bahlōlpūr and Siālkōṭ at the plains of Pānpat, where he defeated Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sūr, the sovereign of India. In this reign also Bābā Gurū Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion was born. The next Rājā, Khākharadēv, died after a just reign of 29 years in A. H. 937,¹¹ and was succeeded by Kapurdēv, who governed 41 years, and left two sons, namely, Jagdēv II. and Samāldēv.

Omitting, as being of no interest, the names and accounts of the chiefs who reigned during the next two and a half centuries, we come to Rājā Bhōjrāj-dēv, who began to govern Jammūn in St. 1839.¹² He had a quarrel with his relative Dal Singh, and one day proposed to present¹³ Mīān Ṣāhib Zorāwar Singh, the father of Rājā Kōśwar Singh, and grandfather of Gulāb Singh, the subject of this biography who was born on the 5th of Kārtak in St. 1849, corresponding to the 2nd of Rabī'u'l-awāl, A. H. 1207,¹⁴ with a *jāgir* if he would slay the obnoxious individual, but met with a refusal. Mīān Mōṭa, the youngest brother of Zorāwar Singh, however, executed his design, attacked Dal Singh with an armed force, and slew him, none of his party escaping with his life except his little son Ajit Singh. The reign of Bhōjrāj-dēv had, however, not lasted longer than five years, when he incurred the displeasure of Mahān Singh — father of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh of the Pañjāb — with whom he had previously been on very good terms, and the latter watching his opportunity when Bhōjrāj-dēv was prostrate with sickness, arrived with troops and plundered Jammūn. After the departure of Mahān Singh, Bhōjrāj-dēv continued to reign, till certain Sardārs of the Bhaṅṡī Mīsal waged war against each other, in which he took part and was slain. His Rānī, Chamāl by name, who had promised to immolate herself on the funeral pyre in case he should fall in battle, fulfilled her vow as soon as his corpse

⁴ A. D. 1000.⁵ A. D. 1004.⁶ A. D. 1192.⁷ [The whole of this narration is interesting owing to the authority who gives it, but it must all be taken for what it is worth only. — R. C. T.]⁸ A. D. 1398-99.⁹ A. D. 1399.¹⁰ A. D. 1525-6.¹¹ A. D. 1530.¹² A. D. 1782.¹³ [Mīān and Mīān Ṣāhib are frequently the titles of the younger members of a royal Rājput house in the Himālayas, and are used in this sense throughout these memoirs. — R. C. T.]¹⁴ 18th October A. D. 1793. Long explanations of the horoscope accompanied by two diagrams, according to the Hindu fashion, are given, and when the prosperous future in store for the infant was revealed to his grandfather, it is stated to have caused him great pleasure.

arrived in Jammūn. The heir to the *masnad*, Siparndēv, being at that time only one year old, the administration remained in charge of *Mīān Mōṭā*. The boy died in his eleventh year, and the lineage of Bhōjrājdev having thus come to an end, *Rāja Ajit Singh*, the son of Dal Singh, was placed on the *masnad*.¹⁵

After a while disagreements took place between *Ajit Singh*, *Rani Bundral* and *Mīān Mōṭā*, upon whom, as already mentioned, the administration of the country had devolved, so he departed to Pūrmandal, while *Zōrāwar Singh* took up his residence in his *jāgr* of Dayāwān. *Rāja Ajit Singh* was a blockhead, and enjoyed no authority. Every one acted as he listed, and *Rani Bundral* openly usurped the government. Such being the case, *Bhāt Hukmā Singh*, who governed several *talukas* in the vicinity of Jammūn on behalf of *Mahārāja Ranjit Singh*, was by his sovereign ordered to attack that town, but *Mīān Mōṭā* offered battle with a number of *Rājput*s to the invaders at a distance of a few miles from the town, and succeeded in repelling them. This was the first action in which *Gulāb Singh* participated, and he distinguished himself by slaying several of the enemy with his own hands during the fight, contrary to the wish of his grandfather who did not wish him to leave his side. This was in St. 1865¹⁶ when he had not yet completed the 16th year of his age, and the author states that long afterwards, when he had become *Mahārāja*, *Gulāb Singh* several times in conversation alluded to the fact of his having been unable in this action to reach the heads of his antagonists with his sword, and of having had to jump up from the ground every time he struck, as he was a youth of short stature. At this period he indulged in roaming about and hunting. One day he saddled a horse without the knowledge of his grandfather, and a few days afterwards it became known that he had injured it; whereon *Zōrāwar Singh* upbraided him, telling him that he would know the value of a horse only after being able to procure one for himself, but now that he had one for nothing, he could not appreciate it. The youth was sensitive, and being unable to bear the reproach, obtained some ornaments from his mother and fled in the direction of Peshāwar, intending to proceed with some retainers who accompanied him even as far as Kābul, because he had heard that *Shāh Shujā'a* was enlisting troops. When, however, he reached the banks of the Indus his retainers, who were Hindus, refused to go to Peshāwar and pretended to be afraid of the wrath of *Mīān Mōṭā Shāhib* should they do so. Accordingly he retraced his steps, and went to the *Diwān Khush-wakht Rāi* who governed the *pargana* of Sākhō, a *jāgr* of *Sardār Nihal Singh Aṭariwālā*, and also enlisted troops. The *Diwān* received *Gulāb Singh* with pleasure, and the latter afterwards told the author that his friendly reception was due to a *jam'adār*, who had formerly been in the service of his grandfather, and had informed the *Diwān* about his family. At that time a *karnādār* near the fort of Saing had revolted against the *Diwān* and defeated him, but *Gulāb Singh* with the small force at his disposal succeeded in driving the *samādār* into the fort, whereby he rose in the favour of his employer. Meanwhile the bravery displayed by *Gulāb Singh* in the defence of Jammūn, having been brought to the notice of the *Mahārāja Ranjit Singh*, ruler of the Panjāb, he ordered *Mīān Mōṭā Singh* to send for *Gulāb Singh*. When the *Diwān Khush-wakht Rāi* was communicated with on this matter, he presented *Gulāb Singh* with a horse, and the latter having purchased another, proceeded with all speed to Jammūn, whence *Mīān Singh* took him to the headquarters of *Ranjit Singh's* army, which was at that time encamped at Daskā, situated ten *kōs* to the south of Siālkōṭ. This took place in St. 1867,¹⁷ according to our author, who then narrates — without saying a word of what *Gulāb Singh* did during the next two years — that in St. 1869¹⁸ *Rāja Dhyān Singh*, who was then in the vicinity of Rohtās and had heard of the bravery of *Gulāb Singh*, granted him a monthly salary of sixty rupees, and at the same time took his father *Mīān Shāhib Kāwar Singh* into the service of *Mahārāja Ranjit Singh*, with three other troopers, each of whom was paid one rupee per day.

¹⁵ [The author now takes us into well-known Sikh history, and his remarks are chiefly interesting as giving the local view of the events that happened at this period. — R. O. T.]

¹⁶ A. D. 1868.

¹⁷ A. D. 1810.

¹⁸ A. D. 1812.

Fath Khān Barukzai in A. H. 1228,¹⁹ which corresponds to the Vikramāditya year 1868,²⁰ promised to pay annually eight *lāhs* of tribute to the government of the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, if the latter would assist him with an army to subjugate Kaśmīr. The offer was accepted and the Diwān Muḥkam Chand despatched with numerous forces.²¹ The Diwān succeeded in removing 'Aṭa Muḥammad who had governed Kaśmīr on behalf of the sovereign of Afghānistān, and demanded the promised tribute from Fath Khān, who at first demurred, but afterwards paid it on compulsion, and leaving his own brother Muḥammad 'Asīm in charge of Kaśmīr, departed to Kābul. During this march Fath Khān attempted to obtain possession of the Fort of Aṭak, but as soon as his intentions became known to the Diwān Muḥkam Chand, he attacked him. Gulāb Singh distinguished himself by his bravery in the action which ensued, but his father Kāśwar Singh was wounded. Fath Khān was put to flight, and the Sikh army started to march back to Lāhōr, when Gulāb Singh heard that Mīān Mōṭa Singh had been assassinated at the instigation of the Rāni Bundrāl, by two miscreants named Tarhdāt and Satrū.

When Muḥammad 'Asīm became established in Kaśmīr, he delayed payment of tribute, so the army of the Panjāb ruler marched in St. 1873²² to attack him.²³ The Pīr Panjāl Pass was crossed, and Kaśmīr entered by the army under the command of the Diwān Rāmdīāl and Dal Singh, when Rājā 'As Khān,²⁴ governor of Rajkōri, who had merely pretended to be friendly to the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, not only failed in his promise to supply grain, but went so far as to intercept couriers and to send false messages to Ranjīt Singh, that the army, after crossing the Pīr Panjāl, had been destroyed by the enemy. Gulāb Singh, who was stationed in Maṇḍī, took this information to be true, and retreated in the direction of Beshahīr, whereon his troops became so demoralised that they began to flee hastily. The adjacent *sardārs*, observing this, commenced to obstruct further progress, and forced on a battle in which, however, Gulāb Singh defeated them. When the army arrived in Lāhōr, Gulāb Singh was rewarded for his bravery by the gift of a *jāgīr* and other honours. On that occasion also Amīr Chand, the grandfather of the author, was elevated to the position of Diwān.

After this the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh went to the Jalandhar Dōh for the purpose of conquering the Fort of Garh Danālā. Gulāb Singh happened just then to be living in retirement at Jammūn, and finding that this displeased the Mahārājā he determined to join him, and made his appearance in the camp just as arrangements were being made for the siege of the place. In the final attack Gulāb Singh again displayed much bravery, and was in addition to his other *jāgīrs* rewarded with that of Rāmgarh, which he had, however, to take by force! In fact, it appears to have been the custom of Ranjīt Singh to show his liberality in this manner, without reference to the population or to the rights of the previous incumbent, so that taking possession of a *jāgīr* was generally beset with difficulties and preceded by hostilities. During the same year Ranjīt Singh undertook also a campaign to Multān for the purpose of reducing the Nawāb Musaffar Khān to obedience. In an engagement which took place during the siege, a high officer happened to be slain, and orders having been issued for the recovery of the body, no one ventured to execute them except Gulāb Singh, who, undaunted by a shower of bullets, rushed in among the combatants, and returned to the amazement of everyone with the corpse of the Sardār. After Ranjīt Singh had obtained the required *nazarāna* from the Nawāb he marched back to Lāhōr, and Gulāb Singh returned to Jammūn.

In St. 1874²⁵ Bhagwān Singh, an official of Ranjīt Singh, brought a deed of gift from the latter to Gulāb Singh, presenting him with the *jāgīr* of Rīāsī, hitherto in possession of Diwān

¹⁹ Began 4th January 1818.

²⁰ Ought to be 1870.

²¹ A somewhat different account of this affair is given in the first half of Ch. 26 of the *Ṣafarnāma* or Book of the Conquests of Ranjīt Singh, which see ante, Vol. XVI. pp. 339 ff.

²² A. D. 1816.

²³ This is alluded to in Ch. 28 of the *Ṣafarnāma*, but there the date is St. 1871 [A. D. 1814].

²⁴ [Muḥammadan Rājput Chiefs frequently have Hindu titles tacked on to their Muslimān names. — R. C. T.]

²⁵ A. D. 1817.

Singh, who had been an accomplice in the murder of Mīān Mōtā Singh. After subduing the opposing parties by defeating them in various engagements, Gulāb Singh at last obtained possession of the *jāgr*, and having rebuilt the Fort of Rīāsī by the advice of the Dīwān Amīr Chand, left a garrison in it and went to Lāhōr to wait upon the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, but he was soon obliged to return, because the new fort was being besieged by the partisans of Bhūpdēv, the previous *jāgrdār*. When Gulāb Singh had restored peace Sartāpā Giyal, the ringleader of the insurgents, was brought into his presence, and Gulāb Singh reproached him with having summoned the garrison of Rīāsī, when besieging it, to evacuate the fort, on the ground that Bhūpdēv was the true *jāgrdār*. Sartāpā Giyal, however, boldly replied that such was indeed the case, and that Bhūpdēv's family had been in possession for seven generations. This reply so incensed Gulāb Singh that he immediately drew his sword and cut him down, and ordered the body to be quartered and its various portions to be hung upon trees as an example to the population. This terrified them and they sued for mercy, and paid tribute. Gulāb Singh then left one Zōrāwar Singh in charge of Rīāsī, as he was under the necessity of attacking Bhūpdēv and Didū, who began to plunder Dhansāl, the *jāgr* of the heirs of Mōtā Singh. After a desultory warfare Gulāb Singh at last succeeded in compelling Mīān Didū to take refuge in the mountains.

The Hindūs of Kāśmīr suffered much from the oppression of the Afghān government, and Ranjīt Singh in consequence desired to conquer the province. The opportunity presented itself in St. 1876,²⁶ when the Panjīt Birbal,²⁷ with some other refugees from Kāśmīr, went to Lāhōr and invited the Mahārājā to undertake its conquest. Gulāb Singh served in the campaign which ensued, and met Jabbar Khān, the brother of 'Āsim Khān in a battle in which he defeated him. Ranjīt Singh, having soon afterwards subjugated Kāśmīr, appointed the Dīwān Mōtā Rām to be governor, and rewarded Gulāb Singh by bestowing upon him the district of Jammūn, imposing upon him only the duty of supporting the troops, instead of paying tribute. This was because Gulāb Singh had represented that the levying of tribute in cash from the population would be a matter of extreme difficulty.

After Ranjīt Singh had returned from Kāśmīr and Peshāwar he undertook the siege of Dera Ghāzi Khān, during the prosecution of which Gulāb Singh joined him with his forces, and thus contributed to the surrender of the fort. On other occasions too the success of the campaign was due to him. News, however, arrived that Zōrāwar Singh, the grandfather of Gulāb Singh had died, and so he and his father the Rājā [sic] Kōśwar Singh, obtained leave from the Mahārājā to depart to Jammūn. This campaign terminated with the subjugation of the Nawāb of Mukhārā, and the levelling of his fort according to our author.²⁸ In the next expedition of the Mahārājā to punish the rebellious Yūsufzāis of the Peshāwar district Gulāb Singh again took part.

Although Jammūn had been brought under the jurisdiction of Sikh government of the Panjāb, and Behrām Singh and the Dīwān Bhawānidās had been appointed to carry on the political and financial administration of the district, Mīān Didū, who was a brave and fighting man, in the exuberance of his turbulent nature, nevertheless determined to become a robber and plundered the vicinity of Jammūn, even coming to blows with the Sikh troops in the town itself, which he several times attempted to occupy. Moreover many Rājput and *sardārs* of the surrounding country made common cause with him, whilst the Sikh Sardārs only now and then succeeded in capturing some of the minor ringleaders, who were deported to Shēkhupura and imprisoned. The more the Sikhs laboured to establish tranquility, the more bold Mīān Didū became, and once he had the impudence to lift all the fruit which had been sent from Jammūn to Ranjīt Singh, and to substitute for it balls of dung and other impurities.

²⁶ A. D. 1819.

²⁷ In Ch. 28 of the *Zafarnāma* the conquest Kāśmīr is narrated, but the name of the Panjīt is spelt Birbar.

²⁸ According to the *Zafarnāma* the fort surrendered, and the Mahārājā kindly received the repentant Nawāb in audience.

When the bearers arrived in Lāhōr and the fact became known to the Mahārājā, he was enraged and determined at once to march and annihilate Miān Dīdū. On that occasion Gulāb Singh narrated a fable, in which a mouse gnawed off the moustache of a lion whilst he was asleep, who on awakening found he could not avenge himself, but accepted the services of a cat, which succeeded in a short time in catching the mouse. Gulāb Singh thus hinted that it would be better if he were allowed to play in this matter the part of the cat, and save the lion of the Panjāb the trouble of crushing so despicable a foe. Ranjit Singh approved of the proposal, and taking off the shawl he wore over his shoulders, presented it to Gulāb Singh, who thereupon marched with several other Sardārs of note. Before starting they released a number of the captives, accomplices of Miān Dīdū, detained at Shākhupura, in order to produce a good impression upon the malcontents by beginning the campaign with an act of mercy. This actually had the effect of alienating many adherents from Miān Dīdū, and when the Sikh forces arrived he was compelled to fly from place to place, and was at last shot. When Gulāb Singh was informed of this event, he felt disappointed that so brave a man, whom he had intended to capture alive and to present to the Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, had perished. However, he took his two sons, Basant Singh and Miān Gusāhan by name under his protection. Some time afterwards in a hunting expedition, when he happened to be with Basant Singh far in advance of their retainers, and quite alone, he stripped himself of his arms, and telling the youth that he had been the cause of his father's death, said to him that being a Rājput he ought now to avail himself of the opportunity to avenge it. The noble youth, however, replied, that having been overwhelmed with kindness, it would be a dastardly act to repay it in such a manner.

In St. 1879,²⁰ when Gulāb Singh was sojourning at Akhnūr, a town on the Chīnāb, four *ferangs* distant from Jammū, and Ranjit Singh was encamped at Amargarh, the latter issued a *parwana* by which he bestowed the rāj of Jammū upon Gulāb Singh, with the rāj of Rāmnagar, which had been enjoyed by his forefathers, in perpetuity upon him and his descendants from generation to generation, as a reward for the military services rendered and prowess displayed by him in the conquests of Multān and Kāśmīr and on the right bank of the Indus against the Afghāns. The *parwana* bore for the signature a saffron-coloured mark of the palm and the five fingers of the right hand of the Mahārājā. At the ceremony of investiture Ranjit Singh made with his own hand a mark of the same colour upon Gulāb Singh's forehead, but, contrary to usage, he drew it upside down. A courtier noticed this, but the Mahārājā replied that he had planted the tree of Gulāb Singh in the ground that it might last for ever. The *parwana* bore date, the 4th of the month Hār, St. 1879.²⁰ A few days afterwards Ranjit Singh marched back to Lāhōr, and Gulāb Singh returned to Jammū, where rejoicings took place, banquets were given, and the house tax of two rupees on each domicile generously remitted.

The Sardār 'Āqīm Khān now became very turbulent and Ranjit Singh despatched an army of 8,000 men against him under the Prince Shēr Singh accompanied by Gulāb Singh, Sardār Harī Singh Sindhānwālā, and the Atārīwālā Sardārs. Their forces crossed the Indus near Ajāk, and had some encounters with the enemy, but when they crossed the river Landā, which is also called Tehrī, about 40,000 *ghāzīs* made their appearance. The Sardār Ahmad Khān, commander of the enemy, had 15,000 men under him, and Sayyid Ahmad, the chief instigator of the holy war [*jihād*], a large number of followers. When Ranjit Singh was informed of the strength of the enemy, he arrived in person, but would not risk a battle in such a locality, and proceeded to attack the fort of Tehrī which he took. The Sardār Ahmad Khān, who at once embarked his forces in boats, to succour the fort, lost nearly all of it in them, and, barely escaping with his life, fled to Kābul.²¹

In St. 1881,²² Gulāb Singh undertook the conquest of the fort of Samartha, situated in the 'ildga of Pinḍ, in the mountain district near Rāmnagar, and under the advice of the

²⁰ A. D. 1882.²¹ A. D. 1882.²² This campaign is described also in Ch. 80 of the *Ẓafarnāma*.²³ A. D. 1884.

Diwān Amr Chand, collected 1,000 men, marched to the place, dug trenches round it, and commenced to regularly besiege it. As, however, time dragged on, Gulāb Singh determined to take it by storm and made preparations for filling in the ditch with felled trees. He also procured scaling ladders. Meanwhile a message was sent to the garrison, that it would fare very badly indeed, if it delayed surrendering the fort and waited for the actual storm. This admonition proved so effective, that the garrison promised to pay the money demanded and to surrender the fort, if their lives and property were spared. These conditions were agreed to by Gulāb Singh, who took possession of the fort, appointed Miān Bishnā as *ihānāddar*, and marched back to Jammūn. When this victory had been reported to Ranjīt Singh, he sent Dilārām Singh to take possession of the fort, but afterwards gave it to Suchēt Singh in addition to Rāmnagar with Rānkōt and Samiā.

The Sardār Buddh Singh Sindhānwālā obtained information that the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh was dangerously ill and conceived the disloyal idea of taking possession of the fort of Gōbindgarh, and presenting himself with his retainers at the gate one night, ordered the keepers to open it for the Mahārājā's troops. He was foiled in his attempt by the reply that they had peremptory orders never to do so before sunrise. So he had to withdraw. However, being in need of his assistance, the Mahārājā pardoned him, and ordered him at once to march in the direction of Pēshāwar to repel the Afghāns, who had become troublesome. When he arrived in the disturbed province he found numerous Afghān forces ready to oppose him, and commanded by Sayyid Ahmad, the Sardārs Yār Muḥammad Khān, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, and Pīr Muḥammad Khān, and therefore did not think it prudent to advance further, reporting the matter to the Lāhōr government. Ranjīt Singh then ordered Gulāb Singh who was at Jammūn to march in all haste to the relief of the Sardār Buddh Singh, and the forces at Jhēlam under the command of the Diwān Amr Chand joined him as soon as he arrived there. Meanwhile the Afghāns had occupied Hasan Abdāl. Suchēt Singh and the Aṭārwalā Sardārs also, by order of the Mahārājā, reinforced Buddh Singh, who had in the interval been on the defensive. When all the Sikh forces had arrived and united, they defeated the Afghāns in several engagements, and at last altogether routed them in the battle of Saldū which took place on the 14th of the month Phāgun in St. 1882,³³ and was the last in which Gulāb Singh distinguished himself by his bravery.

The administration of Piṇḍ Dādan Khān, Bahirā, Miānī, Qādirābād, Dungi, Maṇḍī, and specially in the whole district of the Salt Range along the right bank of the Jhēlam, having fallen into great disorder, through the dishonesty of the officials entrusted therewith, the Mahārājā appointed Gulāb Singh in St. 1887³⁴ to take charge of it. He found it infested by robbers, of whom he slew and imprisoned many, and thus established security of life and property among the population, whose welfare he had much at heart and sought to promote. He also endeavoured to bring again under cultivation the many estates which had been abandoned. In St. 1890³⁵ the Mahārājā presented him with the districts of Jhēlam and Rohtās, and in St. 1893³⁶ the district of Gujrat also came under the administration of Gulāb Singh.

In St. 1891,³⁷ Ranjīt Singh was informed that Dōst Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Afghānistān, had determined to conquer the district of Pēshāwar, which was governed by the Sardār Harī Singh. The Mahārājā accordingly marched to encounter him, and when he had arrived at Gōjar Khān, the chief Sardārs, such as Gulāb Singh, Harī Singh, Suchēt Singh, the Sindhānwālās and others, left the fort of Pēshāwar and went to meet him at a distance of a quarter of a *farsang*, but found that the enemy had thrown a dam across the river and diverted its course for the purpose of depriving the Sikh troops of water. The forces of the Mahārājā now searched in all directions for water, and at last found the dam in question, and pitched their camp near it, not far from the forces of Dōst Muḥammad Khān. The Mahārājā then issued orders to the Sardārs to join him, and when they had done so, he reviewed them ostentatiously every day, so

³³ A. D. 1825.³⁴ A. D. 1830.³⁵ A. D. 1832.³⁶ A. D. 1833.³⁷ A. D. 1834.

that the noise made by the kettle-drums, fife, &c., could be distinctly heard in the opposite camp. Sultān Muḥammad Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān, the younger brothers of the Amīr of Afghānistān, being informed of these parades, and hearing of the pomp of Ranjīt Singh's court, desired through the mediation of Gulāb Singh, to whom they sent an envoy, to obtain an interview with Ranjīt Singh. The preliminaries having been settled and suspicions removed, the Sardār Sultān Muḥammad Khān was introduced by Jabbār Khān to Gulāb Singh, who received him cordially, embraced him, and took him into the presence of the Mahārājā, causing him to pass through the troops, no doubt in the hope that their glittering arms and martial bearing would make a great impression upon him. The result of the interview, however, did not coincide with expectations, because the Mahārājā promised again to cede to the Afghān Amīr the district of Pēshāwar and Dōrā Ghāsi Khān, which had formerly belonged to him, on the sole condition of his annually paying a fixed tribute of horses, swords and fruit. The Sardār Harī Singh was so dissatisfied with this arrangement that he proposed to the Mahārājā to capture the Sardār Sultān Muḥammad Khān, but Gulāb Singh interposed, saying that as he was under a sacred obligation of safe-conduct to the Sardār, it would be necessary to put him in prison also. Accordingly the Sardār was permitted in safety to reach the camp of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, who, being informed by his brother of everything he had seen, forthwith marched with his army back to Kābul. Ranjīt Singh, nevertheless, secretly desired to have the Sardār Sultān Muḥammad Khān on his own side, and told Gulāb Singh, that as he had originally been the heir-presumptive to the district of Pēshāwar, he ought to bring him back by any means he could devise. This was effected through Faqīr 'Asīzu'ddīn, who was habitually employed as an envoy by both the Sikhs and the Afghāns. Ranjīt Singh then made the arrangements necessary for the administration of the district and marched back to Lāhōr after bestowing through the mediation of Gulāb Singh, the districts of Kohāt, the Dōāb, Hashtnagar, the dependency of Pēshāwar and Kunja, by way of *jāgīrs*, upon the Afghān Sardārs Sultān Muḥammad Khān, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, and Sayyid Muḥammad Khān.

In St. 1894,³⁸ in the month of Baisākh, Wasīr Muḥammad Akbar, the son of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān, sovereign of Afghānistān, reached the fort of Jamrūd, which the Sikhs had named Fathgarh, and the garrison informed Harī Singh of the fact, whereon he hastened to relieve it. He marched from Pēshāwar, and when he had reached Takhāl he was met by 500 Afghāns, whilst the rest of them kept themselves in ambush in the rear of a hill near 'Alī Masjid. The Sardār attacked the Afghāns, who stood fast for a while, but soon pretended to fly in order to give the cavalry, which was in ambush, an opportunity of joining them. The battle was now renewed in earnest and the Sardār Harī Singh fighting with great bravery, received a mortal wound, and was immediately removed into the fort of Jamrūd. Mahān Singh, the commander, kept the event of his death concealed from the troops,³⁹ and continued to defend the fort, pretending every morning and evening to send food in to the deceased Sardār. He, however, despatched a courier with the news of Harī Singh's death to Ranjīt Singh, but nobody dared to break to him the sad tidings until at last Faqīr 'Asīzu'ddīn ventured to do so. The Mahārājā felt his loss deeply, and sent the Rājās Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh immediately in his place. Their forces were joined at Rohtās by those of Sujādā Rāi, and the combined army marched daily 60 *kōs* to Pēshāwar, where the Jam'adār Khushhāl Singh, who had been afraid to advance beyond it, had been anxiously waiting for them. They also had the Frenchman Allard⁴⁰ with them, and when they advanced, the enemy not daring to encounter them retreated into the Khaibar Pass. Gulāb Singh also, who was at that time in the town of Chiniōt, received the Mahārājā's order to march to Pēshāwar. At Khairābād several of his camels were stolen, but they were again recovered after the pursuit and capture of the robbers, and when his forces had crossed the Landā River and arrived among

³⁸ A. D. 1837.

³⁹ This fact is mentioned also at the end of Ch. 28 of the *Zafarnāma* where the campaign is described.

⁴⁰ The text has "Lārna" but I have made the above correction because "the Frenchman" was no doubt Allard, and not Lawrence.

the Yūsafzīs, numerous *samāndārs* submitted, but certain mountaineers offered resistance obstinately and were punished. Afterwards disturbances took place in the *parganā* of Pūnchh, under the leadership of a freebooter, Shams by name, but the rebels were worried, and he lost his life with those of many of his followers, two of his chief adherents being flayed alive. After restoring order in this district Gulāb Singh went to Rajāori.

In St. 1895,⁴¹ the Mahārājā Ranjit Singh paid a visit to Jammūn, where he was received with due honours by Gulāb Singh and Dhyān Singh, who erected a large tent for his reception, and spent Rs. 1,21,000 upon presents and banquettings. On this occasion also Ranbir Singh was presented to the Mahārājā by Gulāb Singh, kindly received, and placed on a seat opposite to him. Next day the Mahārājā went to the *darshan* of the Sri Thākurs at Thākurdwārā, the ladies occupying the locality having been previously removed, but he allowed no one to accompany him except Gulāb Singh and the Rājā Dhyān Singh with Mīr Rām Kishan. Conversing with them in a fatherly and familiar manner he ascended to the upper apartments and remarked to them that Gurū Nānak had left no progeny, but disciples and attendants like these Thākurs who were the champions of ascetism. Ranjit Singh departed from Jammūn after a sojourn of two days and kindly accepted from Gulāb Singh certain presents, consisting of valuable garments, an elephant with a golden *haud* and some fleet horses. The courtiers also obtained gifts. Mr. Frederick Mackison was given a robe of honour, and Faqir 'Asīw'ddīn, who was interpreting, informed him that the house of Gulāb Singh in Lāhōr was at his service.

In the next year, on a Friday, the 15th of the month Hār, St. 1896,⁴² Ranjit Singh died, and Gulāb Singh, who was at that time in Peshāwar, having been informed of the event, was deeply affected. The Mahārājā Kharak Singh, who succeeded the Lion of the Panjāb on the *mamad*, entrusted Chēt Singh, a man of base character and evil disposition, with the administration of political and financial affairs. Kharak Singh was also short-sighted enough to alienate the population by extortions, and to make vain attempts to slay certain nobles, whose destruction would have brought on the subversion of the government itself. Therefore, several Sardārs of high position, such as the Rājā Suchēt Singh, Jam'adār Khuahhāl Singh, Lahnā Singh Majithiā, &c., waited one day upon his son, the prince Nau Nihāl Singh, and informed him of the state of affairs, whereon he replied that although the cutting open of a sore pains the body, its health is restored thereby, and that although the Mahārājā Kharak Singh would be distressed by the removal of Chēt Singh, it was necessary to encompass it in order to prevent greater evils, and that therefore the Sardārs ought next morning before sunrise to come to the palace and kill him. This proposal was agreed to and confirmed with an oath by all, except the Sardār Lahnā Singh Majithiā, who being an ascetic, demurred at participating in such an act, but promised on oath not to divulge the plot. Accordingly the Sardārs arrived early in the morning in the palace and waited upon the prince Nau Nihāl Singh, by whose aid they penetrated into Kharak Singh's sleeping apartment, adjoining the throne-room. The guards about the doors awoke at hearing persons walking, but said nothing when they saw the prince and the Rājā Dhyān Singh. The Mahārājā had already risen and put on his turban, and was attending to his devotions and other matters, when Gulāb Singh shot Kānh Singh and another *farrāsh* [carpet-spreader] dead with his carbine. Upon this the Mahārājā attempted to close the door, but it was forcibly kept open by the prince, with whom all the Sardārs entered. The love of the Mahārājā, however, for Chēt Singh was so great that he kept him in his embrace till he was torn away. Chēt Singh fled to the *taħkādna*, where Rājā Dhyān Singh overtook him and stabbed him to death with his poniard.⁴³ The Mahārājā then broke out in loud wailings and curses against the Sardārs, and more particularly against his own son, whom he reproached with having perpetrated this wicked act to attain the sovereignty, which he assured him he would not enjoy for a single day after his own reign had come to an end.

⁴¹ A. D. 1898.⁴² A. D. 1899.⁴³ Though the scene here described is not mentioned, the events connected therewith are in Ch. 40 of the *Rajarnāma*.

In St. 1897,⁴⁴ the **Mahārāja Kharak Singh** died, and when **Nau Nihal Singh** was returning from the funeral with **Mian Adham Singh**, a board detached itself from the roof of the fort-gate under which they passed, and killed them both, falling upon them like a stone from heaven.⁴⁵ Having been born in St. 1874, **Nau Nihal** was at the time of his death not more than 23 years and a few days old. **Gulāb Singh**, who was at that time in **Rām-nagar**, immediately departed to **Jammūn**, where he spent a few days in mourning, and then again returned to **Lāhōr**. **Rājā Dhyān Singh** endeavoured for a time to keep the death of **Nau Nihal Singh** concealed and had his body conveyed to the **Hasūrī Bāgh**, where he invited surgeons and physicians to come, who were supposed to be treating the prince. But after **Gulāb Singh** had arrived in **Lāhōr**, the prince **Shēr Singh**, son of the **Mahārāja Ranjit Singh**, was informed of what had taken place and invited to **Lāhōr**, where he performed the funeral obsequies with appropriate pomp. **Shēr Singh** hoped to succeed to the *masnad* at once, and was supported in his claim by **Gulāb Singh**, **Dhyān Singh** and others, but finding that the faction of the **Sindhānwālīā Sardārs** and many powerful nobles favoured the succession of the **Rānī Ohand Kāñwar**, he retired to **Kālānūr** with **Dhyān Singh**, who afterwards departed to **Jammūn**, after making the arrangements necessary for raising **Shēr Singh** to the throne, by ordering the officers of the **Khālās** troops, all of whom were sincerely devoted to him, to receive **Shēr Singh** with royal honours and to obey him in everything on his arrival in **Lāhōr**. **Karm Singh**, who was in the service of **Dhyān Singh**, returned to the capital, and as soon as everything had been got ready, the prince **Shēr Singh** entered **Lāhōr** at the invitation of the officers of the army. **Gulāb Singh**, desirous of averting hostilities, assembled the officers and told them that, as the **Mahārānī** was heir to the throne, their duty would be to remain loyal to her. However, while pretending to agree with what he had said, they fired a royal salute as soon as **Shēr Singh** had arrived near the regiments. **Gulāb Singh** at once betook himself to the fort, where he made preparations for resistance, and told the **Rājā Hira Singh**, that as his father **Dhyān Singh** was outside the fort he ought also to leave it; but he refused, replying that as **Gulāb Singh** stood to him in the place of a father it would be impossible to abandon him and to leave the fort. **Gulāb Singh** had merely his own **Dōgrā** troops in the fort, amounting to less than 2,000 men, with only one piece of artillery, whilst the forces outside exceeded 50,000 in number with nearly 300 guns. The besieging army having posted itself in the plain of the **Hasūrī Bāgh**, erected a battery opposite the gateway, and demanded its surrender; but the **Sūbahdār Ohhapāchap**, who had charge of it, with a company of sepoys, replied that he could not do so except by order of **Gulāb Singh**. On this the attack began in which the **Sūbahdār** and his men perished, and the gateway was reduced to splinters. The **Diwān**⁴⁶ was at this post, and, with several other men, not only repaired the damage done, but also fired their one cannon, which kept off the besiegers, whilst a musketry fire was kept up from the fort-wall. The greatest execution of all, however, was done by a musket of **Gulāb Singh**'s own invention, called *pūrmār*.⁴⁷ The fire was kept up so well, that the enemy could not dig any trenches, and all the gunners and artillery horses of the battery, which had been established in the **Hasūrī Bāgh**, were annihilated. There were also two *palāns* in the fort, who had previously arranged to support **Shēr Singh**, but **Gulāb Singh** had by an astute stratagem hindered them from obtaining access to their arms, of which he had taken charge. **Gordon Sahib**, who was an artillery officer, proposed to blow up the **Pādshāhī** mosque, which was full of ammunition, and used by the **Khālās** forces as a magazine. The explosion, he averred, would do great execution by annihilating the adjacent localities and **Shēr Singh** himself, whose aspirations to supreme power would thus be suddenly cut short, but **Gulāb Singh** magnanimously replied that it was not his intention to destroy the **Khālās** power.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ A. D. 1840.

⁴⁵ Thus the prediction of his father, narrated a few lines before, was fulfilled. The event is recorded also in *Oh. 4* of the *Khayr-nama*, but not exactly in the same way.

⁴⁶ Father of the author.

⁴⁷ Full of sepoys.

⁴⁸ Our author, who had previously stated that **Shēr Singh** "was supported in his claim by **Gulāb Singh**," first makes him say to the officers of the **Khālās** army that "the **Mahārānī** being heir to the throne their duty would be to remain loyal to her," and then makes him go to the fort to defend it against them. There is no doubt, therefore, that he played

Meanwhile the Rājās Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh, who had been sent for, collected all the Sikh forces they could during their march from Jammūn, and as soon as they arrived in Lāhōr sent a message into the fort to Gulāb Singh, asking him how long he meant to resist the troops of the government, all of which had now joined Shēr Singh with powerful artillery. Gulāb Singh replied that the garrison would not cease firing unless the besiegers did so. The Rani Chand Kanwar, whom our author henceforth simply calls the Bibi Sāhibā, became frightened, after the manner of women, and sent *parwānas* to Gulāb Singh in which she praised his heroism, but requested him to make any arrangements he might think proper for putting an end to the hostilities. Gulāb Singh also received a *parwāna* bearing the signature of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, followed by the manual marks of the great Sardārs Bijai Singh, Bādi Singh, and Lahnā Singh, as well as by the signature in Roman characters of Ventura Sāhib and Shām Singh Aṭariwālā. This last *parwāna* was to the purport that if the musketry fire from the fort ceased, Bābā Mahān Singh would be despatched to bring him to the camp with all honours under safe conduct. But he did not at once comply with this invitation and a correspondence ensued, terminating with the surrender of the fort on the condition of granting the Bibi Sāhibā a *jāgīr*, with a yearly income of seven *lākh*s of rupees. At last Gulāb Singh had his elephants and baggage removed from the fort one night, following himself at dawn, and encamping on the banks of the Rāvi, where the Rājās Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh soon met him and represented that numberless Khālṣa-troops were in the vicinity, many of whose comrades had been slain during the siege, and that hostilities might easily again break out. Accordingly the camp was next day removed to Shāhdara, where many great Sardārs paid Gulāb Singh visits with the presentation of compliments from the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, and asked him what had induced him to offer resistance to the Mahārājā. Gulāb Singh replied, that as there was much treasure and valuable property in the fort, it would all have been plundered and dispersed if he had not taken possession of it, and that it was moreover necessary to guard the ladies. Being satisfied with this explanation, the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, after bestowing upon Gulāb Singh a dress of honour and a *sanad* for the *jāgīr* of Manāwar, gave him leave to depart to Jammūn.

As Gulāb Singh had, with his paternal uncle, Diwān Hirā Chand, who was the commander of his troops, obtained permission from the Bibi Sāhibā, whilst she was besieged in the fort of Lāhōr, to conquer the *talūqas* of Ghari and Ghariālī, so the Diwān first occupied Sarāi-Aurangābād, which the troops of the late Mahārājā Khafak Singh had taken after a siege, and then marched to the fort of Sukhohēnpūr, which had been garrisoned on behalf of the Mahārājā Sarat Singh, but was now surrendered. Another small fort, Kōṭ by name, was also easily occupied, but Mangalā which is on the top of a mountain, and on three sides surrounded by the river Bhōt, fell only after a long and brave resistance.

In St. 1898,⁴⁰ the Mahārājā Shēr Singh despatched a Gurkhā *palṭan* under the command of Prince Partāb Singh to punish the malcontents who had slain Manhōwan Singh, the Subahdar of Kāsmīr, and Gulāb Singh, who was at that time at Bahlōl on the bank of the Chīnāb, having been ordered to aid the prince, joined him at Bhimbar, with the father of the author and the Diwān Nihāl Chand, their forces amounting to four *palṭans* and 600 cavalry. The country being too poor to provide for large bodies of troops, Gulāb Singh divided his forces, retaining one-half of them and placing the other at the disposal of the Diwān Nihāl Chand, marched to Shapīān, where it rained so abundantly as to detain him there. He did not continue his march in the direction of Shērgaṛh till the fourth day after reaching it. The troops under the Diwān Nihāl Chand reached Naipūr, where two *palṭans* of rebels opposed him at the crossing of the river Dūdghaṅgā. Here the Prince Partāb Singh joined him with Gulāb Singh, and the combined forces attacked the rebels and defeated them with a loss of 600 men,

a double game. The above bombastic account of the defence of the fort, given by our author, is contradicted in Ch. 41 of the *Zafarnama*, according to which Shēr Singh compelled the fort to surrender after a siege of only three days, chiefly through the mediation of Gulāb Singh, who returned just in time from Jammūn to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory issue.

⁴⁰ A. D. 1841.

the guards on the road to Bahrāmgala and Pāñohh being ordered to deprive the fugitives of their arms. Gulāb Singh then marched back to Naipūr, where he distributed Rs. 48,000 among the troops who had shared in the battle. He also spoke kindly to all who had been wounded or were sick, and had them treated with medicines. He then left the Dīwān Nihāl Chānd in charge of the troops, and marched to Shērgarh, where orders from the Mahārājā reached him and the prince to take charge of the Hazāra District. They marched thither, but met with no resistance till they reached Pōkhli and the district of Bāghistān, the population of which had rebelled. Most of the district was reduced to obedience by conciliatory measures and the rest by force. They then marched to the fort of Kishangarh, where the prince Partāb Singh took up his abode, whilst Gulāb Singh encamped at Barākōt, at a distance of four *kōs* off.

News having arrived that Zōrāwar Singh Gahlōriā, the *wasir* of Gulāb Singh, had lost his life in an attack upon Mansarōbar, the inhabitants of which had rebelled under the leadership of Paipā Khān, he marched thither, and having punished them, remained in that district for some time. On that occasion Sir Henry Montgomery and Colonel (Sir Henry) Lawrence, who were marching in the direction of Kābul with the English army under the command of General Pollock, had, by the aid of the author's father, an interview with Gulāb Singh, during which they informed him, that if he were to accompany the English army to Pēshāwar, and assist it to march safely through the Khaibar Pass, he would place the British government under great obligations to him. The Mahārājā Shēr Singh was in favour of this movement, which would strengthen the bond of friendship between the two governments. Gulāb Singh accordingly marched to Pēshāwar, where, meeting General Pollock and Mr. Mackison with other high officers, he promised them the alliance of the Sikh government, but some time afterwards the Sardār Buddh Singh arrived on the part of Shēr Singh and instigated the Khālā troops to begin hostilities towards the English as soon as the army had started towards Kābul. This plot having been revealed to Gulāb Singh, he informed Sir Henry Lawrence, who had much friendly intercourse with him, of the intended treachery.⁵⁰ After the English officers had held a consultation, they told Gulāb Singh that he might arrange the matter as he thought best. Accordingly he distributed, by way of atonement for their comrades in the Khālā army who had been slain during the war in Kāsmīr, some thousands of rupees of worth of sweetmeats among the troops; and then held a secret council with the principal Khālā officers, in which he told them that his sentiments were identical with theirs, but that they ought not to commence hostilities against the English in this place, because some thousands of their own young men would then be slain for nothing, but that the proper thing to do would be to keep the Khaibar Pass open for the English army, so that in case it should be vanquished by the Afghāns, much of the property and treasure left on this side would fall into the hands of the noble Khālā army. If, on the contrary, it happens to be victorious, the English would for ever consider themselves to be under obligation to them. This advice having been unanimously approved, the Khālā troops accompanied the English army, and Gulāb Singh went in person as far as the fort of Jamrud, meeting afterwards Sir Henry Lawrence at Jalālābād, who expressed his thanks to him. A letter to the same purport received from Mr. (Sir George) Clerk, Agent to the Governor-General, is inserted, dated as late as the 8th April 1842, from Lāhōr.

The Rājā of Ladākh having revolted, the army of Gulāb Singh, commanded by the *wasir* Ratanāh, invaded his territory, and the Rājā being unable to offer resistance, was fined Rs. 80,000, of which, however, Rs. 5,000 were afterwards remitted. On that occasion Muhammad Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh, Rājā of Skārdō, revolted against his father, and took refuge with the army of Gulāb Singh. He was referred by the commander to the Rājā of Ladākh, who sent him in disgrace under an escort to Skārdō, where his father obtained possession of him and ill-treated him to such an extent that his feet were frostbitten by the snow. Upon this Gulāb Singh's army marched against the Rājā of Skārdō, whom it deposed, and the campaign was extended to such a distance that the army at last reached the

⁵⁰ This service, however, does not appear to have been as great as our author tries to make out.

spect where the British and Nêpâl possessions are conterminous; but as Gulâb Singh did not participate in person in this expedition, it would be superfluous to narrate the details of it. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the engineer officer, (Sir Alexander) Cunningham, who became, in course of time, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, happened to be on the above occasion near the British frontier, and had an interview with the commander of Gulâb Singh's army, who then sent two men to examine the boundary between Parang and Nêpâl, and they reported that they had found two stones with inscriptions in Sâsri and Bhôṭ characters fixing the boundary. The climate being fearfully severe in the mountains, and provisions scarce, the troops suffered exceedingly, and therefore returned to Ladâkh. All this took place in 1841, when, as has been already narrated, Gulâb Singh was in Pôṭâwar, and contributed to the safe transit of General Pollock's army through the Khaibar Pass. Another expedition was undertaken to Ladâkh by Wasîr Ratanûn and the Dîwân Harî Chand, which ended with a treaty of peace in St. 1899,¹ by which the Râjâ of Ladâkh promised to remain for ever at peace with the Sri Mahârâj Śâhib Bahâdur Râjâ Gulâb Sîngjî, with the Emperor of China, and with the Lama Gurû, sovereign of Lâsâ. He also promised to abide for ever by the frontiers fixed from ancient times between Ladâkh and the adjacent countries, and to send annually shawls, wool, and tea according to the old custom, and not to listen to the suggestions of malecontents, who might come to his country from the possessions of the Sri Râjâ Śâhib, nor to allow them to remain in it. Lastly, he promised not to persecute, but in every way to encourage traders coming to Ladâkh.

Although, as noticed above, the Mahârâjâ Shêr Singh had been raised to the throne with the co-operation of Dhyân Singh, the intriguers by whom the Mahârâjâ was surrounded succeeded in a short time in producing distrust between them. The Sardâr Khushhâl Singh likewise became estranged from the Mahârâjâ, who also gave utterance to suspicions that the Sînchânwâlî Sardârs were beginning to favour the aspirations of the Bibî Śâhiba Ohand Kanwar. The Sardârs 'Aṣar Singh and Ajît Singh therefore crossed the Satluj and sought refuge in the British dominions, whilst the Sardâr Lahnâ Singh, who could not escape, was cast into prison. In short, although the Mahârâjâ outwardly professed friendship towards Dhyân Singh and Gulâb Singh, he inwardly bore them ill-will. It is alleged that Venture and the Sardâr Lahnâ Singh Majithîâ being on most intimate terms with the Mahârâjâ, and aware of his intentions, advised him that it would be imprudent to deal with only one of these Sardârs, but that all the three brothers ought to be captured together. Accordingly when Gulâb Singh had settled the treaty of peace with Ladâkh and was living quietly in Jammûh, the Mahârâjâ repeatedly expressed his desire by letter to meet him; and Gulâb Singh, although aware of his evil intentions, firmly trusted in Providence, and took the opportunity of the Mahârâjâ's visit to Kângrâ to wait upon him at Jwâlâmukhî. The meeting was apparently cordial, and henceforth the Mahârâjâ kept Gulâb Singh near his person. Meanwhile the Râjâ Dhyân Singh, having become aware of this stratagem, left Râjâ Suchêṭ Singh in Lâhôr, sent Hîrâ Singh to Jasrôtâ, and himself joined the Mahârâjâ, who took him to the fort of Kângrâ with the intention of encompassing his destruction. On that day, however, Gulâb Singh did not accompany the party, and the Mahârâjâ refrained from slaying Dhyân Singh alone. It is said that the Sardâr Lahnâ Singh Majithîâ dissuaded the Mahârâjâ from accomplishing his design by telling him that Gulâb Singh being near at hand, and Suchêṭ Singh in Lâhôr, a great disturbance would ensue, during which Suchêṭ Singh would not fail to avenge the death of his brother by putting out the eyes of Partâb Singh, the son of the Mahârâjâ. He, however, ordered some of his musketeers to fire both upon Dhyân Singh and upon Gulâb Singh during a hunting party, but being under obligations to the latter, who had done them many acts of kindness, they revealed the plot to him, whereon he begged leave to absent himself on the plea of some urgent business and retired to his tent, where he was to have been murdered, but took the precaution of sleeping surrounded by his retainers, so that the chance of killing him was again

missed. On the other hand, the Rājā Dhyān Singh, having wounded a jackal during the chase, found a pretence for remaining awake by watching for him all night from an ambush. About this time Lahnā Singh, who was on good terms with the family of Gulāb Singh, had several times overheard the false assurances of friendship made to the latter by the Mahārājā, and knew that they were appreciated as such by him, sent him one day several vessels full of iced milk, but instead of sugar, put saltpetre into them. When Gulāb Singh tasted the beverage, he expressed astonishment at its bitter flavour, but on the messenger's saying that it was symbolical of the present time, Gulāb Singh ordered him to tell his master that he had fully understood the meaning of the gift. A few days afterwards Gulāb Singh departed to Jammūn to celebrate the wedding of Ranbir Singh, whom he afterwards adopted as his son.

All the preparations having been made for the festivity, Ranbir Singh's wedding with the little daughter of Bijai Singh was solemnised, the Rājā Dhyān Singh being present on behalf of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh. After the rejoicings had terminated, Gulāb Singh wished Dhyān Singh to remain longer in Jammūn, but he refused and departed to Lāhōr, where the Mahārājā received him in the most friendly manner, but gave secret orders to Ajit Singh to kill him. The latter who was on good terms with Hīrā Singh, informed him of the orders, and proposed to kill the Mahārājā Shēr Singh instead of Dhyān Singh, but received no answer. Shēr Singh, who entertained no suspicions of the Sindhānwālī Sardārs, sent an invitation to Lahnā Singh and Ajit Singh to hold a review of the troops at Shāh Bilāwal near Lāhōr, and they most gladly accepted it. When Ajit Singh was on this occasion passing in review with his troops before the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, he pretended to shew him a double-barrelled gun, but in the act of doing so discharged its contents into his body, and the Mahārājā at once fell dead. Lahnā Singh had meanwhile kept his troops ready in the garden of the Jam'edār Sāhib, and when he heard the tumult which ensued, and was informed of what had taken place, he forthwith cut off the head of the young prince Partāb Singh, whom he had brought to witness the review, and started in the direction of the fort. It happened that the Rājā Dhyān Singh, who knew nothing of what had taken place, had left his house in a buggy and was driving along the road. He was amazed at meeting a tumultuous crowd with Ajit Singh at its head, who told him that what was to be done had been done, and that for his own safety he ought to accompany him to the fort. Dhyān Singh, who had only three or four men with him, complied perforce, but when he arrived with the crowd in the *hawāl* of the Kharpālās he was shot dead. Lahnā Singh, who came afterwards, sharply reproved Ajit Singh for what had happened, told him to wrap the corpse in a shawl, send it to the Rājā's house, and get ready for the impending fight.⁵²

The population became greatly frightened at these disturbances, and the Rājā Suchēt Singh, who was in his own house, having been informed of the murder of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh, and being most anxious to ascertain what had become of the Rājā Dhyān Singh because his horse had arrived alone in the stable, sent the Sūbahdār Kērl Singh to the fort to make enquiries. The messenger soon returned with the news, which was confirmed by the arrival of Dhyān Singh's corpse sent by Lahnā Singh to the house. Suchēt Singh at once informed Hīrā Singh, who was at Shāh Bilāwal, of what had taken place, and also sent a letter to Kērl Singh with a request to inform the army of the murder of the Mahārājā Shēr Singh and Dhyān Singh, in order to excite it to take vengeance and to prepare it for fighting. Rājā Hīrā Singh and Rājā Kērl Singh arrived near the fort at midnight with the army, with which the Sindhānwālī faction had tampered, but ineffectually, because it was entirely devoted to Hīrā Singh. Nevertheless, nobody believed that hostilities would really take place till the artillery and musketry fire actually began. The fort was then assaulted and taken by storm. Both Ajit Singh and Lahnā Singh perished in this contest. Of the former, however, it is said that he died like a coward, and of the latter that he fell fighting like a brave

⁵² These events are narrated somewhat differently at the end of Ch. 43 of the *Zafarnāma*.

man. The Rani of Dhyān Singh immolated herself on the funeral pyre before the fort was taken, after expressing a wish that she should have liked to see the death of her husband avenged. Suchēt Singh assured her that she could certainly do so, in a short time, if she consented to delay the act of *sañi*. The Pandit Jalla,²³ however, demurred to any procrastination; and she was cremated at the age of 47 years and 26 days, having been born on the 11th of the month Bādrin in St. 1853.²⁴

(To be continued.)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEWY, B.O.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 191.—SATARA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA I.

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1844, by Bal Gangadhar Shastri, who edited it, with an indifferent lithograph, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. II. p. 1 ff. The original plates are stated to have been found at Satara, the chief town of the District of that name in the Bombay Presidency; and they were acquired at the time by Mr. James Bird, then Secretary of the Bombay Society. They were subsequently lost sight of for a very long time; until, about five or six years ago, they were discovered in some public auction rooms in London, and, being purchased by Mr. A. W. Franks, were presented by him to the British Museum, where they now are. I re-edit the inscription, with a photo-lithograph, from the original plates.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about 7" long by 3½" broad at each end and a little less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; the writing, however, is in a state of perfect preservation throughout, except for the small portions broken away at the proper left corners of the first plate. The first plate appears at first sight to be numbered, immediately before the commencement of the text; but, as there are no similar numbers on the second and third plates, I take it that we have here a variety of the symbol for *Om*, and not the numerical symbol for 1, much as it resembles the latter. The ring on which the plates are strung, and the holes for which are near the proper right-hand end of each plate, is about ¼" thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about 2¼" by 3¼". When the grant came under my notice, the ring had been out and joined together again with a square bolt, which is now missing; there seems, however, to be no reason for thinking that this is not the proper ring belonging to the plates. The seal, on it is fashioned out of the piece of metal from which the ring was made, after the usual custom with English signet-rings. The surface of it is roughly circular, about ⅞" in diameter; and it has, on a slightly countersunk surface, at the top, the moon; across the centre, the legend *Śrī-Bīṭṭi-grasa*, i. e. "the illustrious king Bīṭṭi or Bīṭṭa;" and at the bottom, a boar, squatting on its haunches, and facing to the proper right. — The weight of the three plates is about 16½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 5½ oz.; total, 1 lb. 5½ oz. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, and are of the regular type of the period and part of the country to which the record belongs. From a palæographical point of view, we may notice the manner in which the superscript long *i* is formed, by a vertical line across the circle which denotes the short *i*; I cannot quote any similar instance from Chalukya grants. The average size of the letters is about ⅓". The engraving is bold and excellent; though, as is usual, the interiors of a few of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The engraving is fairly deep; and the letters show through on the reverse sides of the first and third plates. — The language is Sanskrit. The body of the inscription contains verses in lines 4 to 10; and seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 25 to 35. The use of the affix *ka* in *pravarḍhamānaka*, line 35, is

²³ The character and influence of this man are alluded to in Ch. 43 of the *Jafernāma*.

²⁴ A. D. 1798. Her *sañi* took place A. D. 1843.

noteworthy; compare the instances quoted in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 69. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *māri*, line 2, and in other instances in lines 4, 5, 11, 14, 28 and 29, though the correct vowel is used in *ṛita-krityaḥ*, line 7, *ṛitajñat*, line 8, and *ṛiṣṇa-dhayaḥ*, line 34; (2) the doubling of *dh*, by *d* in the proper manner, before *y*, in *°anuddhyātādh*, line 1, and in *°vāddhy-āpādh*, line 33, where, however, it may optionally be attributed to the preceding *anuvāda* (see, e. g., the instances referred to in *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 192, 197, 236, 244); and (3) the doubling of *k* before *r*, in *parākrāmaḥ*, line 8, though not in *vīkrāma*, line 4.

The inscription is one of Vishnupurvardhana I., the founder of the Eastern Branch of the Chalukya family. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village to some Brāhmana, for the purpose of maintaining the rites of the five great sacrifices.

The village granted was Alandatirtha, which is defined as being in the district called the Śrinilaya bhōga, on the north of the agrahāra of Anopalya, i. e. Anopalli or Anopalli, and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi. Alandatirtha is probably the 'Alundah' of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, in Lat. 18° 12' and Long. 78° 59', five miles north-east of Bhār, the chief town of the Bhār State, and about thirty-five north of Sātārā. It is not actually on the Bhīma; but it is on the south (or west) bank of the Sivagaṅgā, which is a tributary of the Nīrā, which again flows into the Bhīma; and it seems, therefore, to answer the description of being on the south bank of the Bhimarathi. I can, at any rate, not find any other place, the name of which at all resembles Alandatirtha, anywhere along the Bhīma itself; and I think that the name Bhimarathi, — which occurs also in the Vokkalāri grant of Kirtivarman II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 27),¹ — may be taken to denote any tributary of the Bhīma, as well as the principal river itself. Bal Gangadhar Shastri (*loc. cit.* p. 2) expressed the opinion that Alandatirtha is the modern 'Alandi' in the Poona District, about twelve miles north of the latter city. It is a place of some sanctity, and it is on a tributary of the Bhīma, viz. the Indriyāni; but it is on the north bank of the Indriyāni, not the south; and, if for this reason only, it does not seem acceptable. The name of Anopalya or Anopalli is not to be traced on the map. Nor can I at present identify either the Śrinilaya bhōga, or Kurumarathi, — or possibly Kurumarathyā, — where Vishnupurvardhana I. was, when he made the grant. The former name may perhaps have some connection with the Śribhavana which is mentioned, e. g., in the Vāsi grant of Gōvinda III. (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 162).

As regards the date of this grant, we learn from line 13 that it was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika; and further, from line 35, that it was in the eighth year of "the glorious Mahārāja." The Mahārāja here spoken of, is the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II., the elder brother of Vishnupurvardhana I. And the date is, accordingly, Kārttika śukla 15 of Saka-Samvat 539 current, in A. D. 616, or of 540 current, in A. D. 617.

In this record, the dynastic name is written Chalukya, as in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mahāgālā (page 7 ff. above); the only difference being that the Mahākūṭa inscription uses the Dravidian *l*, whereas here we have the ordinary Sanskrit *l*. The genealogy starts with Pulikēśin I., who is here mentioned by his *virūdas* of Ranavikrama and Satyākṛaya, as in the Mahākūṭa record. His son, Kirtivarman I., is mentioned by his own proper name. Curiously enough, the actual reigning king, Pulikēśin II., is passed over in this record, even in spite of the fact that his younger brother assumes only the title of *Yuvarāja*; and the succession of names is taken direct from Kirtivarman I. to his younger son Vishnupurvardhana I.; as is also done in one of the grants of Vishnupurvardhana II. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 191). Attached to the name of Vishnupurvardhana I., there is his *virūda* of Viśhamasiddhi, or "he who is successful under difficulties," which is explained in his other grant, shortly to be published; it is used

¹ In the *Brhat-Saṁhitā*, xvi. 2, the name is given as Bhimarathi, with Bhimarathyā as a various reading.

to denote him in the grant of his son Jayasimha I. (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 138); and it appears on the seals of the grants of his grandson, Vishnuvardhana II. (see the Plates, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 191, and Vol. VIII. p. 320). The seal of the present grant also exhibits his name, taken as simply Vishnu, in the Prākṛit form of Biṭṭarasa, i. e. 'king Biṭṭi or Biṭṭa.'²

From the mention here of Pulikēśin II. as "the glorious *Mahārāja*," it is not to be inferred that his position was anything below that of a paramount sovereign, — in, of course, his own dominions. Setting other things aside, Hiuen Tsiang's account alone (Beal's *Buddhist Records*, p. 256 f., and *Life*, p. 146 f.) is amply sufficient to shew what his real rank and power were. And the fact simply is, that the development of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty in Southern India was later than in the more northern parts of the country. It will be useful to take this opportunity of sketching the history of them in the south; so far, at any rate, as the Chalukyas are concerned.

We have to take first the case of the Early and Western Chalukyas. In Northern India, the primitive title of *Mahārāja* had, two centuries at least before the time with which we are dealing, been superseded by that of *Mahārājādhirāja*,³ with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* attached to it (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 10, note 8, p. 15, note 4, p. 17, notes 1, 3, and p. 25, line 1). In Southern India, on the contrary, it had been retained in its original paramount application;⁴ and no change in respect of it was made, so far as our present knowledge goes, till in the generation after Pulikēśin II. The earliest Chalukya grant that uses any formal title at all, is the Goa grant of Śaka-Saṃvat 532, which refers to "the *Mahārāja*, the favourite of fortune and of the earth" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365; see also page 12 above, note 7). The next is, either the undated Nerūr grant of Pulikēśin II., which connects the title of *Mahārāja* with his name (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 44); or his Haidarābād grant of Śaka-Saṃvat 534 expired, which attaches the same title to both his own name and those of his father and grandfather, Kirtivarman I. and Pulikēśin I. (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73). And this latter grant shews also the first step that was made towards a more dignified nomenclature, by mentioning also his other name or title of *Paramēśvara*.⁵ As to the origin of this title, the grant in question says that he acquired it "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles;" while the later inscriptions state, more specifically, that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north" (c. g. *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 78). It is noteworthy that Harshavardhana himself did not use the title in his grants.

² Another form of the name was Biṭṭiga (c. g. *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 244).

³ As regards the analysis of the term *mahārājādhirāja*, it is a question, open to discussion, whether we should take it as *mahārāja + adhirāja*, lit. 'supreme king of great kings,' or as *mahā + rājādhirāja*, lit. 'great supreme king of kings.' I have hitherto treated it, as if the former is the case; but I am not quite sure that I have been right in doing so. The doubt does not occur to me now for the first time.

⁴ It is probably to be interpreted in this way wherever it occurs in the Early Kādamba grants (*ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 22-33; Vol. VII. pp. 33-38); in the Pallava grants (c. g. Vol. V. pp. 50, 154; Vol. IX. p. 100); in the Eastern Gāṅga grants (Vol. XIII. pp. 118-124; Vol. XVI. p. 131); and in similar early grants from Southern India, c. g. the Śālanikāyana grant (Vol. V. p. 175), the grant of Nandaprabhaṭṭājanavarman (Vol. XIII. p. 48), and the grant of Prithivīmala (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 114). — On the other hand, as applied to the Śāndraka Poṅḍi in the Belagāṁve inscription (page 145 above), it is unmistakably a feudatory title. — The use of the expression *āthama-Mahārājādhirāja* in the 'Hirahadagalli' grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, p. 2) may help in determining the exact period of that grant. But, while not inclined to agree with Mr. Foulkes in placing it so early as in the second century A. D. (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. p. 1118), — [the *āthama*-sacrifice of this grant, is, in my opinion, to be placed in a period subsequent to the revival of that rite by Samudragupta], — I must not be understood as meaning that it belongs to a period later than that in which the title *Mahārājādhirāja* was adopted by the Chalukyas. It is very possible that, through their contact with Samudragupta, the Pallavas of Kāśīchī came to learn the existence of the title, and brought it into occasional use, long before the time when it penetrated to the western parts of Southern India.

⁵ From the use of this title, with that of *Rājādhirāja*, in the Ājṭr inscription (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 70), it seems probable now that that record must be referred to the time of Kirtivarman II., — not of his ancestor of the same name.

(see the Sômpat seal, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 231, and the Madhuban plate, *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 87). And it was certainly not invented in his time; for we find it used, nearly a century earlier, by Vishnupvardhana of Mâlwa (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 153). But it is used, to denote him, in the *Harshacharita* (see, for instance, the special passage quoted by Dr. Bühler at page 41 above). And, very shortly after his time, we find it used technically, in conjunction with *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, by Dhavagupta and Vishnugupta of the Gupta family of Magadha (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 215), and by Dharmasena IV. of Valabhi (*id.* Introd. p. 41; and *ante*, Vol. I. p. 16, with *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 79). I entertain no doubt, however, that this title was really used in the case of Harshavardhana as a regal title, and not simply as a secondary name or as a substitute for a name; and that, though Pulikēśin II. probably first obtained it from some conquest in the direction of Mâlwa, the special pride in the possession of it by him, exhibited in the grants of his successors, is due to his having been able to resist an invasion of his dominions by the great king of Kanauj.⁶ The next step in advance appears, as far as the records at present available go, in the grants of the next generation. Ādityavarman in his grant (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 234) used for himself the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and also attached them both to his father's name. But Vikramāditya I., while using the same titles in his own case, in one instance applied them both to his father (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 76); in another, — if the grant is genuine, — gave him only the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 240); in another gave him the titles of *Mahārāja* and *Paramēśvara* (*id.* p. 236); and in another gave him only the title of *Mahārāja* (*id.* p. 238). To Pulikēśin I. and Kīrtivarman I., all of these grants, following that of Pulikēśin II. of Śaka-Saṃvat 584 expired, give the title of *Mahārāja*. This grander title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, however, must have been obtained by Pulikēśin II. from Kanauj; and I feel tolerably certain that, if we obtain any formal grants of the later years of his reign, we shall find that it was actually brought into use in his time; only, at present, the first instances are in the grants of his sons. In the next generation, another change was made. The *Mahārājādhirāja* was entirely dropped in the case of Vikramāditya I.; but the *Paramēśvara* was retained, and was supplemented by *Bhāṭṭāraka*, which, I suppose, must be looked upon as an amplification of the *Bhāṭṭāra*, or more usually *Bhāṭra*, of the Old-Kanarese inscriptions.⁷ To the name of Vinayāditya himself there were attached, in three cases, the three titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhāṭṭāraka* (*ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 86, 89, 92; and Vol. VII. p. 302; also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 244); while, in one case the *Bhāṭṭāraka* is omitted (page 150 above). In the next generation, again, another change was made, by the restoration of the *Mahārājādhirāja* in the case of Vikramāditya I.; and the three titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhāṭṭāraka*, were used for him, his son Vinayāditya, and his grandson Vijayāditya (*ante*, Vol. IX. pp. 127 f., 131). Also, the title of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* appears for the first time, as a certainty, in this generation; being attached to the name of Vijayāditya in his Bādāmi inscription (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 60), which, it may also be noted, speaks of his ancestors as "the *Mahārājas*, *Satyāśraya*, &c." But in his Aihole inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 286), the simple *Bhāṭra* is used, as in other Kanarese stone records. And the new title of *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* does not appear to have come into habitual use, until the Western Chalukyas were

⁶ Pulikēśin II. had acquired the title before the date of his grant of A. D. 612. In Hsuan Tsang's account, I can find nothing to render it impossible that he had defeated Harshavardhana before that time; all that seems certain, is, that, when Hsuan Tsang was making his notes (about A. D. 640), the power and activity of Pulikēśin II. were still at their height, and that his successful resistance of Harshavardhana had taken place, at some unspecified time before the moment of writing. Still, if Pulikēśin II. defeated him before A. D. 612, it is almost inexplicable that Harshavardhana's name should not have been specifically mentioned in the record of that year; just as it was mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634-35 (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 244).

⁷ For *bhāṭṭāra*, see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 125; for *bhāṭra*, *ante*, Vol. VIII. pp. 235, 236; Vol. X. pp. 103, 164, 165, 166; and other places.

⁸ As a matter of fact, it is attached to the name of Vinayāditya in the Lakshmeshwar inscription of Vijayāditya, which, curiously enough, does not attach even the *Bhāṭṭāraka* to the name of Vijayāditya himself (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 107). That, however, is not altogether a reliable record; having been at any rate not engraved at the time, to which it belongs.

succeeded by the Rāshtrakūṭas; e. g. in the case of Dantidurga, in A. D. 753 (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 112). The final settlement of the Western Chalukya titles is best illustrated by the grant of Kirtivarman II., which gives the following specification:—Pulikēśin I. and Kirtivarman I., are each called *Mahārāja*;⁹ Pulikēśin II. is called *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*; and each of his successors, Vikramāditya I., Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II., and Kirtivarman II., has the three titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka* (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 26 f.)

Such was the case with the members of the western branch of this family. The Eastern Chalukyas, however, were more conservative, so far as they made any use of formal titles in their grants at all. Vishnuvardhana I., when he ceased to be *Yuvārāja*, assumed only the title of *Mahārāja* (Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography*, p. 187); though there can be no question of the fact that Veṅgi then became a separate and independent kingdom, and that Vishnuvardhana I. and his successors were paramount sovereigns there, just as their relatives were in Western India. His son, Jayasimha I., used the same title (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 138). The same title is applied to both of the preceding persons, and is used by Vishnuvardhana II., in the grants of the latter (*ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 186 f., 191). The same title, again, is applied to Jayasimha I. and Vishnuvardhana II., and is used by Maṅgi in connection with his *biruda* of *Sarvalōkāraya* (in a grant not yet published). The same title also is applied to Vishnuvardhana III. and Vijayāditya I., in the grant of Narēndrampigaṇṭja-Vijayāditya II.; and this grant gives the earliest instance of the use of the higher titles in this branch of the family, by attaching *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Bhaṭṭāraka*, to the name of Vijayāditya II. himself (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 33). Even then, however, these grander titles did not permanently supersede the more primitive one. Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya III. gives the title of *Mahārāja* to himself, his father, and his grandfather (in a grant not yet published). And he is called by the same title in one of the grants of Amma I., and in an unpublished grant of Bhīma II.; while, in both of his own grants, Amma I. attaches the same title to his own second name of Vishnuvardhana, and uses no other in connection with it (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 77, Vol. XIII. p. 52, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 40). Bhīma II., however, seems to have brought in the permanent use of the higher titles, and also to have been the first in this family to amplify that of *Bhaṭṭāraka* into *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*; in one of his grants, he attaches to his second name of Vishnuvardhana the single title of *Mahārājādhirāja* (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 214); in another (unpublished), he uses that title with *Paramēśvara*; while, in a third (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 45), he uses the three titles, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. His son, Amma II., gives us in one instance a variety of a conservative tendency, in attaching the title of *Mahārāja* to his second name of Vijayāditya, and in using after it *Rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 74 f.);¹⁰ in his other grants, however (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 16, Vol. XII. p. 91, Vol. XIII. p. 249; *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 48; and one unpublished), he drops the title of *Mahārāja*, and uses just the same three fully developed titles, that are used by his father in the third of his grants noted above. From this time, probably, they were quite permanently fixed. We find them used two generations later by Rājārāja II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 58); and the only subsequent variation that has as yet come to notice, is in the grant of Vīra-Chōḍa, who substituted *Rāja-Paramēśvara*¹¹ for the simple *Paramēśvara*, but used the other two titles untouched (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 55 f.)

⁹ If any additional evidence is needed in support of the spurious nature of the Kurtakṣi grant of Vikramāditya I. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 217), it may be found in the fact that it gives to Pulikēśin I. and Kirtivarman I. the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.—The retention of the title of *Mahārāja* in their case, in the genuine records, may possibly indicate that their power was not as great as that of their successors.

¹⁰ Compare the case of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅgadvā of Kalliga, who, while using *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in two of his grants (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 164, 174), in the third attaches *Mahārāja* to his name, and uses after it *Rājādhirāja*, *Rāja-Paramēśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (id. p. 168).

¹¹ For another instance of the use of this title, see the preceding note.

I would add here a few remarks on the true application of the title *Maharajadhiraja*, in respect of which there has been a misunderstanding. Mr. Fergusson wrote (*Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S. Vol. IV. p. 84 f.*):— "In India there were three ranks of kings. First, *Rajas*, or simple "princes; *Maharajas*, who would rank as kings in Europe; and *Maharaja Adhirajas*, kings of "kings, or emperors. The title is identical with *Basilus Basilicus* of the Greeks, or Shahan "Shahi of the Persians, and was used in India from the Greek times till probably the Mahomedan "conquest. This would hardly be worthy of remark, but for one circumstance. There might "be any number of *Rajas* or *Maharajas* contemporary with one another, but only one *Adhiraja* "or emperor could exist at one time. The consequence is, that whenever we find a king adopting "this title, we know that he was, or at least, assumed to be king of the five Indies, divisions, "which would correspond very nearly with the four Presidencies into which we have divided "India, if the Nizam's and surrounding estates were erected into a fifth. The consequence of "this is that no two emperors could be contemporary with one another, and that whenever we "can trace the dignity from a king in one family to one in another, we know that we have a "true succession, and an historical sequence of the utmost importance. Sometimes these "emperors resided in Magadha, at other times at Canouge or Ougein, and at one time at "Kalyan, — but always in succession."

My attention has been directed again to this passage, which I knew previously, by some remarks made by the Hon. K. T. Telang in connection with Samkaracharya's statement that, in his time, there was no *Sarvabhauma-raja* or emperor of all India. Mr. Telang has correctly pointed out that the title *Maharajadhiraja* does not denote an emperor of all India. But he himself, if properly reported, has fallen into an error, in saying that "even the *Maharajadhiraja* was not really a paramount sovereign, to whom the other *Rajas* owed allegiance as subordinates or feudatories in any way."¹² And Mr. Fergusson's statements contain more than one point open to objection. In the first place, it is most improbable that there ever was any emperor of all India after the time of Asoka; most certainly, not even the Early Guptas held that position. In the second place, the assertion that the *Maharajas* of India would rank as kings in Europe, is correct only for early times; in Northern India, up to the period of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudava; and in Southern India, up to the times that have been indicated above, in connection with the Western and Eastern Chalukyas. In the third place, that *Maharajadhiraja* corresponds to *Basilus Basilicus*, is open to question, as the latter appears to have been a perceptibly inferior title; but on this point I am not prepared to write more at present, having not had leisure to complete my intended Note on Hindu and Indo-Scythian Titles of Sovereignty. And finally, that there might be several *Maharajadhirajas* at one and the same time, is an actual fact, capable of demonstration; for, e. g., in or about A. D. 650 there were, contemporaneously, at least the *Maharajadhiraja* Ashmavarma in Nepal, the *Maharajadhiraja* Adityasena in Magadha, the *Maharajadhiraja* Siladitya III. at Valabhi, and the *Maharajadhiraja* Pulikésin II., or Adityavarman, or Vikramaditya I., at Vatapi. The title *Maharajadhiraja* is the one, — and the only one since the periods indicated above, — which corresponds to the title of 'king' or 'emperor' in Europe. The *Maharajadhirajas* were paramount sovereigns, each in his own division of India, and each independent of his peers, just as in Europe are the Emperors of Germany and Austria, and the Kings of Denmark and Portugal. And their feudatories were the *Maharajas*, *Mahasantas*, *Rajas*, *Santas*, &c., — according to the nomenclature of the different kingdoms, — whose correlatives are the princes and great feudatory nobles of Europe.¹³

¹² Mr. Telang's paper was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 14th July last. My remarks are made on the report of it which appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 24th July.

¹³ That there was a misunderstanding on this point, and that I had not distinctly cleared it away, occurred to me when I had finished my *Gupta Inscriptions*; in consequence of which, in the Index, under the headings "paramount sovereigns, titles of," and "sovereigns, paramount, titles of," I inserted the words "i. e. of sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India."

TEXT.¹⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹⁵ Svasti Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānuddhyātānām Mānavya-sagōtrānām H[ā]-
 2 riti-putrānām mātṛi(tri)-gaya-prasāda-parirakṣita-bhujārggalānām kshirōda-
 3 dhisayana-suptōtthita-prasāda-parilabdha-varāhalāñchhanānām Chalikya-
 4 nām varhṣe sambhūtaḥ śakti-traya-sampannaḥ [1*] Jayati¹⁶ Raṇavikrama¹⁷-
 nri(nri)pō ni-
 5 rasta-ripu-nri(nri)pati-sauryya-mada-rigah Kaliyuga-khala-nirmathanai[h*] Sa-
 6 tyākraya-bhāvitāś-charitaiḥ [11*] Abhavat¹⁸-tasya sa-kṛtti[h*] Kīrtti-varma sthira-
 sthi-
 7 ti[h*] i suta[h*] sucharit-ādharah kṛta-kṛityah pati[h*] kshitēḥ [11*] Tasya
 putrō mahātē-
 8 jā[h*] i¹⁹ Kandarpa iva mūrttimān [1*] dharmma-jñas-cha kṛta-jñas-cha i²⁰
 Pārtha-tulya-parākkrama[h 11]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 9 Abhimānam-iv-ōddhartum i²¹ narāpām śastra-jīvinām i Vidhātṛ vihitō lōkō
 10 sa cha Bībhatsur-ēva cha i (11) Tēna manēka²²-sāmanta-prapata-makuta-ohūdāmaṇi-
 11 nighri(ghri)śhta-oharaṇāravindēna sakala-mahimāpāla-tilaka-bhūtēna śrīpri(pri)thi-
 12 vivalabha-Vishṇuvarddhana-yūvarāja-Vishamasiddhinā Kurumarathy-āvasthitē-
 13 na mātāpitṛr-ātmanas-cha puṇy-āvāptayē Kārttika-paurṇamāsyān vēda-
 14 vēdānga-pāragānā(nā)m Ghri(ghri)takaufika-sagōtrānām Viśvāmitra-vat Lakṣmaṇa²³
 15 svāmi-putrānām Aśhalasvāmi-Vēdasvāmi-Dēvasvāmi²⁴ Ādityasvāmi-Nāgakumā-
 16 ra-sahitānām putra-pautr-ādīnām mavvātsarṅgē²⁵-ā chandr-ārka-kahiti-sthiti-samakālā[t*]
 17 bali-charu-vaiśvadev-ā gñihōtra-havana-pañchamahāyajñ-ōtsarpan-ārttham

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 18 Śrinilaya-bhōgē Anopaly-āgrāhāsy-ōtṭarataḥ Bhīmarathi-dakṣhiṇa-ta-
 19 tō Alandatīrttham nāma grāmō vidhivad-udaka-pūrvam dattah [1*] Viditam-
 astu sa-
 20 rrvēśhām paryyanta-vishayapati-sāmanta-grāma-bhōgika-mahattar-ādīnām a-cha-
 21 ta²⁶-bbata-kusid-ādīnām²⁷-a-pravēśyah sarvv-ādāna-viśuddhēty²⁸-avagamya chala-
 22 pavana-prērit-ōdadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalam jīva-lōkam-anuprēkṣhya
 23 tasmāl-lōpō na kāryyah [1*] yō v-ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛī(vri)ta-matid(r)-
 āchohhimdyā-
 24 d-āchohhidyamānam yō v-ānumōdē[ta*] sa pañchabhir-mahāpātakai[h*]
 samyuktō bha-
 25 viśhyat-ity-Uktañ-cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna || Shashṭim²⁹ varsha-saha-
 26 arāpi i³⁰ svarggē tiśṭhēti bhūmi-dah āchohhētā ch-ānumantā cha i³¹ tāny-ēva
 narakē va-

¹⁴ From the original plates.¹⁵ Represented by a symbol. The symbol here is very like the numerical symbol for 'one.' But, as the other places are not numbered, it does not seem intended to be interpreted in that way. ¹⁶ Metro, Āryā.¹⁷ Over this *ra*, there is a mark which much resembles the *anusvāra*; and there are similar marks in several other places. But they are only faults in the copper, or rust-marks.¹⁸ Metro, Ślōka (Anusvārah); and in the next two verses.¹⁹, ²⁰ and ²¹ These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.²² Read *ita-dakṣa*, or *ita-dīnam-dakṣa*.²³ Read, probably, *viśvāmitra-vat-lakṣmaṇa*.²⁴ Here, I think, we require a genitive case, and should read *°dēvasvāmīnām*.²⁵ Read, probably, *°dēvāna-vyāsarṅgē*.²⁶ Omit the negative particle before this word *chā*.²⁷ Read *°ādīnām*.²⁸ Read *viśuddhēty*.²⁹ Metro, Ślōka (Anusvārah); and in the following six verses.³⁰ and ³¹ These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

Third Plate.

- 27 sê[t*] || Bahubhir-vvasudhâ bhuktâ³² rājabbis-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadâ
 28 bhūmi- | -s-tasya³³ tasya tadâ phalam [11*] Tādri(dri)k=puṇyam na dadatām
 jāyatê nō dharābhujām
 29 bhuvam=anya-pratishthā=tu yādri(dri)g=bhavati rakshatām | (11) Pūrvva-dattām
 dvijātibhyô³⁴ yatnād=raksha
 30 Yudhishthirah³⁵ [1*] mahīm mahimatām śrēshṭha³⁶ dānā śrēyô³⁷=nupālanam [11*]
 Bra-
 31 hma-svê mâtīm matīm kuryyâ[h*]³⁸ prāpaiḥ kaṇṭha-gatair=api | agni-dagdhanī
 rôha-
 32 nti³⁹ brahma-dagdhanī na rôhati || Sva-dattām para-dattām vâ⁴⁰ yô
 harēta vasundharām [1*]
 33 shashṭīm varsha-sahasrāpi⁴¹ kumbhîpākēshu pachyatê || Vinūddhy-ājavishv-
 a-tōyāsu
 34 śushka-kōṭara-vāsina[h*]⁴² | kṛishṇ-āhayô-bhijāyantê⁴³ bhūmi-dān-āpahāri-
 35 ṇaḥ [11*] Śrī-mahārājasya pravarddhamānaka-samvatsarē ashṭamē śāsanām
 likhitam=iti | (11)

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! In the race of the Chalikyās, — who meditate on the feet of (the god) Svāmi-Mahāśeṇa; who are of the Mānavya gōtra; who are Hārītīputrās; whose arms, which are very door-bars, are protected by the favour of the troop of the Mothers (of mankind); — (and) who possess the crest of a bhar, acquired through the favour, when he had arisen from sleep, of him (Vishṇu) whose couch is the ocean of milk, — there was born one who was possessed of the three constituents of regal power: victorious is (he), the king Ranavikrama; who overthrew the heroism and pride and wrath of hostile kings; (and) who came to be a very Satyākraya ("an asylum of truth"), through his achievements which crushed the wicked people of the Kālī age.

(L. 6.) — His son was the famous Kirtivarman (I.), of firm endurance; who was a very receptacle of good actions; who did (everything) that ought to be done; (and) who was (indeed) a lord of the earth.

(L. 7.) — His son (is) one of great splendour; who is, as it were, a very Kandarpa (Kāma-dēva) incarnate; who both knows religion, and recognises favours that are done (to him); (and) who in puissance is equal to Pārtha (Arjuna). He has been placed in the world by the Creator, — both he and Bibhatu (Arjuna), — as if for the purpose of eradicating the pride of men who live by the profession of arms.

(L. 10.) — By him, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Yuvrāja Vishṇuvar-dhana (I.), (also called) Vishamasiddhi, — who has the water-lilies that are his feet-chafed by the jewels in the bent-down tiaras of many chieftains, (and) who has become the ornament of the whole circuit of the earth, — (by him), stationed at Kurumarathī (or Kurumarathya), for the acquisition of religious merit by his parents and by himself, on the full-moon tithi of (the month) Kārttika there has been given, with libations of water according to due rite, the village named Alandatirtha, in the Śrinilaya bhōga, on the north of the agrāhāra of Anopalya, and on the south bank of the (river) Bhimarathī, to the sons of Lakshmapasvāmin who has (the pravara of) Viśvāmitra (&c.) (P), who are well versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, (and) who belong to the Ghṛitakaṇṭhika gōtra, — (viz.) to Achalasvāmin, Vēdasvāmin, and Dēvasvāmin,

³² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³⁴ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

³⁵ 36, 40, 41 and 43 These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

³⁶ Omit the mark of punctuation, and read bhūmi-tasya.

³⁷ Read yudhishthira.

³⁸ Read dānā śrēyô; or, more correctly, dānā-śrēyô.



२
 ४
 ६
 ८
 १०
 १२
 १४
 १६
 १८
 २०
 २२
 २४
 २६
 २८
 ३०
 ३२
 ३४
 ३६
 ३८
 ४०
 ४२
 ४४
 ४६
 ४८
 ५०
 ५२
 ५४
 ५६
 ५८
 ६०
 ६२
 ६४
 ६६
 ६८
 ७०
 ७२
 ७४
 ७६
 ७८
 ८०
 ८२
 ८४
 ८६
 ८८
 ९०
 ९२
 ९४
 ९६
 ९८
 १००

१०
 १२
 १४
 १६
 १८
 २०
 २२
 २४
 २६
 २८
 ३०
 ३२
 ३४
 ३६
 ३८
 ४०
 ४२
 ४४
 ४६
 ४८
 ५०
 ५२
 ५४
 ५६
 ५८
 ६०
 ६२
 ६४
 ६६
 ६८
 ७०
 ७२
 ७४
 ७६
 ७८
 ८०
 ८२
 ८४
 ८६
 ८८
 ९०
 ९२
 ९४
 ९६
 ९८
 १००

W. GRIFFIN, PHOTO-LITH.

FULL-SIZE.

J.F. PLANT SO. O.S.

18
 20
 22
 24
 26

18
 20
 22
 24
 26

28
 30
 32
 34

28
 30
 32
 34

together with Âdityasvâmin and Nâgakumâra, — without any interruption (P) of (*the succession of*) sons and sons' sons &c., to endure for the same time with the existence of the moon and the sun and the earth, for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaishvadeva*, *agnihôtra*, and *kavana*.

(L. 19.) — "Let it be known to all the neighbouring *Vishayapatis*, *Sâmantas*, *Grâmahôgatas*, *Mahattaras*, &c., that, — with the understanding that (*this village*) is not to be entered by the irregular or regular troops, money-lenders, and others, (*and*) that it has been freed from any shortcoming by complete acceptance (P); and keeping in view the fact that the world of living beings is as unstable as waves of water driven by an unsteady wind, — accordingly, no interruption (*of the enjoyment of it*) should be caused! And he who, having a mind covered with the veil of the darkness of ignorance, may confiscate, or may assent to the act of anyone who is confiscating (*this grant*), — he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins!"

(L. 25.) — And it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas: — The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty thousand years; but the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell! The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continues it*)! Verily kings do not acquire as much religious merit from bestowing land, as they do in preserving an endowment made by another! O Yudhishtira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born; (*verily*) the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! Set not (*thy*) mind upon the property of a Brâhman, even when the breath of life has gone to (*thy*) throat (*on the point of departure*); things that are burnt by the fire grow up (*again*); (*but*) anything burnt by (*the curse of*) a Brâhman, grows not (*again*)! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, — he is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years! Those who confiscate grants of land, are born as black serpents, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees, in the forests of the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water!

(L. 35.) — (*This*) charter has been written in the augmenting eighth year of the glorious Mahârâja.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 34. — THE SHOWER OF GOLD AND SCORPIONS.

In a certain town there lived a great landholder, whose house was only a small one. One day it occurred to him that it was not in keeping with his position, and having plenty of money to spare, he resolved to build himself a mansion befitting his position. So he called the best workmen round about him, and fixing on an auspicious day according to the recommendation of the local soothsayers, he built the mansion strictly according to the advice of the wise men, and it was soon completed; and then our hero, accompanied by Brâhmanas reciting the four Vêdas, by musicians playing on various instruments, and by dancing-girls in gay procession, entered and settled in it,¹ finding every part of it to his heart's content. With the feasting of several thousands of Brâhmanas in its halls, a busy day closed, and all the guests took their leave, leaving the owner to the sole enjoyment of the house. And he, too, much exhausted by attending upon his many guests, took his supper early, and with his wife and children retired to rest.

¹ It is the opinion of Hindus that new houses should be entered with music and dancing. The house that is not warmed with the dancing of dancing-girls (courtesans) will never be liked by the gods!

The place being new to him he was unable to sleep that night, and at about midnight he heard a voice saying, "Shall I fall down? shall I fall down?" It proceeded from no person, as far as he could see, but went on and on without any break. Our hero was greatly frightened, thinking it must have proceeded from some devil or other, who had got into the house before he had warmed it. He was also afraid that if he continued to occupy it, the devil would pull the roof down over his head. Horrified at the terrors which his imagination aggravated every moment, he spent the night in the greatest anxiety. And the voice never stopped!

At last the day dawned, and at the first appearance of the light our hero thought to himself: — "The great god, Mahésvara, has been extremely merciful to me, and has preserved me and my family from the devil throughout this terrible night just past. Surely, if I continue to live here, some day or other I shall be buried alive by the falling debris of my own house! Let the devil enjoy my palace; my old cottage will do for me! In it I have lived comfortably till now, and in it I shall continue to live happily for many a day more."

Thus thinking, the very next morning after he had occupied his new mansion, our hero quitted it for his old cottage! The suddenness with which he moved back to his old house was in itself more than enough to create a talk throughout the town that the mansion was haunted, and it became a most dreaded spot, and story after story was freely invented to spread its notoriety throughout the country round about.

In that same town there lived a poor beggar Brâhman. Beggars are always notorious for having more children than they can support, and in obedience to the rule this Brâhman had half a dozen, — three sons and three daughters. They all lived in a miserable hut, where the children were always ill from the damp. Poverty and misery pinched him in every direction, and his troubles increased day by day and hour by hour. At last he became so disgusted with his life which was a very misery to him, that he often resolved upon suicide. But such an idea is most repulsive to a Hindû, because the darkest world and dirtiest hell are the abode set apart for those who give up their lives in that way. So at last he resolved thus within himself: — "What if I go to the house which is said to be haunted? If I sleep there one night, the devil in it will kill me, and there will be an end of my miseries!"

So thought he, and going to the owner, spoke thus: — "My master! I am very poor. The winter is fast approaching, and I have no house to live in. If you would kindly permit me to live in a room or two of your great unoccupied mansion, I shall be highly obliged."

The owner was at first afraid to give him leave, lest some injury should befall himself. But then it occurred to him that if all went right with the poor Brâhman, the evil name it bore would be removed. And wishing to use the Brâhman as an experiment, he promised to let him use the house from that next day, and was so kind as to demand no rent! The Brâhman received the keys, and resolved to give up his life by sleeping in the haunted house the next night. Thought he: — "If I die to-morrow, who will protect my six children? None of them are grown up, and I have no relatives or friends in this world to give me or my children a morsel of rice. So if I leave them behind me, it must be more to their misery than anything else. So I shall take them also with me to the haunted house, and there let what happens to me happen to them also."

Thus this wretched Brâhman, who had at first resolved to give up his life in the haunted house, changed it into an intention of the wholesale murder of his family. His wife was the incarnation of virtue, and though she lived in a state of abject poverty, never gainsaid what her husband resolved upon! And so, with his cares laid aside, the begging Brâhman entered the mansion, apparently to live in it, but at heart in order to sacrifice himself and his whole family to the devil who dwelt there.

The day passed and night approached, and the little children, after partaking of the meagre repast their poor mother could spare for them, retired to rest. They had not even a

covering to protect them from the cold of the night. But being accustomed to a hard life, they nevertheless went composedly to sleep. Their poor mother, too, who always consoled herself with the thought that the God who had given her so many children would somehow or other protect them, according to the doctrine — "He never sends mouths without also sending meat," — she too slept soundly. The poor father alone was awake, and as he trimmed the lamp, he took a farewell look at the innocent faces sound asleep around him. Almost immediately he heard the voice : — "Shall I fall down ? shall I fall down ?" His heart, which he had steeled into preparation for death, fairly gave way. But after deep thought he came back again to his original resolution, and fully determined to die with his whole family, and said aloud : — "Why do you thus threaten me who am boldly resolved already ? Fall down at once, and take me and my children away."

Thus saying he lifted his head to see the house fall, but instead there rained from the roof a torrent of gold mohars, which soon filled the unoccupied parts of the room. After about a *ghatika* the torrent of gold stopped, and the Brâhman rose up and heaped all coins in a corner. He then awakened his wife, and related to her all that he had intended and all that had happened. Finding that fortune had begun to favour him, he gathered money every night, and with it bought houses and jewels and lands and other things he wanted.

The owner of the house, finding him daily growing richer and richer as a result of dwelling in the haunted house, asked him one day the reason of it, and the Brâhman related to him the whole affair without concealing anything. The owner of the property was then very sorry for his cowardice, and at having missed the opportunities previously offered him ; and so he said to the Brâhman : — "You have now been a long while occupying my house, will you kindly vacate it for me ?"

The Brâhman replied : — "I have been from my birth a beggar, and what I have already gained is more than enough for me. All my present advantages are due to your kindness, and I will vacate it this very moment. Go you and live in it and amass wealth. It is your property."

The owner occupied it without delay, so as to lose no time over his money-making. He did not wait to remove his family, postponing that till the next day. His anxiety was all for the right, and many a time did he curse his timidity for abandoning the mansion at the first sound of "shall I fall down ?" and kept on calculating how much money he had already lost by his cowardice. The night approached, and he went into the house to sleep, — or rather to watch. At midnight, just as he was expecting to hear it, a voice fell upon his ear, saying, "Shall I fall down ? shall I fall down ?" He at once fell into a humble posture and said : — "My good gods ; excuse my stupidity in having so long refused your good graces. I have come to my proper senses at last. Shower down the mohars."

Thus said the owner, and at once the voice stopped, and immediately a torrent, alas ! not of mohars, but of scorpions, began to descend on our hero, who, looking for the money, never noticed them. Going up close, one scratch was enough to give him an idea of the shower ! Starting back he observed by the light that, instead of mohars, scorpions were falling down from the roof. "Stop," said he, unable to bear the horrid sight, and at once the torrent dried up, and our hero fled from the house, almost mad with pain.

However, he kept what had occurred secret, and resolved to try his luck a second night. Secretly he sent servants to examine the whole house, and kill all the scorpions. Several thousands were killed that day, and the following night our hero tried his luck again, seeing torrents of scorpions, but never a mohar !

Then he sent for the Brâhman and asked him whether he could shew him the mohars falling. "Agreed," said he, and on the third night they both slept in the mansion. At midnight when the voice was heard, and the permission was given a torrent commenced,

The very sight of it frightened away our hero; but the Brāhmaṇ never stirred a step, and employed himself in heaping up the fall.

"Are you a magician or sorcerer, that these scorpions do not injure you?" cried our hero, from a respectful distance. "No, my master!" replied our Brāhmaṇ; "these are all coins and not scorpions."

Then the owner found out that what appeared to him as scorpions, were *mohars* to the Brāhmaṇ, and calling him to his side, said with much respect:—"Holy Brāhmaṇ, you are indeed fortunate. Take this house and reap the benefit of your good luck. If you give me anything after getting it, I shall be happy to receive it. As for myself, all these coins appear to me as scorpions." Thus said the rich landlord, and made the Brāhmaṇ master of the mansion, and the latter, being a good man, freely shared whatever he got from the house with the owner of it.

The moral as drawn by the Tamil people is, that he who is fortunate will get a thing, while unfortunate will never get it.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FB. D'PENHA.

N^o. 4. — The Snake and the Girl.

There once lived a peasant with his wife. After several years of married life the wife became pregnant, and longed for some *kaulā*,¹ and expressed her desire to her husband, who promised to fetch some for her, whatever the risk!² So he set out the very next morning in search of the *kaulā*, and walked and walked for many miles. After several hours' search he came upon a solitary *kaulā*-bush,³ but as he stooped down to pluck its leaves, a seven-hooded *nāg*⁴ stopped him and asked him who he was, and what right he had to pluck the leaves. The poor man was terribly frightened, and told him who he was and why he wanted the *kaulā*-leaves, but the *nāg* would on no account allow him to pluck any. However, after much entreaty, the *nāg* agreed to let him have the leaves on the condition that should a daughter be born to him, he would, after twelve years, give the girl up to the *nāg* in marriage; but that if a son was born, the *nāg* was to have nothing to do with him. The poor man was at a loss to know what to do. If he agreed he would have to keep his promise, and if he did not agree there would be no chance of his getting any *kaulā*, which would mean some misfortune to his wife. So at last he agreed, took the *kaulā*-leaves and went home with sorrow weighing heavily on his heart. As soon as he reached his house, he gave the *kaulā*-leaves to his wife, who eagerly took them and cooked and ate them to her great satisfaction, little recking of the manner in which her husband had obtained them, for he had told his wife nothing of what had occurred, or of his encounter with the *nāg*.

In due time the wife was delivered of a daughter, to the great grief of her husband. He, however, consoled himself with the thought that she would be with him for at least twelve years. The girl was the pride of her parents, and during the twelve years, grew up to be strong and beautiful; but when they had elapsed, her father remembered his agreement with the *nāg*, and thought that if he did not give her up to him, he would be visited with some trouble or other, and he therefore resolved on keeping his promise. So one day he got her dressed in a new *sāṭī*, put on her what jewels he could, and without informing

¹ A herb thriving in the months of July, August and September. The leaves resemble those of tamarind and taste sour. It is much liked by the Salsette Christians.

² It is a general belief that a woman when pregnant conceives a peculiar desire for certain things, and that her desires must, in this respect, be satisfied at any cost; otherwise some misfortune or other is sure to befall her at the time of child-birth.

³ It grows to only two or three feet high.

⁴ i. e. the cobra.

his wife, took her to the *ndg*. When they had reached the *kaulá*-bush, they saw the *ndg* waiting for them, but before the man could say anything to him he disappeared, and in a tank close by there appeared a large *kambal*.⁵

The girl was so fascinated by its beauty that she asked her father if she could go and fetch it. The father, who suspected that the *kambal* was nothing but the *ndg* transformed, told her that she might go. The girl accordingly descended into the tank; but the *kambal* went further out, and so, already in knee-deep water, she sang:—

Bávd, donvidpariuh pánt sháilá kash gá,
Kambal dárish dárish sái.

"Father, knee-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further."

To which the father replied, singing:—

Dhás, dis kaulá khái:
Bápás pávtilá sái.

"Daughter, mother ate *kaulá*:
Father is seeing you off."

While the father was yet speaking, the girl went on following the *kambal*, which went further and further away. The water was now up to her waist, so she turned round and sang:—

Bávd, kambápariuh pánt sháilá kash gá,
Kambal dárish dárish sái.

"Father, waist-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further."

And her father replied, singing:—

Dhás, dis kaulá khái:
Bápás pávtilá sái.

"Daughter, mother ate *kaulá*:
Father is seeing you off."

Further and further went the *kambal*, and further and further followed the girl, till she was up to her neck, when again she turned round and sang:—

Bávd, galiépariuh pánt sháilá kash gá,
Kambal dárish dárish sái.

"Father neck-deep is the water,
The *kambal* goes further and further."

And her father again gave the same reply, singing:—

Dhás, dis kaulá khái:
Bápás pávtilá sái.

"Daughter, mother ate *kaulá*:
Father is seeing you off."

Though the girl was up to her neck in the water, she was so fascinated by the beauty of the *kambal* that she kept following it, little thinking of the consequences. So she followed the *kambal* till she reached the middle of the tank, when lo! a passage opened, and instead of the *kambal* she saw a handsome young man at the bottom of a ladder in a large palace. The young man invited her to come down and live with him, but as she shewed some unwill-

⁵ A water-lily, highly prized by Hindus and also by the Salessette Christians. When a pregnant woman is labouring, the *kambal* (which, even when dry, if put in water, opens out like a fresh flower) facilitates delivery.

lingness to descend, he said: *Dēvāchah aśl tē dēvāvaṃ, nāhin tē rūplibh kaulā diāvā āni dplēs gharā sāvāṃ*, — “Come down if you wish to, or give me a sieve-full of *kaulā* and go home.”

The poor girl looked up to see if she could get out, but to her utter embarrassment found that the passage was closed against her: and then even if she had been able to find her way out, she did not know where to find the *kaulā*! So she had no alternative but to go down the ladder without saying a word. She afterwards shewed the same reluctance to perform her domestic duties, but was always taunted with the words: *Karāvāchah aśl tē karāvāṃ, nālin tē rūplibh kaulā diāvā āni dplēs gharā sāvāṃ*, — “Do it if you wish to, or give me a sieve-full of *kaulā* and go home.” After a few days, however, she got reconciled to the life in the subterraneous abode of the *nāg*, for the handsome young man was no other than the *nāg* who had appeared to the father and to the girl as a *kambal*. And so in the end she lived happily with him all her life.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MĀLAVA ERA.

Some little time ago I came across a date, — hitherto overlooked,¹ — of the MĀLAVA era, which is of particular interest, (1) because its surroundings would prove, quite irrespectively of the Gupta era, that the MĀLAVA era is no other than the Vikrama era; and (2) because it shews that the Vikrama era was known by the name of the era of the MĀLAVA lord or lords,² as late as the second half of the 12th century A. D. The date occurs in an inscription on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace at Mēnālgadh in Mēwād, a rough reading of which was published by Kavirāj Śyāmalalā about four years ago, in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. The inscription refers itself in the concluding lines to the reign of the Chauhān Prithvirāja, and the date with which it opens, in the published version, runs thus: —

MĀlavēsa-gata-vatsara-bataih dvādaśaiś-cha
shaṭvimsā-pūrvakail;

words which, though incorrect, apparently are intended to mean —

when twelve hundred and twenty-six years
of (the era of) the MĀLAVA lord or lords
had gone by.”

Since for the Chauhān Prithvirāja we possess other dates, of the Vikrama years 1239 (*Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. Plate xxxii. 10, and Vol. XXI. p. 174) and 1244 (*ibid.* Vol. VI. Plate xxi.), the year 1226 of our new MĀLAVA date must also, of course, be referred to the Vikrama era.

F. KIELHOEN.

Göttingen.

THE PULISA-SIDDHANTA.

Of the *Pulisa* or *Pulisa-Siddhanta*, we know a good deal from the quotations of astronomers and of Al-Bērūnī, in whose time it seems to have been well known. He says it was ‘so called from Paulisa the Greek’ (يوناني — Yunāni not Rumi), ‘from the city of Saintra, which I suppose to be Alexandria.’ From a śloka quoted from a Mūla-Pulisa-Siddhanta by Utpala (Kern’s *Bri.-Sām.* int. p. 50), we learn that the length assigned to the solar year in it was 365d. 5h. 12m. 36s., and Al-Bērūnī (Sachau’s *Transl.* Vol. II. p. 18) gives other elements from the work. Has this Siddhanta then been lost since Al-Bērūnī’s time? Or, is it recoverable?

In 1687 M. La Loubère, returning from an embassy to Siam, brought to Paris part of a MS. containing astronomical rules, which were analysed by Cassini (1691). The length of the year was exactly that given above, or 292,207 days to 800 years; the Tables were computed for a longitude about 184° west of Siam, or about that of Kōkanādā or Prayāg, — possibly Lankā; the equation of the centre for the sun is given as 2°12’; and of the moon as 4°56’; the sun’s apogee was placed 80° from the first point of the zodiac; and the moon’s at the beginning of the moveable zodiac 621 days after the epoch of the Tables, which Cassini fixed as 21st March, 638 A. D. But the MS. contained little more. If these data agree with what may be gathered otherwise, they would point to Siam as a likely place to enquire after this and other lost Siddhantas. Will some one who has opportunity examine them?

Edinburgh, 16th July 1890. J. BURGESS.

¹ See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 68.

² The word *Mālavika* being compounded with the following *gata*, it is impossible to say, whether the

writer of the date under discussion took it in a singular or plural sense.

NANDIKĒSVARA, LANJIGĒSARA.

I have probably made a mistake in identifying the Nandigrāma of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription with the adjacent village of Nandikēsvara (page 9 above); for the reason that the latter village was known in Maṅgalkṛta's period by its present name, though in a slightly different form. In his Old-Kanarese inscription on the rock outside the Bādāmi Cave No. 3 (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 59), it is mentioned as Lanjigēśara. While, in line 13 of his Sanskrit inscription inside the same cave (*id.* p. 57, and Vol. VI. p. 368), the name occurs as Lanjīśvara.

The identity of the names was not recognised by me at the time. And in fact, from the occurrence of Lanjīś (with also a possible Lanjīkṣ) as a name of Lakṣmi, I took Lanjīśvara, — for Lanjīśvara, — to be a name of Viṣṇu, as a shrine for whom the cave was made, and assumed that the reference was to a village named after him (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 57). But it is plain now that Lanjigēśara and Lanjīśvara are only Prakṛt forms of Nandikēśvara and Nandīśvara, names of Śiva or of Nandī. It may as well be noted here, that I find that the Mahākūṭa temples are in the lands of the village of Nandikēśvara.

Nandigrāma might reasonably be taken as another name of the village of Nandikēśvara. But in that case, there is no reason why, having been granted to the cave-temple of Viṣṇu in Śaka-Saṁvat 501, the same village should be granted to the god Makuṭēśvaranātha only twenty-four years later. As it is, it must be a village which, like Śrīyaṁbāṭaka and Vṛthimukhagrāma, does not now exist.¹

The two names, Nandikēśvara and Lanjigēśara illustrate some interesting changes of letters. For the reverse of the change here from *a* to *l*, we have the change from *l* to *a* in the word *linga*, in such proper names as Lingappa and Niṅgappa, Śivalinga and Śivaninga, Gurulinga and Guruminga. Owing to want of clearness in pronunciation, it is often very difficult to know whether the *l* is being used, or the *a*. J. F. FLEET.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 40.

In the first part of a stone inscription at Mīraj, the chief town of the Mīraj State in the so-called Southern Marāṭhā country, the date

¹ There is a Nandikṣ, about twenty miles north-west of Pāṇḍl; but this is not likely to be it.

² It is a photograph of the original stone; not of the ink-impression.

(from an ink-impression, line 19 f.; see also the photograph, *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 96) is, at first sight, — [Śaka]-varaha 1065meva Dundubhi-saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada-sudhā(dhā)-2-Śukravārad-amdu, — "on Friday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the month) Bhādrapada, of the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*, which is the 1065th Śaka year." And the inscription proceeds to record that on this day there was established a Friday market (*Śukravāradā śaṁtā*); and to detail certain tolls and duties which were assigned by the people of the district, in a general assembly, for the *āgabhāga* of the god Mādhavēśvara.

Here the given year is a current year. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this case, the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1064 expired.

But in Śaka-Saṁvat 1065 current, the (at first sight) given *tithi*, Bhādrapada *śukla* 2, ended, not on a Friday, but on Monday, 24th August, A. D. 1142, at about 35 *ghaṭi*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). This result is with the month *Āshāḍha* intercalary, according to the published Tables. And no better result can be obtained by taking Bhādrapada itself (or any subsequent month) as intercalary, instead of *Āshāḍha*; for then the *tithi* *śukla* 2 of the intercalated (or natural) Bhādrapada would end at about 13 *gha*. 30 *p.* on Sunday, 26th July, and could not be connected with the Friday even as a current *tithi*.

In this case, the reference to the Friday market shows that the mistake must be in the *tithi*; not in the week-day. And a closer examination of the ink-impression shows that, at some subsequent time, the number of the *tithi* was undoubtedly corrected from 2 into 6. The alteration is discernible in the photograph;² but not very conclusively. In the ink-impression, however, it can, on close examination, be recognised very clearly; and it is seen that the resulting 6 is more like the figure as it stands in line 47 of this record, in the date of the second part, than the 6 that occurs in the same line with the corrected *tithi*. And the corrected *tithi* Bhādrapada *śukla* 6, ended, as required, on Friday, 28th August, A. D. 1142, at about 32 *gha*. 55 *p.*

This inscription, therefore, is of interest in giving, (1) a current year of the Śaka era;³ and

² The second part of the inscription also illustrates this. It refers itself to the time of the Śiṅghārā Mahā-maṅgalēśvara Vijayādityadeva. And it is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1066, the Rudrārdra *saṁvatsara*, — which coincided with 1065 expired and 1066 current.

(2) an instance in which not only was a mistake made in respect of the number of the *tikki*, but also the mistake was afterwards recognised and corrected.

J. F. FLEET.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 21.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society.

(a) *Meeting, Feb. 8th, 1889.*

V. A. Zhukovski made a communication concerning a manuscript of Nicholas Semeno, containing remarks on the military occurrences of the year 1827 in Persia, at the time of the last Russian war with that country.

(b) *Meeting, April 4th, 1889.*

Baron Rosen laid before the members: (1) Some numbers of the *Indian Antiquary*, which had been received; (2) An essay by M. Petrov-Borina on the *Ruins of the City of Pai-hand*; (3) An atlas of illustrations to the travels of the academicien Dorn in the Caucasus. Baron Rosen considered that this might be published with a short introduction and table of contents.

N. J. Veselovski made a communication on the relations of Moscow with Persia at the end of the sixteenth century. He offered to publish in the *Trudy*,¹ a series of documents from the Imperial Archives. His offer was accepted, and these documents will be printed in the nineteenth volume of the *Trudy*.

Father Alexis (Vinogradov) made a communication on the contents of the Library of the Russian Mission in Peking.

(c) *The Coptic Legend of the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre*, by O. Loms. Constantine the Great undoubtedly occupies one of the first places in mediæval legend, not only among Orientals, Greeks, and Slavs, but also among Western peoples. Such are the legends about the finding of the True Cross and the Holy Sepulchre.

The oldest account of the finding of the Cross is in Cyril of Jerusalem (t. 386), but he does not mention the finder. In the same way John Chrysostom only speaks of the finding. The letter of Cyril of Jerusalem, in which he ascribes the finding to Constantine is of doubtful authenticity. The finder is more often said to have been Helen,

Constantine's mother. She is first mentioned by Ambrose of Milan (t. 397). Afterwards this form of the legend was adopted by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus and others. A new form of the legend appears in the *Acts of Cyriacus* in the fifth century, in which we are first told that a Jew shewed the place where the Cross was found. Besides to Helen, its discovery is ascribed to Protonice, the reputed wife of the Emperor Claudius, especially in the Syrian legend preserved in the so-called *Doctrina Addai*.²

In a Coptic legend of the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre;³ it is ascribed to a certain Eudoxia, whom the legend calls the sister of Constantine the Great, although in reality he never had a sister. The legend was not invented earlier than the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, under the influence of a story preserved in John Malala.

Undoubtedly the *Acts of Cyriacus*, which are also preserved in the Coptic language, have had their influence upon the legend, as there are many similar features, e. g. that a Jew pointed out the place where the Cross was found. The MS. containing the legend of Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor, has not been preserved entire. Its beginning is lost, but the most important parts remain.⁴

(d) *Spurious Assyrian Antiquities*, by Count J. Tolstoi (illustrated with several engravings). There has long been an extensive manufacture of spurious Assyrian antiquities out of soft stone, to which attention has been called by MM. Clermont-Ganneau and J. Menant. They contain cuneiform inscriptions, but it is impossible to make any sense out of them. Some of the figures represented have their heads uncovered, others wear a peculiar head-dress; some have a long dress reaching to the feet; others a short tunic. Again, on some stones there are representations of processions; on others, of people doing homage. According to Dr. Hayes Ward of America, these fabrications are chiefly made by a Persian family at Kerbelâ. Some of them were sent to St. Petersburg by M. Rofnov, who acquired them in the city of Tamir Khân Shura, and were proved to be forgeries. In one of the figures the curls are like those on the old Assyrian beards, but the man wears a collar, just as a soldier does now, and has epaulettes! In another case the king's head-dress is ornamented with

¹ [The *Trudy* are works published by the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society something in the manner of the *Bibliotheca Indica* and the "extra numbers" of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.—B. C. T.]

² See a detailed account of these legends in the work of Leipniz, *Die edessensische Abgarage*.

³ Preserved in the Museum of Turin.

⁴ Here follows a translation.

three gold nails which are driven into the stone! Maspero had some of the fabrications offered to him.

The manufacture of old Persian, Chaldean, Assyrian and Central-Asiatic antiquities, is steadily developing itself, and clumsy though they be, they shew that the fabricator is well acquainted with the habits of educated Europeans. They are probably of Persian origin, as the grouping of the figures shews. Travellers and others should also be put upon their guard against the constant manufacture of bas-reliefs, engraved stones, clay vessels, metallic objects, and pseudo-antique coins.

(c) *Epistle to a Pupil by Chandra-gomin, with notes by J. Minayev.* This epistle was addressed to the king's son Ratnakirti. The prince, on reading it, became a monk and quitted the world. How much historical truth there is in the legend is not known; but Chandra-gomin enjoys a good position in Sanskrit literature, and was celebrated for the purity of his style. He is the author of many works, among others of a grammar. Tāranātha gives us some facts about him and mentions the name of his teacher Sthiramati, celebrated in Buddhist literature. He tells us that Chandra-gomin, following the path of Asanga, adhered to the idealists (*yōgachārya*), whereas Chandra-kirti, approving the comment of Buddhapālita and others on the works of Nāgārjuna, was one of those who deny the existence of matter. The dispute lasted seven years. We also learn from Tāranātha that our author wrote a grammar, known by the name of *Chandra-vyākaraṇa*, and lived at an earlier period than Dharmakīrti, Sthiramati lived probably before the 7th century A. D., and previous to the journey of Hiuen-Tsiang to India. The Chinese pilgrim speaks of him as dead, and tells us that near Valabhīpura was a great monastery where Guṇamati and Sthiramati¹ composed their treatises. Dharmakīrti is a no less important name. Subandhu mentions the name of one of his works. Subandhu is cited by Bāṇa, and Bāṇa was the contemporary of Hiuen-Tsiang.

The Grammar written by Chandra-gomin has not yet been published, but it is known that Jayāditya, the author of the *Kāśikā*, made use of it. Jayāditya according to I-tsin died in the latter half of the seventh century. In the curious memoirs of I-tsin, a part of which not long since was published in a French translation (*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec. 1898), are some data in confirmation of the above statements. I-tsin

¹ One of the works of the latter was translated into the Chinese language during the rule of the dynasty

writes as follows:—De tels personnages ne paraissent que très rarement, un ou deux par siècle; aussi les compare-t-on au Soleil, et à la lune ou au dragon et à l'éléphant: tels furent dans les temps anciens, Aśvaghōṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadēva, etc. dans les temps modernes, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Saṅghabhadra, Bhavavivēka, etc., parmi nos contemporains, Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Śīlabhachandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Matipāla, Guṇaprabha, Jinaprabha, etc.

Prof. Vasiliev has obligingly communicated an extract from his translation of the same document exhibiting some variations from the above. In this the list of Buddhist writers is divided into three groups. According to I-tsin they are:—(I) Old Teachers, (a) Nāgārjuna, (b) Āryadēva, (c) Aśvaghōṣa. (II.), Medieval (according to Vasiliev) or modern (according to the French translation) (a) Vasubandhu, (b) Āryasaṅga, (c) Saṅghabhadra, (d) Tsin-bian (Jin). (III.) Teachers nearest in time (or according to the French translation contemporary) (a) Chenna (Jina); (b) Dharmapāla, (c) Dharmakīrti, (d) Śīlabhadra, (e) Śīlabhachandra, (f) An-hui (Sthiramati), (g) De-hui (Guṇamati), (h) Hui-hu (Matipāla), (i) Guṇaprabha, (j) Jen-huan (Jinaprabha).

There is here no mention of Chandra-gomin, and thus it is clear that he cannot be reckoned among the oldest teachers, nor those of the ensuing period, as Vasubandhu and Āryasaṅga are older in point of time than his teacher Sthiramati. He could not be the contemporary of I-tsin, inasmuch as he lived earlier than Dharmakīrti. It is probable therefore that Chandra-gomin lived in the fourth or at the very beginning of the fifth century A.D.

The writer says that his translation of the Epistle of Chandra-gomin is made from a manuscript in his own possession, which he brought from Kāthmāṇḍu. It is a copy from a MS. now in the Cambridge University library, Add. 1161. In this Epistle, Chandra-gomin, who had a great reputation as a stylist, endeavours to put his pessimism into an elegant form. Some of these verses have found their way into celebrated anthologies. The fundamental idea is quite clear. All existence is melancholy. To save oneself from this grief it is possible in only one way to recover one's mental vision, i.e. by becoming a Buddha or seer.² The attitude concludes with a Tibetan version of the Epistle communicated by A. Tvanovski, who gives a list of the works ascribed to Chandra-gomin.

Leo (397-439 A. D.).

² Here follows the translation.

(f) *Some remarks on an Aramaic inscription on a Vase found at Moscow, by A. Harkavy.* M. Blau sent to the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society a terra-cotta vase, the bottom of which was covered with an exorcism written in the Aramaic language in Hebrew letters. This inscription was not long since published in the *Transactions* of that Society by a young scholar, J. J. Soloveichik. The paper was conscientiously written and M. Soloveichik had clearly taken great pains, but as this was his first scientific work, mistakes had naturally crept in. There are several peculiarities about the text. Thus we here find mentioned for the first time the angels 'Ariel and Hatzmiel. The article winds up with a note in which the writer expresses his suspicion that the inscription is not genuine, as so many forgeries are now in circulation in oriental matters. He mentions two circumstances among others that are unsatisfactory:—(a) the dedication of the inscription to Lilith alone, without the mention of any other evil spirits, and (b) the word *לילית* which occurs three times.

(g) *On the discovery of a Pathân dîndr in the year 1888, by A. Likhachev.* In his description of a discovery of *dîndrs* of the Pathân Sultans of India made in 1884, the writer had expressed a wish that all kinds of Pathân *dîndrs* occurring in Russia should be noted. He is now able to add to the list one more *dîndr* found in 1888. It was brought to Kasan from Tetush, and was there bought by the writer's agent, a Tâtâr, who unfortunately neglected to ascertain from the seller the circumstances of the finding. It was probably picked up on the left bank of the Volga, because this is where they have invariably been found. The newly discovered *dîndr* exhibits no novelty. It belongs to the Pathân Sultan, Muhammad I., the son of Tughlaq Shâh, coined at Dehli in 742 A. H. The orthography is very bad and points to the fact that in Dehli in the eighth century A.H., even for valuable gold coins, educated workmen were not always to be found.

(h) *Minor notes.*

(1) *Note by V. Tiesenhausen on an Embassy mentioned in a work by Shihab'uddîn Ibn Fasl'Ullâh Blomari, which occurred in 731 A.H. (15th October 1330, — 8rd October 1331).* The Embassy was to the Egyptian Court from the Turkish conqueror of the Serbs and Bulgarians, offering the Egyptian Sultan his friendship, and asking him to send a sword and a standard.⁷

⁷ Here follow further extracts given from the same work, the MS. of which is in the Leyden Library, Cat. IV. No. 1844.

(2) *Note by P. Kokovtsov on the Ethiopic MSS. in the Imperial Public Library.* At the present time there are in this library 23 Ethiopic MSS., all, with one exception, written on parchment. Nine MSS. were presented by the Russian diplomatist, Dubrovski, twelve were brought from the East by Constantine Tischendorf, and two belonged formerly to the collection of Porphyrius, Bishop of Ohigirin. Of these MSS. those given by Dubrovski have been described by Dorn, and those of the Bishop by the writer of the present notice.⁸

(3) *New Bâbi MSS. by Baron V. Rosen.* Four new Bâbi MSS. have been lately presented to the Asiatic Department, which came from Tehrân:—

(i) No. 468, copy of a polemical treatise in *nashîk* characters.

(ii) No. 467. A lithographed edition of the same treatise. It is neatly executed on paper of English manufacture, in *ta'lik* characters. This, as far the writer knows, is the first Bâbi book published in its entirety, and the fact of its existence shows that there is a demand for such publications.

(iii) No. 466. A little MS. of 45 pages, containing an unknown Bâbi treatise in Arabic in *nashîk* characters.

(iv) No. 465. A MS. of 172 leaves containing several Bâbi letters and treatises.

The author of these two last works, appears to be the same Hussain, the Bâbi emigrant whose adventures in Persia and Bagdad are well known. We get some fresh details from these new materials. Thus, he was for some time in prison at Akka, and also lived at Adrianople. He appears also to have advanced further in his self-deception, and in his character of the conveyer of a divine revelation is not prevented from changing, in the name of the Most High, some of the decrees of the founder of the Sect. Hussain has heard a good deal of political news, and introduces things of the kind into the body of his remarks, see for example his admonition addressed to the "Emperor of Berlin," not to be deceived by the successes he has obtained and not to be too proud of them, but to think of the fate of other conquerors, who were once powerful but, for all that, finally perished.⁹ Compare also his rebukes to the Emperor of Austria, because, while going through Akka on his way to Jerusalem, he did not make himself acquainted with the condition of the "dawn of the

⁸ Here follows a list of the Ethiopic MSS.

⁹ Here follows an extract in Arabic.

light of the one God," who (the author means himself), was there in prison. Hussain gives his reflections on true liberty, his plan for choosing one language for the whole human race, and one style of writing, which in his opinion would serve as the best means for the establishment of unity and true civilization upon earth.

The writer adds in a postscript that he has recently received from Mr. E. J. Browne a reprint of his *Essay on the Bâbîs of Persia*, from the *Journal of the English Royal Asiatic Society*. In this essay are given new and most interesting details of the Bâbîs and their literature. Mr. Browne also sent the writer an account of his Bâbî MSS. His notes throw much light upon this movement, and enable the writer to say, that MSS. Nos. 468 and 467, are copies of the *T'ahs*, whereas No. 466 is the *Lowh-i-Akdas*.

(i) *Reviews and Bibliography.*

(1) *Eastern Antiquities: Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Moscow Archaeological Society, Vol. I, Part I. By the Editor.*—This very elegant and well-edited volume exhibits the first results of the Eastern Committee formed in 1887 in connexion with the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society. It is a proof that the feeling of the great importance of Eastern studies is increasing. He therefore gives the young Society a hearty greeting. Russian Oriental learning may yet stand upon a firm footing and be able to investigate those inexhaustible riches which the immense territory of Russia possesses. Among other papers are noticed:—

- (i) S. S. Slutski on the Nestorian Inscriptions of the district of the Seven Rivers.
- (ii) Th. E. Korsch on the Turkish words in the Nestorian inscriptions.
- (iii) J. J. Solovelschik on a newly discovered Jewish Babylonian Vase.

The general impression of the work of his Moscow colleagues is pronounced by the reviewer to be favourable. There is a feeling of optimism and of confidence in their own strength among these young writers, which, if properly directed, is a pledge of success; occasionally however a certain unsteadiness is shewn. The essay of S. S. Slutski is the first printed work of a young scholar, and is far from wanting in merit. He carries on a lively polemic with Prof. Ohwolson and convicts him of some mistakes, but M. Slutski himself falls into errors which prevent us from having confidence in him. Many of these are of a rudimentary kind, and the same remark applies to Th. E. Korsch.

A paper by M. V. Nikolaki on the forged cuneiform inscriptions¹⁹ is also noticed. The proceedings connected with the sending of these are wrapped in obscurity. Probably those who sent the antiquities to Moscow, hoped that they would there be subjected to less searching enquiries than in Paris or London.

Among other papers contained in this volume are—(i) V. Th. Müller on the Jews in the Caucasus; (ii) L. N. Kholmogorov on an Arabic inscription at Kazan; (iii) V. A. Gringmut on the formation of the plural number in the old Egyptian language; (iv) B. M. Istrin on the application of the comparative historical method to the Semitic languages; (v) A. S. Khakanov on the Georgian Translations of the *Kalliah* and *Dimnah*, &c.

While praising the collection as a whole, the reviewer has found himself compelled occasionally to make some severe remarks, but he begs the writers to consider that this has only been done in the interests of science, and he wishes all success to their Society.

(2) *Transactions of the Statistical Committee of the District of Sir-Darya in 1887-1888 Tashkand, 1888. By the Editor.* The Statistical Committee of Sir-Darya, which only began its labours in 1887 has commenced work very energetically. Having somewhat enlarged its programme, it has also turned its attention to ethnography and history, and thus it promises to be very useful to Orientalists. Among the papers is one by N. Ostroûmov on the Proverbs of the native population of Turkistan.

(3) *The Sultans Kenisara and Sâdik. Biographical Sketches of Sultan Ahmad Kenisara. Edited with notes by E. Smirnov. Tashkand, 1889. By the Editor.* This book, published by the Statistical Committee of the Sir-Darya district, shews its activity. It contains Sketches of the lives of two Kirghiz warriors of our days, the Sultans Kenisara and Sâdik, composed by the son of the former and brother of the latter. E. Smirnov invited Sâdik to give a sketch of his life and exploits, but he declined and left it to his brother Ahmad. The translation has been executed by Smirnov, who has also added a large number of appendices. We thus get some good pictures of oriental life. The original text ought, however, to have been printed.

(4) *A Military Russian, French, Turkish and Persian Dictionary. St. Petersburg, 1889. Reviewed by the Editor.* This dictionary consists of three parts

¹⁹ See article previously mentioned.

(i) Russian, (ii) French, and (iii) Turkish-Persian. In the first two parts the oriental words are transliterated. In the third the same words are printed in Arabic characters. The name of the author (M. Gamazov) is a guarantee for the excellence of the work.

(5) V. Nalinski. *A Russian-Persian Dictionary of Words in ordinary use in the Dialects of the Turkistan districts. Kasan. Reviewed by the Editor.* The author is an indefatigable worker. He says that most of his material is taken from Persian literature, especially books published in India. The rest he has gathered together while among the natives. A native of Kasimr, Kabir Shah, son of Mustafa Shah Oglu, living in Turkistan, has been of great service to him. The book is entirely practical, and the reviewer hopes that it may spread the knowledge of a language which is familiar to the educated classes of all Central Asia and India. As regards the Tajik dialect, it is very curious from a philological point of view. The author however ought to have distinguished between the words he has taken from Persian literature and those in use among the natives. In the melancholy condition of contemporary Persian lexicography and the almost complete absence of any investigations of the Tajik dialect, such a distinction of the words would have been very useful, and would have caused the author (comparatively) little trouble. It is to be hoped that he will publish a Tajik Russian dictionary in which he will give only the local words.

(6) V. Nalinski. *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand, traduit du russe, par Aug. Dozon. By the Editor.* This work deserves a translation in spite of some trivial errors. M. Dozon has done his work conscientiously. The reviewer finds fault with some omissions of the translator, and his transliteration of names is inconsistent. Moreover, some considerable misprints are to be found in the book.

(7) A. Freiherr von Kremer. (i) *Ueber das Budget der Einnahmen unter der Regierung des Harun-Al-Rashid. Nach einer neu aufgefundenen Urkunde. Wien, 1887.* (ii) *By the same author:—Ueber das Einnahme-Budget des Abbasiden-Reiches vom Jahre 306 A. H. (918-919) Wien, 1887.* (iii) *By the same author: Ueber die philosophischen Gedichte des Abu'l 'Ala Ma'arri. Wien, 1888. By the Editor.*—To Baron Von Kremer, as the author of *Culturegeschichte des Orients unter den Khalifen*, belongs a most honourable place in Oriental study. In the first of these works the author gives us a text, translation and explanation of the calculation of the revenues of the Khalifas found by him in the *History*

of the Wasirs and Officials by Al-Jahshiyari who died in 381 A.H. This book was quite unknown until now. The trustworthiness of the author's information is confirmed by the list of revenues of the *khalifat* preserved in a somewhat shortened form by the Persian historian Wassaf, first deciphered and explained here by Kremer. The text of Al-Jahshiyari gives the list of revenues which came into the treasury from each province in money and kind in the times of Ar-Rashid. The general revenue in money amounted to 580,312,000 *dirhams*. Of these 125,582,000 were in gold, and the rest 404,780,000 in silver. There were also many local products in kind, the value of which cannot be exactly estimated.

The second work of Baron Kremer presented greater difficulties. The document here published gives an account of the revenues of the *Khalifat* in 306 A.H. in the time of the Khalif Al-Muktadir. The work was very difficult to edit, because it was written partly in *shikasta* and partly in cursive *ta'lik* characters, with the figures in the chancery hand, called *diwand*, which is difficult to decipher, and admits of a mass of errors. By sheer hard work Baron Kremer succeeded in making it out. While engaged on the work he naturally took an interest in the man who compiled it, the *Wasir* Ali ibn-'Isa, and the search for materials for his biography was crowned with complete success, by the discovery of a Gotha MS. pointed out to him by Professor de Goeje, which was an incomplete copy of a work by Subi.

Baron Kremer gives an account of the economic and political condition in the time of Al-Muktadir, an account of the revenue in 306 A.H., and a sketch of the great and honourable statesman 'Ali ibn-'Isa. The higher officials were in the habit of enriching themselves by all means lawful and unlawful, and their wealth was for the most part gained in an unjust manner. The chief authority from time to time took it away from them under the pretext of the *musadara*, which was at first a means of inflicting punishment for extortion and taking bribes, but soon became the regular means of saving the public treasure chest from continual deficits. Such a punishment involved nothing disgraceful either in the eyes of society or the Government. The official who had become liable to the *musadara* did not lose his chance of again coming into favour, and there were examples when, on the payment of the *musadara*, they were again appointed to their former place. There was a bad side, however, to this custom, in the general insecurity of property which it created, and the

officials, finding themselves liable to be despoiled in this way, plundered as much as they could. As gold, silver and precious stones could be taken most easily, every one tried to get landed property, especially as Musalmān law usually favours this kind of property. The small proprietor could, of course, be easily robbed, but this was not the case with the large landholder who had influential friends at court. Thus the large proprietors increased, and a kind of *latifundia* existed, while the smaller landholders decreased, and were turned into farmers or simple labourers, or went into the great towns and increased the proletariat. The insecurity of the small landed proprietors became so great that they frequently registered their lands in the name of some magnate, according to a mutual agreement.

Guided by the notices of the revenue for 306 A. H., Baron Kremer establishes the following categories of landed proprietorship:—(i) The private possessions of the Khalifa, the revenues from which went into his private chest. (ii) The so-called 'Abbāsi possessions: these were primarily the common inheritance of the family of the 'Abbāsids, but in course of time the management of them came into the hands of the government, so that to their numerous descendants there remained only a poor subsidy. (iii) The so-called *mustahdars* lands or newly cultivated virgin soil. (iv) Large estates with smaller portions of land attached. (v) Lands subject to *haraj*: there were various losses occurring at different times; thus the lands given to common soldiers generally went to ruin, and of course no revenue was collected from lands belonging to provinces which were lost.

That the *kālifai* did not perish at this time, was owing to honest financiers of the stamp of 'Alī-ibn 'Isā, who served his country in various offices for 70 years. This eminent man was born in the year 245 A. H., and was of Persian extraction. His grandfather Dāūd belonged to

the official classes, and was *kātib* to the Khalifa Al-Musta'in. He was also a literary man. His sons, Muḥammad and 'Isā, followed the same path as their father, and reached to high posts. 'Isā, the father of our 'Alī, was one of the most important of the *kātib*s. 'Alī, his son, was twice *wasir*, from 800-804, and again 815-16. From 806-811 he was companion to the *wasir*, and in reality, during the complete incapacity of the latter, he directed everything. In 834 A. D. he died, aged 89 years. His character was exceedingly noble, being free from malice and ambition. He never intrigued for a place, but refused some high posts when they were offered to him. The *kālifai*, during his time, was surrounded by enemies, and the Government required a man of strong head and iron will. He carefully superintended the work of his subordinates, and tried to cut down the public expenditure, but found it a very difficult task, although he succeeded in limiting the allowances of several court families. He was simple in dress and manner of living, and, for an Oriental, honest.

The third monograph of Baron Kremer is devoted to the poet-philosopher Abū'l-'Alā-al-Ma'arri, one of the best types of the Musalmān spirit. He passed his long suffering life in deep thought on the highest problems of man's being.

(8) *Otto Böhtlingk. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung. Siebenter Theil. Reviewed by S. O. [Oldenburg].*—With this volume the work begun ten years ago finishes. In 1875 the great dictionary was ended, which cost 20 years of labour. Four years afterwards, in 1879, the unwearied author of this large work undertook the shorter one. The quotations were omitted, but all the words were preserved, and many new ones added. Thus the new dictionary is a necessary complement to its elder brother. The name of its author must ever be held in grateful remembrance.

W. R. MORFILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

WRONG PREDICTIONS OF ECLIPSES.

The following "observation" by Warren (*Kala-sentakita*, p. 847) is worth bearing in mind, in connection with inscriptions which refer to eclipses that do not really occur on the given dates. It is attached to a paper written by 'Sami Naden Saahia,' a calendar-maker, residing in Pondicherry, to illustrate the computation of an eclipse of the moon by means of certain memorial and artificial words, and of shells in lieu of

figures; but it may probably be allowed a wider application.

"When it is considered how very coarse and undefined as to the place for which the eclipse is computed, the process used by the Tamul mechanical computers undoubtedly is, it is really surprising that these results should come no wider from the truth. It is not, however, to be believed that they are always equally successful in their predictions, and that the people who are bound to

religious observances when these phenomena recur, are never disappointed in their expectations. I recollect a circumstance which occurred not many years ago, when an Eclipse of the Moon had been announced for a certain evening in the Madras Panchangam; in consequence of which crowds of people had resorted to the Beach for performing their ablutions; but no eclipse appeared; a circumstance which in China might have endangered the mistaken astronomer's life, but with the gentle Indian, only occasioned a good deal of noise; and with a few, some merriment on his ill proficiency. The case I refer to may have proceeded from the ignorance of the *Sastras*; but it is certain (and will be readily believed) that even where the most skilful astronomer is employed, no reliance can be placed on those raw predictions which are never certain within several hours of the time when an eclipse is to occur."

An inscription which mentions an eclipse, is not necessarily to be stamped as spurious, simply because of the non-occurrence of an eclipse on the given date. The point is only one which has to be taken into general consideration, with others according to the particular circumstances of each case, in weighing the authenticity of such a record.

Again, it still remains to be decided, for early times, whether, in order to be the occasions of ceremonies, eclipses should be actually visible, — except, of course for accidental reasons, — at the localities of those ceremonies.

The modern rule seems to be clear enough. For instance, the *Dharmasindhu*, parichchāda i., addha 42, says that the *paryakāla* of an eclipse of the sun, or of the moon, lasts as long as the eclipse is visible to the eye (*chakshuśchakṣyama-gāyā*); that, accordingly, if the orb rises or sets eclipsed, there is no *paryakāla* before its rising, or after its setting, as the case may be; and that there is no *paryakāla* at all in the case of an eclipse which is visible only in another country. And it adds the remark, quite in accordance with common sense, that, if an eclipse cannot be actually seen because of the obstruction of clouds &c., still the times of contact and liberation can be learned from the *Śāstras* or by other means, and then one can perform the rites of bathing, making gifts, &c.; i. e., the *paryakāla* of an eclipse is not lost through merely accidental invisibility.

Of course there is a natural presumption that the rule must have been the same in ancient times. But a noteworthy instance, apparently to

the contrary, is the solar eclipse of the 2nd January, A. D. 987, which is referred to in Prof. Kielhorn's Vikrama date No. 83 (page 166 above). It was a total eclipse. But it was visible only over a comparatively small area in North America and the North Pacific Ocean: And yet it is the eclipse that answers to the other details of the given date.

When the whole question comes to be fully discussed, consideration should be given to the following points: —

(1) Is it not possible that the Hindu processes for the calculation of eclipses, taken with the Hindu view as to the shape of the earth, and coupled perhaps with the introduction of even a slight error in working out individual cases, might naturally lead to the result, not only that occasionally an eclipse would be predicted when none would occur, but that still more often eclipses which were not really visible in India at all, would work out as visible in that country, though possibly only to a small extent?

(2) Under ordinary circumstances, would a person, intending, e. g., to make a grant of land in celebration of an eclipse, wait until he actually saw the eclipse, and then take the matter in hand; or would he accept the eclipse beforehand, from an almanac or from the calculation of his own astrologer, and have all his arrangements complete for the actual making of the grant at the proper time, when, if no eclipse proved to be visible, the Brāhmanas would find some specious way of accounting for the fact, and would induce their patron to carry out his intention in spite of it?

Prof. Jacobi (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 155, note 12) has given the opinion that eclipses mentioned in inscriptions are generally to be interpreted as calculated, not as actually observed; the reason, in respect at any rate of the smaller solar eclipses, being, that they are seen only under favourable circumstances, and would pass unobserved if not calculated beforehand. And he has indicated that, within the limits of a possible eclipse, the Hindus may at any time have predicted an eclipse when none did occur, or may have failed to predict an eclipse when there would be one.

And the concoction of so palpably spurious a charter as the Bāhmanakṣṇi Maṅg grant of Janamājaya (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 233 f.), — plainly fabricated in order to deceive some reigning king into the recognition of a right to the lands mentioned in it, — shows that the Brāhmanas have looked upon their rulers as persons who could be gulled very easily indeed, and by very clumsy means.

LUCK AND ILL-LUCK.

In Oudh.

It is not safe to fall asleep without drinking water if one is thirsty, or without taking anything else one wishes for, because the soul of the sleeper comes out of the body to get it; and one cannot tell what may happen then.

Once upon a time a man went to sleep wishing for water; his soul came out and crept into a pitcher to drink; some one who was about, cover-

ed the latter, not knowing; and the man was found lifeless the next morning. They made mourning for him, and placed him on a bier to carry him to his grave, but at that moment somebody accidentally and fortunately uncovered the vessel, setting the soul free. It returned to the body at once, and the man revived.

He related this story to his friends.

Lucknow.

G. H. R.

BOOK NOTICES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, at Boston, Mass. May 23, 1889.

The Proceedings of the American Oriental Society are now no longer issued with the *Journal*, and it therefore behoves scholars and orientalists to note such contents of these Proceedings as may be issued from time to time.

In the number before us, the latest that has reached India, the first article of interest to Indian scholars is Dr. A. V. Williams Jackson's note on the "Circle of Sovereignty" in the *Avesta*. This is an attempt to render a doubtful line in *Yasht*, X. 67, *rathwya chkhakhra hachimno*, which the writer would translate by "attended by the circle of Sovereignty." He then goes on to show that a "curious circle (wheel, ring, crown or chaplet) is always found accompanying the figures of kings—being held in the hand—on the later Sassanian and ancient Achaemenian rock-cuttings and inscriptions," and he suggests that "this circle or wheel must have been to the Iranians an emblem of majesty, like the crown."

Dr. Jackson gives also six grammatical jottings on the *Avesta*. (1) He remarks that adjectival stems in *-van* show in Sk a corresponding fem. stem in *-vairi*, and quotes three similar instances from the *Avesta* of masc. adjectives in *-van* with fem. *-vairi*. (2) He would connect the Avestic *garenu*, 'itch,' a disease, with Skr. *gridhnu*, 'greedy, basty,' $\sqrt{gardi}$ 'be greedy;' on the analogy of Avestic *buna*, 'foundation,' = Skr. *budhad*. (3) Justi derives Av. *thavana* from $\sqrt{tan}$, but Dr. Jackson would derive *thavana*, *thavara*, and *thavar* from $\sqrt{thavj}$ 'to draw, drive.' (4) he notes that the new Ed. of the *Avesta* has restored at *Yasht*, VI 3, a true instance of strong (middle) stem + postpositive *a* in loc. sing. of *u*-stems, (5) he would look upon the acc. sing. *patham* as merely a transfer to the *a*-declension. (6) In *Yasht*, IV. 7, in *drujima*, he would recognize a gen. plural of an *in*-stem. (7) In *Yasht*, X. 121, *garena* occurs for *garenakha* as the instrumental singular of *garenah*. The text being *garena*

hachimno, Dr. Jackson explains the form by this law, "quite strongly developed in the *Avesta*," that the repetition of a like syllable is to be avoided. (8) The nom. sing. masc. pronominal *ha* in *Vsp*. XII. 1, *ha varikush sraosh*, which is usually looked on as an error for *ho* or *adu*, Dr. Jackson would consider to be merely an old survival and therefore a correct reading. (9) He quotes passages in support of $\sqrt{ans}$, 'oppose, be an enemy,' as an original root.

Prof. E. F. Moore gives notices of two of the Arabic MSS. in the Library of the New York University. The MSS. noted are (1) the commentary of Shahabu'ddin on the *Alfiya*, dated A. H. 894. Although this work is known from Hajj Khalifa's catalogue of the commentaries on the *Alfiya*, the MS. appears to be unique as regards European libraries. (2) A very fair copy of the well-known commentary of Al-Ashmuni on the *Alfiya*. Prof. Moore considers the New York MS. to be the commentary mentioned by Hajj Khalifa, i. 409 (ed. Flügel) entitled *منهج المسالك الى الفيد ابن مالك* and beginning with the words *الحمد لله تعالى على ما منع من اسباب البيان الخ*.

Dr. Cyrus Adler is preparing a Report on the Progress of American Oriental Science during 1888. A hint might be taken from this work for the preparation of a similar general report annually, by some such body as an International Oriental Congress.

THE HYMNS OF THE RIG-VEDA, translated, with a popular commentary, by RALPH T. H. GRIFFITH, formerly Principal of Benares College. Vol. I.; 8vo.; pp. xviii., 419, xxvi. 1890. And Vol. II, Parts I. and II. 1890. Benares; E. J. Lazarus and Co.

As announced by the author, "this work is an attempt to bring within easy reach of all readers of English a translation of the Hymns of the Rig-Veda which, while aiming especially at close fidelity to the letter and spirit of the original, shall

be as readable and intelligible as the nature of the subject and other circumstances permit."

The Rîg-Vêda is the oldest, not only of the four Vêdas, but of all the early Aryan literature that has come down to us through the Hindu branch of that great division of mankind. And not the least important feature about it, is, that some of its hymns undoubtedly belong to, or at least indicate the conditions of, the period anterior to the separation of the branch which finally settled itself in India, and thus have a far wider bearing and interest than anything in the purely Indian literature.

As yet, no complete English translation of the Rîg-Vêda has ever been produced; Prof. Wilson's translation being a rendering of its traditional interpretation, especially as exhibited by Sâyaṇa, rather than of the original itself. Mr. Griffith's object is to present the original meaning of the hymns themselves; avoiding the mistakes into which the Hindu commentators were led, chiefly through the etymological fictions in which they, and the grammarians who paved or were supposed to pave the way for them, indulged. His translation follows the safest of all texts, that given in Prof. Max Müller's magnificent edition. And, while necessarily based partly on Sâyaṇa's *scholia*, without which much of the original must have remained unintelligible, it has been regulated also "by rational probability, context, and inter-comparison of similar words and passages." This method may not altogether find favour in the eyes of Native scholars of the strictest type, who would hold it a heresy to admit any interpretation differing from that sanctioned by Sâyaṇa's authority. But it cannot fail to recommend itself, as the only sound course, to European students. Those who wish for a knowledge of the contents of the Rîg-Vêda, without having to read the original themselves, and without requiring an absolutely literal word for word translation, which could only be given in pure prose, may safely take as their guide the translation that has thus been started.

Mr. Griffith is already well-known, not only as a good Sanskrit scholar, but also as a very successful metrical translator of classical Sanskrit works. And one of his objects in the present work has been to reproduce, as far as is really practical and desirable, the rhythm and metre of the original hymns. The following selection, — a hymn to the Dawn (Vol. II. p. 175), in the Gayatrî metre (in its form of a triplet of three

lines of eight syllables each), — may be taken as a typical instance of the nature of the original, as well as shewing the translator's method of dealing with it; while the hymn that immediately precedes it, shews his success in grappling with the more elaborate Trishubh metre.

HYMN LII.

1. This lady, giver of delight, after her sister
shining forth,¹
Daughter of Heaven, hath shown herself.
2. In colour like a ruddy mare, holy, the
mother of the kine,
Friend of the Aśvins was the Dawn.²
3. Yea, and thou art the Aśvins' friend, the
mother of the kine art thou:
O Dawn, thou rulest over wealth.
4. Thinking of thee, O joyous one, as her who
driveth hate away,³
We woke to meet thee with our lands.
5. Our eyes behold thy blessed rays like troops
of cattle, loosed to feed.
Dawn hath filled full the wide expanse.
6. When thou hast filled it, fulgent one! thou
layest bare the gloom with light.
After thy nature aid us, Dawn.
7. Thou overpreadest heaven with rays, the
dear wide region of mid-air
With thy bright shining lustre, Dawn.

SOUTH-INDIAN CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES; by the late
W. S. KRISHNASWAMI NAIDU. EDITED by ROBERT
SEWELL, M.C.S., F.R.G.S., M.B.A.S. Madras;
printed by the Superintendent, Government Press.
1890. Pp. v., 97.

The object of this work is to give methods and tables for converting, by a very simple process, South-Indian dates into English, and vice versa. And for that purpose there are given four Tables, A. B. C. D; of which D. relates specially to the Hijra calendar, and C. to Hindu dates.

Table D. gives the week-day and the English date of the commencement of every Hijra year from 1 to 1440 (A. D. 622-2018).

Table C. is the most important, occupying no less than 69 pages. Two kinds of reckoning, solar and luni-solar, are in use in Southern India; the former is prevalent in the Tamil, and the latter in the Telugu Provinces. The week-day and the English date of the commencement of every Kaliyuga year, taken both as a solar and as a luni-solar year, from A. D. 1 to A. D. 2000, with the synchronous years of the Bâk-

¹ After her sister: when Night has departed.

² The kine: the early rays of light. Friend of the Aśvins: as being worshipped at the same time.

³ Driveth hate away: especially the malignity of the evil spirits of the night.

and Andu eras, and with the *sawedisaras* of the Sixty-Year Cycle according to the Southern Indian System, are given in Table C. Also the intercalated months in the luni-solar years are given.

Tables A. and B. are auxiliary to Tables C. and D. The first gives the collective duration in days from the beginning to any date in any month of the solar, luni-solar, or Hijra year; and Table B. does the same for the Christian year. Any one Saka or Kaliyuga year extends over parts of two Christian years; and therefore to facilitate the calculation, there is given in Table B. the distance from the first date of an English common year to any date up to the end of the next succeeding English common year. Rules are given for the application of the Tables; and seven examples of turning South-Indian dates into English dates, and seven of the reverse process, are worked out. The process is a very plain one, consisting of not more than five sums, of very few figures, in simple addition and subtraction. And any ordinary person can use the work. Though the book is intended specially for use in Southern India, still that part of it which relates to the luni-solar calendar will be useful all over India.

A calendar like that of the Hindus cannot, as Dr. Schram has rightly observed, be brought with absolute certainty into a simple Table; and it is well that the editor, and of course the author, of the Tables under notice, does not assume to give absolutely certain results. It is explained that "these Tables may often vary by some hours." But as the object of these Tables is to find the equivalent date and not the hours and minutes of a *tithi* or a *savitranti*, the consequence of the difference of "some hours" may often be the difference of one day. Such is the case not only with the lunar, but even with solar dates, obtained from these Tables. But it is a result that cannot be avoided in such general Tables, the real aim of which is extreme simplicity and readiness of calculation.

The articles of Table C. which require lengthy calculations, and are therefore liable to errors, are those given in columns 7, 10 and 11, respectively; viz. the dates of the commencement of the solar and luni-solar years, and the repeated months in the latter.

Taking first the luni-solar calendar, we should expect that the English-date equivalent to the commencement of the luni-solar year, given in column 10, is that which we should find for the

first *tithi* of that year in an ordinary Hindu *Panchāṅga*; that is, again, the date on which Chaitra śukla pratipadā ends as an apparent (*spashṭa*) *tithi*. But from some actual calculations we find that such, — invariably at any rate, — is not the case; and that what has really been given, is the English date on which Chaitra śukla pratipadā ends as a *mean tithi*. This ought to have been plainly stated. The difference between a mean and an apparent *tithi* is sometimes as much as 25 *ghaṭis* or 10 hours; and it may often make the difference of a day in the resulting date. We do not know whether the author and the editor were aware of this, in saying (p. 5) that "at times . . . owing to the conversion of mean into true time . . . the equivalent . . . obtained (from the Tables) might differ from the actual one by a day." But, if they were aware of it, they should have used the apparent *tithis*; though, of course, even then the results would not always have been much better. There is sometimes an actual error in the entries of column 10. Whenever the mean Chaitra śukla pratipadā ends after midnight, the following English date is given as the equivalent. For example, in Saka-Samvat 1797 current, the mean Chaitra śukla pratipadā ended, according to the present *Sārya-Siddhānta*, which we know is the prevalent authority for the Telugu luni-solar calendar, on Wednesday, 18th March, A.D. 1874, at 55 *gh.* 58 *p.* for Lanka mean time. But Thursday, 19th March, is given as the English date of the commencement of the luni-solar year. For doing so, there is the excuse that the English date and week-day begin at midnight. But, as a general rule, the practice hitherto followed is that that English date which corresponds for the greater part, viz. three-fourths, of a Hindu week-day, is given as the English equivalent of that day. If that practice was intentionally set aside, the fact should have been distinctly stated. We are inclined to think that it was not done intentionally, but through a mistake, which seems to have arisen from following Warren's *Kalasamakalita*. Allowing for these two points, the entries in column 10 are, as we find from examining some dates here and there, reliable.

Column 11, giving the repeated months, is utterly useless. We say so from a comparison of it with a Table of intercalated months from Saka-Samvat 1 to 2000 by Prof. K. L. Ohnatre, the accuracy of which we ourselves have tested by several actual calculations.¹ To take an example of

¹ A part of this Table is given in Prof. Ohnatre's Book named *Graha-siddhāntakāśī Kāshīkāvya*. The whole Table is given by him in Vol. I. No. 12 (March, 1881) of a

Marāṭhī monthly magazine called *Jānaprasāra* (published in Bombay but not now continued). The intercalary months in Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chrono-*

recent date, in Śaka-Samvat 1802 current (1801 expired) the repeated month is given as No. 6, *vis.* Bhādrapada. This would be repeated if there were no *samkrānti* in it. But in that year the Sinhha-Samkrānti took place on Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 13, Friday, 15th August, A. D. 1879. The following *amāvāsyā* ended, and consequently the following month Bhādrapada commenced, 47 *gh.* 45 *p.* after sunrise on Sunday, 17th August. That same Bhādrapada ended 12 *gh.* 4 *p.* after sunrise on Tuesday, 16th September. And the Kanyā-Samkrānti took place more than 30 *ghaṭis* before the end of that Bhādrapada, *vis.* on Bhādrapada kṛishṇa 13, Monday, 15th September, at 40 *gh.* 43 *p.* We give these details from an ordinary *Pañchāṅg* in our possession, prepared from the *Graha-laghava* and *Chināṭmaṇi* of Gaṇṭāḥa Daivajña. By no authority can the Kanyā-Samkrānti be made to take place after the end of this Bhādrapada; and therefore that month cannot be intercalary. Āśvina is the intercalary month in that year. We have tried in vain to obtain the clue to the process by which the repeated months in the work under notice, were calculated. We may remark, by the way, that a rule for finding the intercalary months devised by Dr. J. Burgess, and given in Note III. p. 7 *c.*, is wrong and quite useless.

Now as regards column 7. It is not stated what authority and what rules are followed, in giving the English date of the commencement of the solar year. We know that the authority for the Tamil solar calendar is the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*. And the same is followed in the present work. From Śaka-Samvat 400, the apparent *samkrāntis* according to the first *Ārya-Siddhānta* take place before those of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the difference increasing after that year. In Śaka-Samvat 1800 expired, it was about 6 *gh.* 20 *p.* The solar year may begin astronomically at any time of a day; that is, a *samkrānti* can take place at any time. But according to one method, when it takes place before sunset, the year or month is made to begin civilly on the same day, while, if it takes place after sunset, the year or month begins civilly on the next day. There is another method (see Note IV. by Dr. Burgess, on p. 7 *f.*) by which, when the sun enters a sign within 3 of the 5 parts into which the day-time is divided, the month begins on the same day; otherwise, it begins on the next day. In the work under notice the civil commencement of

the solar year is taken; and it is that which is obtained according to the first of the two methods just mentioned. All these particulars ought to have been distinctly stated by the author. We have discovered the true state of the case, by actually calculating some cases, and comparing the results with the entries in the book before us. The prescribed rules, moreover, do not seem to have been followed strictly. For example, in A. D. 1780 the Māha-Samkrānti took place on the 9th April, at 34 *gh.* 13 *p.* according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and at 28 *gh.* 20 *p.* according to the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*; both according to Ujjain mean time. In this case, the 9th April is given as the beginning of the solar year; and it is right. But in A. D. 1803, the Māha-Samkrānti took place on the 10th April, at 31 *gh.* 18 *p.* according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and at 25 *gh.* 18 *p.* according to the first *Ārya-Siddhānta*, both according to Ujjain mean time. But here, not the 10th, but the 11th April, is given as the date of the commencement of the solar year. The entries in column 7, however, may be looked upon as generally reliable.

A few words in conclusion, which we hope will not be taken amiss. The Preface tells us that these Tables are intended ultimately for use in courts and offices, as well as for historians and archaeologists. In their present form they are only tentative, and a few copies only have been printed; the intention being to publish the work in a final shape, after seeing the results of criticism and examination. As we have shewn, however, these Tables can only give approximate results, at any rate for the Hindu solar and luni-solar years. And surely, considering the practical interests involved, courts and offices require actual results, just as much as historians and archaeologists, if not indeed more so. Equally good approximate results can be obtained from works already published; *e.g.* Mr. Cowasjee Patell's and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's books, and Dr. Schram's Tables. While, with practically no more expenditure of time and trouble, accurate results can be obtained either from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's book, or from Prof. Jacobi's Tables, by any one who will take the trouble to master them. Under these circumstances, then, what real object can be served by finally issuing these Tables, endorsed by Government authority, for actual use, whether official or otherwise?

1891, and in Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, which (p. 31) admittedly follows Mr. Cowasjee Patell's book in this respect, agree throughout with those in Prof. Chhatre's Table, except for only a few mistakes in the

former two. Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology* was published fifteen years after Prof. Chhatre's Table, and it is possible that it may have some direct or indirect connection in this matter with Prof. Chhatre's Table.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this:—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	झ	झ	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	झ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	ञ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	ट	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	ठ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	ड	ḍha
ए	ए	e	ढ	ढ	ḍha
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ण	ण	ṇa
—	—	—	त	त	ta
प	प	p	थ	थ	tha
फे	फे	ph	द	द	da
—	—	—	ध	ध	dha
ओ	ओ	o	न	न	na
औ	औ	au	प	प	pa
Visarga	Visarga	h	फ	फ	pha
Visarga before क, or old and ख	—	h	ब	ब	ba
Uṣadhwānya, or old Visarga before प and फ	—	h	भ	भ	bha
Anusvara	Anusvara	m	म	म	ma
Anusvika	—	m	य	य	ya
क	क	ka	र	र	ra
ख	ख	kha	—	—	—
ग	ग	ga	ल	ल	la
घ	घ	gha	ळ	ळ	ḷa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	व	व	va
च	च	cha	श	श	śa
छ	छ	chha	ष	ष	ṣha
			स	स	sa
			ह	ह	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Devanāgarī sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanāgarī marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

BY V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

No. 2. — THE KALINGATTU PARANI.

THIS is a long poem, giving a graphic account of an expedition into the North Kalinga country, conducted by Karuṇākara, the Pallava king and prime-minister of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga. Several editions of the work have been published at Madras, the earliest of which was printed about twenty years ago. Two manuscript copies of the poem appear to have formed part of the collection known as the *Mackenzie Collection*. And the name occurs also in the catalogue of the manuscripts compiled by the Rev. W. Taylor, but that scholar evidently did not study the poem critically, and hence failed to discover its importance as a contemporary record of the events that had occurred during the reign of Kulōttuṅga.¹ The language being modern Tamil, there is no commentary accompanying the poem. It is divided into 13 cantos, and contains 598 stanzas. The verses are in the Thāḷichai metre, and are remarkable for the musical flow of the rhythm and the elegance of the language. The cadence, swift and stirring, is well suited for martial strains, and the style, always majestic, appropriate to the grandeur of the theme. Far-fetched and extravagant similes and other rhetorical embellishments, in which oriental poets delight, abound in the poem.

The author's name is given as Jayaṅkoṇḍan. This is probably more a title than a name, as it means simply 'conqueror.' One of the predecessors of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, Rājārājādēva, surnamed Rājākēsarivarman, had assumed the same title and was known as Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa, and it was customary, during this period, for the chief officers of a king's court to assume the titles of the king himself, or to name their children after them. It is probable, therefore, that the author was born during the reign of that sovereign. No particulars whatever of the author's life are given in the poem.

As it is not desirable to translate the whole of this long poem in the *Indian Antiquary*, I shall give here only a brief analysis of its contents, with translations of such portions as will serve to shew the style and contents of the poem, and the texts also of such passages as will be interesting to the historical enquirer.

The poem opens with a prayer, in twenty stanzas, addressed to Umāpati, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Śūrya, Gaṇapati, Subrahmanya, Sarasvatī, Umā, and the Seven Mothers, for the long life and prosperity of the Chōḷa emperor. Some of the stanzas may be translated, as follows:—

(S. 1) Let us meditate on Him (Śiva), who, to set an example of domestic life, married the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī), while the cloud-coloured (Viṣṇu) poured a libation of water (and gave away the bride), and he who dwells on a flower (Brahman) performed the marriage ceremonies; — (S. 2) So that Abhaya ('the fearless'), the most excellent of the two royal lines (solar and lunar), who, by right of inheritance, seized the hand of the daughter of Brahman (the Earth), according to the sacred Vēdas, may live for ever! — (S. 3) Let us praise the sacred name of that peerless child (Viṣṇu), who was incarnate without being born from any womb, and who contained the whole world in his bowels; — (S. 4) So that the single umbrella of the gracious Abhaya may cover all the wide world, like the bowels of that great Viṣṇu, for ever! — (S. 5) Let us praise that first Being, who created the four Yugas, the four elements, and the four Upanishads, and who possesses four faces; — (S. 6) So that Kuladipa ('the light of his race'), who protects the four lands, the four quarters, the four broad seas, and the four castes, may live for ever! — (S. 17) Let us worship the twice seven feet of the seven radiant goddesses, on whose banners are painted the buffalo, the bird, the devil, the peacock, the bull, the eagle, and the elephant; — (S. 18) So that the imperial tiger-standard,

¹ *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental Manuscripts*, by Rev. W. Taylor, Vol. III. pp. 183, 800.

which the Ohembian planted on Māru after having lowered the standards of the boar, the plough, the stag, the lion, the lute, the bow, and the fish, may be pre-eminent for ever!

The second canto contains 54 stanzas and is an address to women, inviting them to listen to the song celebrating the deeds of their sovereign. This gives the poet an opportunity to dwell on the charms of the fair sex, their love, little jealousies and quarrels, — subjects so congenial to the imaginative mind of oriental bards. Many of the stanzas do not bear translation; as a specimen, however, I shall translate a few which are free from objection: —

(S. 3) Ye (*maidens*) of soft speech! come like peacocks, waking from sleep, your tresses waving, your ankle-rings resounding, and open the doors. — (S. 16) Open the doors adorned with gold, ye good girls!, who pretend to sleep till break of day, to punish your lovers for their faults and to thwart their desires. — (S. 38) Open your golden doors, ye maidens!, on whose feet the ankle-rings ever clamour, warning you not to walk, lest your slender waist break, unable to bear the weight of the pair of breasts. — (S. 44) Ye who have heard of the might of the bow, terrible to its foes, wielded by that Karuṇākara (Rāma) who conquered Laṅkā, open the doors, and let me sing of the battle fought by that Karuṇākara who conquered Kāliṅga. — (S. 43) Ye maidens who, in amorous dalliance, loosen the *kaṭiṅga* (clothes), keeping the *kāñchi* (girdle), open the doors, and let me sing of the battle in which the Ohenni (Ohōḷa), who wears the anklet, destroyed Kāliṅga, keeping Kāñchi. — (S. 45) Ye who think of all the faults of your ardent lovers in their absence, and forget them in their presence, open your massive golden doors. — (S. 54) Open your golden doors, and listen, ye maidens who twist and fasten in your locks, alike the bright red flowers of the *kalasir* and the hearts of young men full of love.

Cantos 3 and 4 contain imaginary descriptions of the parched desert and weird temple sacred to Kālīdēvi, the goddess of war. As an example of the author's peculiar style and powers of description, I shall translate a few of the stanzas, describing the desert: —

(Canto 3; S. 6) The shadows of the eagles, which circle in the skies in search of prey over that desert, seem to flee from it, afraid of the heat, and stop in no place. — (S. 8) The red ground of that desert appears like a furnace of glowing fire; and like clouds of smoke issuing from the furnace, are the troops of doves flitting over it. — Hear, why the green-colored steeds of Sūrya do not course through the skies at night, as they do in the day. Is it not because they find it hard to pass over the desert, sacred to the goddess, without taking rest after every journey across it? — (S. 13) Alas! It is to screen themselves from the fierce and expanding heat of this desert, that the gods have placed the clouds and the halo in the sky. — (S. 12) Is it not, alas! the sweat, dropping from the panting clouds and moon after they cross the desert, that falls in rain and dew? — (S. 10) Is it not owing to the heat of this desert, into which even men cannot venture, that the gods are afraid to set foot on this earth?

In the succeeding three cantos 5 to 7, the goddess, her attendant demons and goblins, and their horrible witchcraft are described.

Canto 8 is entitled *Rāchaparāmparyam* or 'the royal genealogy,' and contains a short account of the ancestors of Kulōttuṅga. To give it a fictitious interest, the poet states that the account is taken from the history inscribed on the side of the mountain Māru, by the great Chōḷa king Karikāla, as dictated by the *Rishi* Nārada, who then foretold the whole of the history of the Chōḷa family, down to the accession of Kulōttuṅga. The pedigree of the Chōḷas is traced as follows: —

(S. 9) From the lotus-navel of the first Viṣṇu sprang Brahman; the latter begat the hero Marichi; his beloved son was Kāśyapa; and he begat the resplendent Sūrya. — (S. 10) His son, Manu, while protecting the earth, sacrificed his beloved son, as not dearer to him than the young calf (*which that son had run over*), and was praised by all living beings (*for his stern justice*). His son was Ikshvāku. — (S. 11) The heroic son, begotten by Ikshvāku, conquered all

his enemies, and, riding on the thousand-eyed Indra, as on an elephant, defeated the Dānavas. — (S. 12) (*Then followed*) that powerful ruler, in whose time the deer drank at the same fountain with the ferocious tiger without fear, — Muchukunta, who entering the world of the celestials, displayed his valour in the battle-field; — (S. 13) (*Then*) he who gave to the gods the nectar that rose from the ocean, when it was churned; (*then*) he who intrepidly cut off his own flesh; (*then*) he who entered the scales, to be weighed against a dove. — (S. 14) Then the Chōlas, commencing with Surātirāja, having formed the Chōla maṇḍala, the two Rājakeśaris governed the seven worlds with the tiger-standard: — (S. 15) (*Then*) he who dictated to Yama what he should do; (*then*) he who brought the Kāvēri river; (*then*) he who subdued the whole of this world and other worlds; — (S. 16) (*Then*) he who placed Indra as the tiger in his standard; (*then*) he who opened out one ocean to flow into another; (*then*) he who of his own free will gave up his blood to be drunk; (*then*) he who compelled Varadarāja to serve him; — (S. 17) (*Then*) he who stormed the aerial castles; (*then*) he who raised to the skies his chariot which was adorned with a multitude of brilliant gems; (*then*) he who assisted the ocean-like army of Dharma, till the Bhārata war was concluded; — (S. 18) (*Then*) he who ventured alone into the mouth of a cave, and, going through a dark passage, gained the jewel of the Uruga (a Nāga princess); (*then*) he who knocked off the fetters from the feet of Uthiya (Chēra), and crowned him on hearing the poem *Kaṭavali* recited by Poikai. — (S. 19) Having thus written the history of others (*of his dynasty*), he (Karikāla), recorded how the goddess of victory embraced his shoulders, when his matchless elephant trampled on the crowns of the Valuti (Pāṇḍya) and the Chēra. — (S. 20) (*He recorded further*) how Mukari was destroyed, when he rubbed it out of the map, finding that it did not suit the plan prepared for the banks of the Kāvēri, which were being constructed by vassal kings. — (S. 21) (*And he described*) the conquest of Kurumi, where the varāḥ-fish leap in the waters, and the gift of sixteen hundred thousand *poṇas* to the bard of pure Tamil, who composed the *Paddinappālai* in his praise: — (S. 22) The disgrace inflicted on the rival kings, Uthiya (Chēra) and the king of Madura, who had never before gone behind another, and who, clothed in rags, were made to hold lighted lamps on their heads. — (S. 23) The prowess of one who, mounted on an elephant, conquered all the land under the sky; the glory acquired by destroying Ilam (Ceylon) and the Tamil Kūdal (Madura): — (S. 24) The capture of numerous elephants by that king who established the *chathaya*-feast in the Uthiya (Chēra) maṇḍala, and who, radiant like the morning sun, stormed Uthakai, riding on a single elephant: — (S. 25) The elephants of the Chōla, drinking the water of the Ganges at Mannai; — the annexation of Kadāram, where the roaring limpid waves wash the sand mixed with red gold: — (S. 26) The planting of a pillar of victory at Kampili; — the thorough defeat of the people of the strongly-fortified Kalyān, by one who, riding on a huge elephant whose tusks were adorned with rings, caused the figure of the tiger to be engraved on the eight mountains: — (S. 27) The extension of dominion by the battle of Koppai, where one who, appearing like an elephant riding on another elephant, won the battle, and saved the world: — (S. 28) The growth of virtue and the happiness of the people under the benign sway of the Chōla, who dispensed justice three or four times better than the ancient Mannu, reviving the practice of the Vēdas, the first of all books. — (S. 29) After the reign of that king, who defeated the Kuntalas at Kūdal-saṅgam, people will wonder how fortunate the damsel earth was, to be united to him. — (S. 30) As far as the three worlds extend, and as far as the sacred Vēdas are observed, so far, to the bounds of the last circle of mountains, Abhaya protected the world wielding the sceptre with justice.

Canto 9 contains an imaginary description of a conversation between Kāli and her attendant spirits, in which one of the latter foretells the approach of the Kalinga war, and the spirits are joyous at the prospect of another feast on bleeding corpses.

Canto 10 gives an account of the birth of Kulōttuṅga, his education and early exploits, his accession to the throne of the Chōlas, and a journey from the capital Gaṅgapuri to Kāñchi,

whither he goes to enjoy the pleasures of a hunt on the banks of the **Palār**. — (S. 3) He (**Vishṇu**) who was incarnate on a banian leaf, appeared again in the sacred womb of the wife of him of the race of the moon, which dispels darkness, — the beautiful daughter of **Rajarāja**, of the rival race of the sun. — (S. 5) Gentle showers of rain fell at the time; and the wife of **Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla** took up the noble son of her noble daughter in her hands, which were as fair as the flowers of the red lotus. — (S. 6) She saw that in all his limbs he resembled his parents, and said that he was worthy to be her (*adopted*) son, and to increase the fame of the solar race. — (S. 7) As a young prince of the lunar race, as an infant lord of the solar race, he grew up, the joy of the kings of both races, like the fruit of the virtuous deeds of his ancestors. — (S. 9) To make it clear that he was the **Kṛishṇa** of olden times, who, born as the son of **Vasudēva**, relieved this earth of its evils, he wore the ornament on which were engraved his five weapons, — the club, bow, sword, conch, and discus. — (S. 11) Like the marriage-thread on the sacred neck of the goddess whose seat is on a flower (**Lakshmi**), the three-fold thread shone on his broad chest, and he appeared distinguished by the rites of a second birth. — (S. 12) He heard from **Brāhmapa**, and repeated, the four **Vēdas**, which he had once before studied, when he assumed the form of a learned dwarf and begged for a grant of land. — (S. 13) To the joy of the goddess **Earth**, who knew that her happiest days were near, he wore on his shoulders the figure of the goddess of Victory, and at his waist, a shining short scimitar. — (S. 14) "To this day **Sūrya** dispels the darkness, driving in a chariot drawn by seven steeds; I will remove the evils of this earth, driving a single horse," — thus he said, and learnt to drive a chariot. — (S. 15) "Indra conquers his enemies, riding an elephant which has four tusks; I will rout my enemies, riding one with only two tusks," — thus he said, and learnt to ride elephants. — (S. 16) The five kinds of weapons, beginning with the discus, being his own (*as an incarnation of Vishṇu*), he learnt to use them, that he might conquer in all directions; and his fair hands did not feel the weight of the arms. — (S. 18) Installed as heir-apparent to the **Abhaya**, who bears a banner of renown, he made up his mind to seize the wealth of rival kings. — (S. 20) He set out with his troops of horses, to meet the wrath of the northern kings, which gathered like the darkness falling upon the earth, when the steeds of **Sūrya** approach the west. — (S. 23) When the bright brows of the **Chōla**, who had quelled the strifes of men, were bent like a bow, then was **Yama** furious, and **Chakkarakōddam** fell. — (S. 24) When opposing armies fled at every encounter, and **Abhaya** seized the hands of the goddess of Victory, kings offered, in tribute, horses and elephants and wealth of every kind. — (S. 25) The eyes of the kings who came to fight, paled, and their feet reddened, as they fled from the battlefield; while the javelin in the fair hands of him who was a terror to **Virutarāja** was red (*with blood*) and his fame was white (*i. e. increased*). — (S. 26) While **Abhaya**, thus riding an elephant, went into the northern countries, the "king of kings" went to heaven to be a king of gods, and we shall describe what befell the southern land. — (S. 27) The **Brāhmapa** gave up sacrifices; the laws of **Manu** were not followed; the six sciences were forgotten; and the chanting of **Vēdic** hymns ceased: — (S. 28) The castes mixed one with another in wild confusion; and forgetting their rules of conduct, none kept to their ancient customs: — (S. 29) One trying to govern another, the temples of the gods were neglected; the women lost their chastity; and fortresses were destroyed. — (S. 30) While the land was thus shrouded in the darkness of evil, he (**Abhaya**) came to save the world, like the sun which rises above the roaring sea, driving away darkness. — (S. 31) He made it his duty to create afresh all the usual safe-guards (*for the people*), and restored to their former state those who had been ruined. — (S. 32) Amid the roar of the four oceans, the chanting of the four **Vēdas**, and the blessings of the three worlds, he was anointed. — S. (33) While kings, wearing sounding anklets, laid sacred grass at his feet, the **Brāhmapa** held the crown, and the laws of **Manu** revived. — S. (34) On the long crown, studded with many gems in rows, water was poured, and the virtues sprouted. — (S. 35) When the lofty tiger-standard was raised, supreme over the world, other kings also raised their banners, and the gods shouted with joy. — (S. 36) While, with hands joined in obeisance, kings stood round the **Abhaya**, who wore the sounding anklet, his umbrella, decked

with pearls, shed a lustre like that of the moon, and the darkness of evil disappeared. — (S. 39) The four directions enjoyed peace; the Vêdas resumed their course; the Uthiya (Chêra) took refuge at his feet; and the Ollâlas (Pândyas) fled to the sea. — (S. 45) Having no foe to fight, he (*the emperor*) amused himself with wrestling-matches, debates of logicians, cock-fights, and elephant-fights. — (S. 46) He spent his time in listening to the songs of poets and music, in the company of chosen mistresses, and in studying the law of Manu and the Vêdas. — (S. 47) Having enjoyed a hunt on the banks of the Kâvêri, which passes through groves trembling to the wind, he ordered a march to the banks of the Pâlar for a hunt on horseback. — (S. 48) He was pleased to order that it should be proclaimed by beat of drums; and the soldiers gathered from the four directions and poured into the town, as if the people of the whole world were coming into it, subduing the noise of the waves of the sea. — (S. 55) The wives of kings presented garlands of flowers and golden necklaces, and came, mounted on elephants, surrounding the elephant on which was seated the empress Thiyakavalli, who had the right of exercising equal authority with the Chenni. — (S. 68) Having obtained the permission of the god (Siva) who has three eyes, and lives on the silver mountain, and dances in the hall, he travelled northwards, and passed through the large town of Athikai. — (S. 69) Leaving Athikai, by slow and pleasant marches the Abhaya approached the wealthy town of Kâñchi; and kings, who had umbrellas resplendent like the full-moon, received him with the usual obeisance.

Canto 11 gives a description of the splendour of the emperor's court at Kâñchi, the expedition to Kalinga, and the preparation of the Kalinga king to meet the invading army: — (S. 4) In the sculptured hall in the south-west corner of the palace of red gold, which the thousand-rayed Sûrya is unable to distinguish from the golden Mêru, — (S. 5) Under the shade of a white parasol, beneath a canopy made of pearls in imitation of the heavens, where the full-moon shines radiantly in the midst of clusters of stars, — (S. 6) The two white *chauris*, with which he was fanned from both sides of the parasol, resembling the waves of the southern milky ocean, serving him. — (S. 7) He who bore on his shoulders the whole of this fair world, and planted the tiger-banner on the golden mountain, appeared like a powerful lion, seated on the *sikhidsana* (the throne, the 'lion-seat'). — (S. 9) His fortunate queens sat near him, like the goddesses of victory and wealth, who had never left his arms which have the wealth of all this world. — (S. 10) And around, there were many women of forms divine, who excelled in all kinds of stage-play, in dance, and in song. — (S. 11) Bards and minstrels sang, praising him as the bestower of gold on all who took refuge at his feet. — (S. 12) Those skilled in the violin, lute, or reed, begged to be allowed to display their art in a hundred different styles. — (S. 13) He found fault at once with the performances of some, and presented trumpets and elephants to those who sang without fault in tune and time. — (S. 14) Kings who came on elephants, got down, and fell at his feet, and presented umbrellas and *chauris*, and served him with their own hands, in turns. — (S. 16) His ministers, such as the Tonḍaimân, at whose gate *mandalikas* and kings wait, were also round him. — (S. 17) Then the palace-officer, whose duty it was to present petitioners, having bowed before him, announced that the vassal kings were waiting outside to pay their tributes, and they crowded into the hall; — (S. 18) The Pândyas, Chêras, Kâpakas, Châpakas, Châdipas, Yâdavas, Karpâpas, Pallavas, Kaitavas, Kâdavas, Kâripas, and Kôsâlas; — (S. 19) The Gaigas, Kârâlas, Kavintas, Tumintas, Kâdambas, Tulumbas, Vaigas, Lâjas, Marâdas, Virâtas, Mayintas, and Chayintas; — (S. 20) The Siûgalas, Baûgalas, Châkunas, Chêvapas, Cheyyavas, Aiyapas, Kônkapas, Kônigas, Kulûnkas, Chautiyas, Kuchoharas, and Kauchiyas; — (S. 21) The Mattavas, Mattiras, Mâlavas, Mâgadhas, Matsyas, Mlêchohas, Guptas, the people of the East and the North, Turukkas, Kurukkas, and Viyattas. — (S. 22) With joined hands laid at his feet, they said "You have granted to us towns and countries, and we have brought you the tribute that you have ordered us to pay: — (S. 23) "These are necklaces; these, golden ornaments; these, elephants; these, camels; these, knots and boxes; these, pearls, still wet (*fresh from the oyster*); these, necklaces of the nine kinds of gems; these are priceless brooches: — (S. 24) "Those and these are heaps of precious stones,

and these are heaps of gold; these are fish-shaped earrings, set with gems, which sparkle now bright and now dark; those and these are female elephants of faultless shape; these are male elephants; these are tall banners; and these are the forehead-pieces of those who have lost their birthright: — (S. 25) "Worthy to be ridden, are these one hundred elephants; if, to match them, another king can produce a single elephant, we shall wager our kingdoms;" thus each king spoke highly of his gifts, to please the emperor, and to secure his happiness. — (S. 26) The kings having all bowed at his feet, he was pleased to enquire whether there were any who had failed to pay tribute. — (S. 27) "The Kadakar have brought their tribute and bowed at your feet; but with them, the Chief of north Kalinga has twice failed to come," — so they said. — (S. 28) The kings trembled with fear as to what might happen; and his bright coral lips assumed a smile, — we cannot say why, — while his face seemed to frown slightly. — (S. 29) "Though he be a weak prince, my troops should march quickly, with the elephants at whose rut the bees swarm, and storm his hill-forts, and bring him hither:" — (S. 30) When the emperor issued these commands, the king of Vāṇḍai-nagara, who was born in the royal family according to the Vēdas, bowed at his feet, and prayed that he might be allowed to invade the seven Kalingas. — (S. 31) When the valiant Tondaiman eagerly asked for permission to trample the foes in that direction, he who had raised the tiger-banner, granted the prayer; and thereupon, — (S. 32) The troops gathered like a deluge; and people wondered, whether such a large force was to churn the ocean, or to level the mountains, or to break the neck of the serpent of the flaming-head, under the sea. — (S. 33) The conch-shells sounded, the big drums thundered, and the reeds and pipes squeaked till the ears of the elephants, which guard the eight points, were deafened. — (S. 34) Rows of umbrellas and banners were unfurled, crowded so that the daylight was hidden and darkness ensued. — (S. 35) But, in the fierce light of the blazing sun, the golden ornaments of the soldiers flashed, and the polished arms dazzled and shed a bright light. — (S. 36) "Had all the mountains of this world turned into elephants? Had all the winds become horses? Had all the clouds become chariots? And had the roaring oceans become warriors? — (S. 37) "Had the earth become small, that the army appears so large; or was the army so vast that the earth seemed to have shrunk in space?" — (S. 42) There gathered warriors who had many a scar on their limbs, as lasting marks (*of their valour*), and held them as trophies and their sole wealth; who would not go back one step (*in flight*), even if they could get the whole of this world and that of the gods thereby; who held their body as a burden, and sought to purchase glory by selling their life. — (S. 52) The troops ordered by the Abhaya, who wears on his round shoulders garlands of cool flowers, having come, the Chōla general Karunākara mounted an elephant. — (S. 53) The king, who raised the banner of the bull which had been borne by the kings of Tondai, — he, the king of Vāṇḍai, — he, the king of the Pallavas, — mounted on the big elephant. — (S. 54) The king of the Pallavas, of Vāṇḍainagara, renowned for marching quickly, and waylaying and defeating his foes, mounted an elephant, which was adorned with a plate on the forehead and had a rocking gait, and went forth like a tiger in search of prey. — (S. 51) The oceanlike army marched, raising clouds of dust, starting with the dawn, and resting with the setting sun, and pursued its journey, without stopping a single day. — (S. 55) It crossed the Palar, the Kusaitalai, and the old river Ponnukari, and the swift Kolli, and went beyond the river Pennai. — (S. 56) It crossed the Vayalar, Manipulvāi, Mannāru, and the shining Kunri, and left behind the great river Krishna. — (S. 57) The Gōdāvari, the Pampā river, and the Gōtamai, and their fords of sounding waters, were left behind. — (S. 58) When the army entered, like a vast ocean, even the gods trembled, and whole villages were set on fire, sacked, and ruined. — (S. 59) "The troops have come like an ocean, with the Gaṅgā on one side; where is refuge, where is defence?; who is king here any more? — (S. 60) "The walls are falling, houses are blazing, and the smoke is rising; all that is fair is being wrecked, and we are ruined," — so they fled crying, "Help, help (*ū. 'troops, troops'*)." — (S. 61) "Our king had failed to send the tribute which he ought to pay to the sovereign of this world, and heeded not his commands;

and here is the army sent by the latter." — (S. 62) With stammering speech and trembling bodies, one striving to run before the other, and with the clothes slipping from their waists, they fell at the feet of the lord of men. — (S. 63) The king of north Kalinga, who had never before known disaster, breathing forth fury, with the wrath of a warrior, clapped his hands, and looked at them. — (S. 64) Then he laughed, shaking his broad shoulders, and said — "Am I to submit, not only to the Abhaya, the flowers on whose umbrella yield honey to the bees that swarm on the elephants which guard the eight points, but to his armies also? — (S. 65) "That army seems to come, without ever thinking that this Kalinga country is defended by jungles, by hills and by the sea, which bound it on all sides." — (S. 66) When the king spake thus, one of his ministers spoke out as follows: — "Listen, I shall tell thee something of him (Abhaya): — (S. 67) "Though kings be enraged, their servants will not fail to tell them the truth: — (S. 68) "Is not his army sufficient to throw down other kings, and must Jayastara himself come? — (S. 69) "Hast thou not heard how the five (Pāṇḍya kings) suffered by the armies which he (the Chōla) sent against them? — (S. 70) "Has it not reached thine ears, how boastful kings turned their backs (and fled), when the army (of the Chōla) marched to fight them? — (S. 71) "Is it not the army that crossed the sea, and destroyed Viliṇam, and seized Salai? — (S. 74) "Were not a thousand elephants captured at Navilai, which was guarded by the Gaṇḍanāyakas? — (S. 75) "How many kings have rued, and lost their realms by that army, I cannot count: — (S. 76) "His general is now come with the army; reckon well what is the strength of thy shoulders: — (S. 77) "Thou mayest be furious today, but tomorrow, when thou standest before the army, thou wilt think of my words." — (S. 80) (*Said the king*) — "Like a stranger, who does not know anything of the strength of my shoulders and of my sword, thou hast spoken out of thy ignorance; is this a kingdom to be conquered easily? — (S. 81) "Quick let our soldiers march with elephants, chariots and horses, and commence the fight with the army sent by the Chōla Kulōttunga: — (S. 82) "Get ready the war-elephants; get ready the battle-horses; get ready countless chariots; come in, ye men of arms, come to the battlefield; we have a foe to fight." — (S. 83) These orders resounded through the seven Kalingas, and a tumultuous noise arose, as if the seven oceans had mingled their roar, to the astonishment of all.

The battle between the Kalinga king and Karuṇākara is described in Canto 12. I shall translate only a few of the stanzas:—

(S. 1) "Up! Up! Up! with your arms," was the cry that rose everywhere; and the clamour swelled like that of the sea; "On! On! On! with the troops of horses and elephants, on!" — these words echoed on all sides. — (S. 3) The two armies met, like raging seas rushing on seas; and like curling waves breaking on waves, the horsemen charged on horsemen. — (S. 4) Like mighty rocks meeting rocks, huge elephants appeared against elephants, and like clouds, contending with clouds, chariots confronted chariots. — (S. 5) Like fierce tigers fighting with tigers, the warriors fought with warriors; like lions pressing on lions, princes pressed on princes. — (S. 6) The eyes of the warriors emitted fire; the arms flashed like lightning; the twang of the bows burst like thunder; and the arrows poured in showers. — (S. 7) Streams of blood flowed on the field, and the (white) umbrellas floated on it like froth; and piles of slain elephants lay on both sides, like high banks formed for a river (of gore). — (S. 22) To prevent the enemies' missiles from falling on them, the Kalingas entrenched themselves behind fortifications, which seemed like fences raised by machinery. — (S. 31) The elephants which fell screaming on that sea of bright blood, resembled dark clouds descending on the sea to lap up water. — (S. 32) The strong men who cut off the trunks of the elephants and carried them on their shoulders, resembled water-carriers, pouring water from the leather bags on their shoulders. — (S. 33) When the archers bent their bows and shot straight on the foe, they pulled out the shafts which had struck in their chests, and shot them back on the foe from their long bows. — (S. 35) Soldiers who had lost both their legs, whirled and threw one of the legs on the elephants advancing on them, and kept the other to throw on the next foe. — (S. 36)

Many a soldier thrust his dagger into his foe, and both plunged their weapons in each other's body till the pair were tied together like one; and both armies shouted at this display of valour. — (S. 40) In the first *poḷutu* (forenoon) the king of Vāṇḍai, the minister of the king of kings, the famous Karuṇākara, urged his elephant and pressed on the foe. — (S. 41) While both sides were fighting fiercely, the Chōḷa army pressed forward, bearing down the whole line of the seven Kālīṅgas, and eager to gain victory. — (S. 42) Forward the whole army advanced, and the gods rushed to see the fight; broken were the rows of elephants, cut to pieces; broken were the lines of chariots and steeds. — (S. 45) Unable to face the advancing foe, and losing his courage, the king of the seven Kālīṅgas, who had boastfully brought a thousand caparisoned elephants to the fight, retreated. — (S. 46) Crouching in thickets known to them (*only*), or hiding in lonely caves, or fleeing into the jungle, they disappeared. — (S. 52) Who can count the horses and elephants, which fell into the hands of the conquering heroes, when the Kālīṅgas thus fled? — (S. 53) Many were the elephants which lay beset by bees and eagles, with blood issuing from wounds, and with flowing rut. — (S. 55) Many were the elephants which were seized, with the princes that rode on them, as if tigers were caught and bound with the rocks on which they were found. — (S. 56) It was hard, even to the victors, to count how many fleet steeds, chariots, camels, wealth of the nine kinds, and noble ladies, fell into their hands. — (S. 57) Having secured these, the prime minister of Abhaya commanded a search for the king of the Kālīṅgas; being anxious to return with him as a prisoner. — (S. 58) No sooner was the order given, than an army of scouts marched out with speed, and scoured the hills and searched the jungles. — (S. 59) "No trace of him have we got, but we suspect he is concealed in the summit of a hill; bring our soldiers thither: — (S. 60) "Wherever are the hills or seas or jungles, where the Kālīṅgas may retreat, — those hills and those seas will we surround;" — so the army marched, till the sun reached the western hills. — (S. 61) Till daybreak did they guard the hill, fencing it round with spears and bows, like those who watch a wild boar in a fold, when the Abhaya comes to the chase with his elephants which have never known defeat. — (S. 62) Rivers of blood ran down the hill, when they began the work of slaughter; and the hill turned red, so that, when the sun arose, he could not distinguish it from (the mountain) Udayagiri. — (S. 63) Many were the Kālīṅga hill-men, who covered their bodies with dirt, and plucked the hairs off their heads, and, loosening the clothes from their waists, saved their lives, saying that they were Jains. — (S. 64) Many doubled the bow-strings, and wore them as the three-fold thread on their breast, and said that they were pilgrims who had come to bathe in the Gaṅgā, and by their fate had been caught on the hill; and so escaped from the pen with their lives. — (S. 65) Many went out, having clothed themselves in the red cloth of the banners, and cropping their hair, and saying, "Can you not recognise Sākya (Buddhists) by their dress?" — (S. 66) Many of the Kālīṅgas, holding the bells which had been tied to elephants, bowed, and said that they were strolling bards of the Telugu country, and that, having seen the flying army, they had remained rooted to the spot, unable to stir through fear. — (S. 67) None but these escaped; and of the people of the seven Kālīṅgas, none remained but the men painted on the walls of their houses; so completely were the rest chased and slaughtered. — (S. 68) Having raided through the sea-girt Kālīṅga, and having planted a pillar of victory, Tonḍaimān, the king of Vāṇḍai, seizing huge elephants and heaps of wealth, laid them with pleasure at the feet of the Abhaya who owns the sacred shining sabre.

Canto 13 concludes the poem, with a description of the battle-field after the engagement, and an imaginary account of how the evil spirits feasted on the corpses and held high revel. Having fed full, in great glee they sing the praises of the Chōḷa emperor and his general, as follows:—

(S. 60) Sing of the fair feet, at which cluster the jewelled crowns of the bowing Chōḷa, the diadem of the Valuti (Pāṇḍya), and swarms of bees! Sing of the sacred feet of the sovereign! — (S. 61) Sing of the elephants, which come like an ocean, brought in tribute by the lords of the northern countries to Abhaya, who wields the shining long sword! Sing of the odour of

their rut, which flows like the sea! — (S. 62) Sing how his enemies bowed at the ankle-rings of the son of Paṇḍita-Chōḷa, whose umbrella covers even the seas! Sing of the might of his bow! — (S. 63) Sing of the victorious umbrella, under which the lady Earth ever smiles in happiness! Sing of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa! — (S. 64) Sing of the rich town of Vaṇḍai! Sing of Mayilai and Mallai! Sing of the old towns, and of the old river Yamunai! — (S. 65) Sing of the hero who, seizing whole troops of elephants in Kalinga, crowned our protector with the wreath of victory! Sing of the prince of Tonḍai! — (S. 67) The crown, worn on the head of our sovereign, the supreme Abhaya, is but one; the crowns, which crowd round his feet, number a hundred thousand! — (S. 68) The steep hills over which vassal kings have made paths to bring their tribute to one crown, are a hundred thousand! — (S. 69) At the gate of the ministers of Abhaya who wears garlands on his shoulders, the offerings of the kings of this earth are a hundred thousand! — (S. 119) They blessed the lord of the port of Ponni (the Kāvéri river); they blessed the master of Porunai (the Tāmraparṇi river); they blessed the consort of Kanni (Cape Comorin); they blessed the spouse of the Gaṅgā. — (S. 122) They blessed Karikāla-Chōḷa, who, as his duty, protected, and formed a second time, the world, which had been first created by the god of the lotus-flower.

Interesting as is the information that is contained in the poem, it is disappointing to find that the author is led away more by considerations of rhetorical embellishments and conventional descriptions, than by a desire to chronicle full particulars of the historical event he has sought to perpetuate in the poem. For instance, he does not mention the name of the king of the seven Kalingas, or of his capital, or the place where the final battle was fought and from which the Kalinga king was forced to fly. Nor does he give the pedigree of the Pallava king. The fate of the Pallavas after they were conquered by the Chōḷas, was hitherto a matter for conjecture; but from this poem it appears that they were content to remain feudatories to the powerful Chōḷas, and held high rank in their court next only to the emperor.

The real hero of this poem is Karuṇākara-Pallava. He is described as a descendant of the ancient family of the Pallavas, who, we know, had once been independent sovereigns at Kāñchi. His flag bore the device of the bull, which was the banner of the Pallavas; and his capital was Vaṇḍainagara. He had the title of Tonḍaimān; and was prime minister of the Chōḷa. Mayilai and Mallai were important towns under his sway. His territory must have comprised very nearly the whole of the country now known as the districts of Chingleput and South Arcot, in the Madras Presidency.

As the Pallava was at this time a feudatory of the Chōḷa emperor, the poet naturally gives more prominence to the latter, and describes at length his genealogy. The names of the Chōḷa emperor are given as Kulōttuṅga and Karikāla. He was the grandson of Rājārāja or Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, by his daughter who had married a prince of the lunar race. His grandmother, the wife of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, brought him up as destined to represent both the solar and the lunar dynasties; and he was installed as heir-apparent of the Chōḷa empire. While yet a youth, he distinguished himself by a raid into the northern countries, where he stormed the fort of Chakrakōṭa and frightened Virutarāja. Finding that there was anarchy in the Chōḷa dominions after the death of the "king of kings," he returned from the northern country, assumed the sovereignty, and restored peace. He reigned prosperously for several years, and once, while he was holding his court at Kāñchi and was receiving tribute from vassal kings and chiefs, he learnt that the king of North Kalinga or the Seven Kalingas, had failed to bring tribute for two successive years. On hearing this, he issued orders that an army should start at once to seize the refractory king. His prime-minister, Karuṇākara, then prayed that he might be honoured with the command of the army; and the emperor was graciously pleased to grant his request. A mighty army got ready, and Karuṇākara led it to the banks of the Ganges, and there defeated the king of North Kalinga in a pitched battle, and, returning to the Chōḷa emperor, presented him with all the booty seized in the country and with the numberless elephants taken in battle. Such is the narrative of the poem.

The name of the father of Kulōttunga is not mentioned; but it is simply stated that he belonged to the lunar race. The royal families which claimed descent from the lunar race, and whose territories lay adjacent to the Chōla country, were only the Chalukyas and the Pāṇdyas. Kulōttunga himself, — so says the poem, — defeated five Pāṇḍyan princes, and was engaged in battle on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra (evidently against the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa); but no mention is made of any hostile acts in the Veṅḡ *maṇḍala*; and it should be inferred, therefore, that it formed a part of the Chōla empire during Kulōttunga's reign; especially because it appears that the kings of North Kāliṅga and Kaḍakam (Ottack), whose territories lay to the north of Veṅḡ, were also feudatory to the Chōla at this time. It appears therefore, most probable that Kulōttunga's father belonged to the Eastern Chālukya family, who reigned at Veṅḡ. This supposition is confirmed by inscriptions found in the Telugu country, wherein it is stated that Kulōttunga I, the son of Rājaraḷa, first ascended the throne of Veṅḡ, and was subsequently anointed to the Chōla kingdom,² and that his mother was the daughter of the Chōla king Rājendra.³

No date is given in the poem. But I find from inscriptions in the Tamil country, executed during the reign of Kulōttunga, that, — whereas the expedition to Kāliṅga is not alluded to in the grants recorded up to the twentieth year of his reign, — in those made in the twenty-sixth year, the re-conquest of the Kāliṅga *maṇḍala* is mentioned. It follows, therefore, that the expedition must have taken place between the twentieth and twenty-sixth years of his reign. It has been ascertained from the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, that Kulōttunga reigned from about A. D. 1064 to 1113, and that he was anointed to the Chōla kingdom not long after his accession to the sovereignty of Veṅḡ. The date of the expedition should, therefore, be between A. D. 1084 and 1090; the twentieth and twenty-sixth years of his reign. And the poem should be taken as having been composed soon after the expedition and during his reign; for, the opening canto in which the poet invokes the gods for the long life and prosperity of Kulōttunga, clearly indicates that he was still alive and in power, when the poem was written. Consequently the poem must have been written certainly not later than A. D. 1113, in which year Kulōttunga was succeeded on the throne by his son.

It is interesting to note that this poem was composed almost about the same time as was the *Vikramāditya-charita*, which was written by Bilhana in honor of his patron, the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Dr. Bühler has shewn in his learned introduction to the printed edition of the *Charita*, that it must have been written about A. D. 1085. The events that took place in the Chōla country, as narrated in that poem, quite correspond with, and explain, what is stated in the *Kāliṅgaṭṭu-Parani*. Bilhana states that, in his time, the Tuṅgabhadra was the boundary of the Chōla and Chālukya dominions. The Chōla capital was at Gāṅḡakūṇḍa. Vikramāditya had married a daughter of the Chōla king, and some time after his marriage, he learnt that his father-in-law had died, and that there was anarchy in the Chōla kingdom. He therefore hastened to Kāñchi, put down the rebels there, and thence proceeded to Gāṅḡakūṇḍa, and having subdued all enemies, he installed his father-in-law's son on the throne and returned to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. Shortly after his return, his brother-in-law lost his life through the enmity of his subjects, and Rajīga, the lord of Veṅḡ, took possession of the Chōla kingdom. The *Kāliṅgaṭṭu-Parani* states that there was anarchy in the Chōla dominions, previous to the accession of Kulōttunga, but does not allude to the intervention of Vikramāditya, or to the deposition of his brother-in-law. This omission is obviously owing to the desire of the poet to avoid mention of any circumstances, which might detract from the glory of the Chōla family.

The most important portion of the poem is Canto 8, which gives the pedigree of the Chōlas. It agrees in many respects, with the accounts given in the inscriptions that have been

² See the grants of Rājaraḷa I. and Kulōttunga-Chōla II., published by Mr. Fleet in this Journal, Vol. XIV. pp. 48-55.

³ See the Chellūr grant edited by Dr. Hultsch (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 46).

hitherto published. The usual mythological ancestors, commencing with Vishnu, and some of the famous kings of the Solar Race who ruled in Northern India, are mentioned. Then the first Chôla, who formed the Chôla *mandala*, is stated to be Surâtirâja. He is more frequently mentioned in ancient Tamil poems as Suraguru; and he is alluded to by the same name, in the large Leiden grant, but the words *tad-vashô Suragurur asta-vairi-varggô Bôjêndrô rati-kula-kôttur* of the grant have not been correctly rendered into English in the translation, annexed to a copy of the grant published in the *Archæol. Surv. South. India*, Vol. IV. Then followed the two Rajakêsarîs. Then certain kings who are described as follows: — He who dictated to Yama, the god of death, what he should do (the Mrityujit of the Leiden grant); he who brought the Kâvêri river (mentioned in Tamil poems as Kâvêra); he who conquered Indra and placed him as the tiger in his standard; he who opened one ocean to flow into another; he who of his own will offered his blood to be drunk; he who conquered Varadarâja; he who stormed the aerial castles; he who rode in a self-moving chariot and ascended the sky; he who assisted the ocean-like army of Dharma in the Mahâbhârata war; he who married a Nâga princess (his name is given as Kîlî-Vaļavan in ancient Tamil poems); he who knocked off the fetters from the feet of the Chêra, on hearing the poem *Kaļavali* recited by Poikai (this is the Kôch-Chenkappân of the Leiden grant, see my translation of the poem *Kaļavali*, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 258). Then came Karikâla, who constructed high banks along the course of the river Kâvêri, and captured Kurumi, and in whose praise the Paddinappalai was composed. Karikâla is here placed after Kôch-Chenkappân; but I find from other poems, that Karikâla was an earlier king. In the Leiden grant and in the grant of the Bâna king Hastimalla, Karikâla is correctly placed before Kôch-Chenkappân. The words *Kâvêri-itra-bandhanam* in the Leiden grant, have been translated as "the dam across the Kâvêri;" but I find that the Tamil poets have always described Karikâla as a king who constructed high banks along both sides of the bed of the Kâvêri, and never as having built the dam or anicut, which appears to be the work of a much later king.

Subsequent to Karikâla, the leading events are mentioned, instead of the kings; *vis.* the victory over the Pândya and the Chêra; the conquest of Ceylon and Madura (this refers to the reign of Vîra-Nârâyana-Chôla); the conquest of Uthakai; the invasion of the northern countries up to Mappai, on the banks of the Ganges; the annexation of Kadâram; the planting of a pillar of victory at Kampili; the victory at Koppai; and the defeat of the Kuntalas at Kûdal-Saṅgam. This last event appears to have taken place during the reign of Vîra-Râjêndra *alias* Gaṅgaikondra-Chôla, the founder of Gaṅgaikondra-Chôlapuram, and the grandfather of Kulôttuṅga. The poem passes over the kings who succeeded Gaṅgaikondra on the throne of the Chôlas, before the accession of Kulôttuṅga, because they do not come in the line of the ancestors of the latter.

From the description of the court of Kulôttuṅga at Kañchi, we find that the empress Thiyakavalli, and the highest ladies of the land, appeared in public assemblies, and were not subject to the seclusion to which their sex is now doomed in Hindu society. We also find that tribute was paid in coins; as well as in kind, *i. e.* in costly jewels, gems, elephants and the like. From the account of the youth and education of Kulôttuṅga, we learn that the princes of that time were trained to arms at an early age, and loved manly sports and the pleasures of the chase. The religion of the Chôlas was then Saivism, as will appear from stanza 68, canto 10.

Most of the localities mentioned in the poem, can be readily identified. The capital of the Chôla empire was Gaṅgâpuri (xiii. 92). The full name of this town is Gaṅgaikondra-Chôlapuram. It has now dwindled into a small village; but a magnificent temple, — as large as the big temple of Tanjore and of the same style of architecture, — defended by a wall and ditch, and the ruins of a palace and other massive buildings, still attest its former splendour. It is situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly District. The next place of importance was Kañchi, now known as Conjeevaram. It is still a flourishing town, and is a station on the South-Indian Railway, in the Chingleput District. Atikai, another large town, which

the Chôla emperor visited on his way from Gaṅgāpuri to Kāñchi (VIII. 68), is now known as Tiruvatikai or Tiruvādi, and is situated in the South Arcot District. Kōddāra, where the Chôla emperor defeated the Pāṇḍyan princes (III. 21), is still known as Kōtar, and is situated in the Travancore territory, near Cape Comorin. Kadāram (VI. 18; VIII. 25), a seaport and capital of a kingdom, is probably a town on the coast of Arakkan or Burma, which was taken by the Chôla army and annexed to his dominions. Kūdal-Saṅgam, where the Chôla defeated the Kuntala forces (VIII. 29), is at the junction of the rivers Tuṅgabhadra and Krishna. Kampili, where the Chôla planted a pillar of victory, is in the Bellary District. Vaṇḍai, the capital of the Pallava, now goes by the name of Vaṇḍalūr; it is a station on the South Indian Railway, in the Chingleput District; a very spacious tank, and the ruins of a native fort to the west of the village, indicate that it must have been a populous town in days gone by. Mayilai is the modern Maillāpur, a suburb of the town of Madras, where there is still an ancient temple of Siva. Mallai, or Māmallaipuram as given in inscriptions, is now erroneously called Mahābalipuram, and is known to Europeans as "the Seven Pagodas," famous for its sculptured rocks and caves, and monoliths, situated on the sea-coast, about thirty miles south of Madras. Valavai is most probably Valavanūr, near Pondicherry. Chakrakōṭa, where Kulōttuṅga won his first laurels in battle, I have not been able to identify. From Tamil inscriptions, I find that it was within the territory of the king of Dhārā. It appears to have been a fortress of considerable importance, and it is mentioned also in the *Vikramāditya-charita* as one of the places attacked by Vikrama, during the reign of his father Āhavamalla (A. D. 1040-1069).

The power of the Chôlas had reached its zenith during the reign of Kulōttuṅga. The whole of the country along the eastern coast, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and in the interior up to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, owned his sovereignty. His territory was as extensive as that of Germany or France in Europe, and several kings and chieftains owed allegiance to him; and he assumed therefore the title of Tribhuvana-Chakravarti or "emperor of the three worlds," which his successors retained for at least two centuries later. Of the neighbouring ancient kingdoms, that of Pāṇḍya had been dismembered, and the five Pāṇḍyan princes, who had shared the kingdom, had to flee before the Chôla forces. The Chôla king maintained his authority only within the limits of the mountains which separated his kingdom from the rest of the country. North of the Tuṅgabhadra, the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. was undisputed sovereign of the Dekkan.

The *Kalīṅgattu-Paṇai* furnishes also some information towards the history of Tamil literature. It alludes to the *Paddinappalai*, composed in praise of Karikāla; and to the *Kaḷavai* written by Poikai, describing the battlefield in which the Chôla king Kōh-Chenkaṇṇan defeated the Chôla Kapaikkā-Irumporai (edited in this Journal, Vol. XVIII. p. 258 ff.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE TEXT.

Canto 8.

- (9) Ātimāi kamala nāpi kamalattayanutit
tayan marichai yenumaṇṇalai aḷitta-
perichum
kātal kūraru marichai makanāki vaḷarum
kaḥhipan katir arukkanai aḷitta pari-
chum.
(10) Avvarukkan makanāki manu mēṭini
puran
tariya kātalanai āvinatu kanṇu nīkarōṇṇu
evvarukkamum viyappa muṇai cheyta-
kataiyum
ikkuvāku ivan māntan enavanta pari-
chum.

- (11) Ikkuvāku utavam putalvanāna uravōn
ikalurañ cheyapurañcheytu purantaran
enum
chakkuvāyiramudaikkaliṇ vākanamena
tānirantu poru tānavarai venṇachaya-
mum.
(12) Oru tuṇaippunal chinappaliyumānumu-
danē
uṇṇavaiṭṭa vuvavōn ulakil vaittavaru-
lum
porutṇaṭṭalai pukunta muchukunta-
nimaṇyōr
puramadakkalum orāṇmai cheytayarnta
pukaḷum.

- (13) Kadai kalakka varum innamutu tannai
oruva
kadavu! vānevarka! uppa aru! cheyta
katayum
ndal kalakkara arintu tachai iddavanumōr
oru talaippuravodokka nīrai pukka ava-
num.
- (14) Ohurātirāchan mutalāka varu chōlanu
munā
chōlamandalam amaitta pirakōlulakai-
yum
irāchakōcharikalām iruvar ārai enavum
ēruvempuliyin ārai ena nīra arulum
- (15) KAlanukkitu vajakkēna vuraitta avanum
kāvrippunal konarnta avanum puvañiyil
mālanaittulukum ivvakila lōkamumelām
venṟukōṇḍavanum enṟivarka! kōṇḍa viṟa-
lum
- (16) Puliyenakkodiyil intiranai vaitta avanum
puṟari onṟinidai onṟu puka vidda avanum
valiyinil kuruti uṟkena aṟitta avanum
varata rāchanai valintu paṟi kōṇḍa ava-
num
- (17) Tēnku tēnkeyil eṟinta avannu chudar
maṟit
tira! vimānam atu vān miṟai uyarta
avanum
tānka! pārata mudippalavu nīṟu taruman
tan kadaṟpadi tanakkutavi cheyta ava-
num.
- (18) Talavaṟikkukaiyinil polipilattin vaṟiyē
tani nadanturakar tānka! maṟi kōṇḍa
avanum
kalavaṟikkavitai poikai urai cheyya
uttiyan
kālvaṟittalayai veddi aṟachidde avanum.
- (19) Enṟu maṟṟavarka! tānka! charitaṟka!
palavum
eṟuti mēla itan mēl valuti chēran mudiyil
tan tanikkalīṟaṟaitteruṟa vīra maka! tan
tanatadaṟkaṟodu tan puyamaṟainta paṟi-
chum.
- (20) Toṟntu manṟarē karai chey ponniyil
tudara vantaṟi mukariyai padat
teṟutukēṟu kaṟditu miṟaikkapen
ṟiṟkaṟikkavē aṟkaṟintatam.
- (21) Tattu nīr varāl kurumi venṟatum
talavu chentamīṟ parichil vāṟar pon
pattodāṟu nūṟāyiram peṟa
peṟdu peḍḍinappālai kondatam.
- (22) Oruvar munnor nāl tantu pin chellā
uttiyar manṟarē maturai manṟaren
ṟiruvar tammaiym kiṟika! chupṟuvit
eriviṟakuvait iṟai viṟaittatam
- (23) Vēlam onṟukaittāvin viṟṟinṟāy
miṟai adaṟkavum aṟaiyavenṟatum
ṟamum tamīṟ kūḍalum ohitait
iṟai kadantatōr iṟai parantatam.
- (24) Chataya nāl viṟa utiyar mandalam
tannil vaittavan tanior māvinmōl
utaya pānu ottutakai venṟakōn-
orukai vāṟaṟam pala kavartatam.
- (25) Kaṟiṟu kaṟkai nīruṟṟa maṟṟaiyil
kalavi maṟṟodum kalavu chemponak
kuṟiṟu tēṇḍirai kurai kadāramum
kōṇḍu maṟḍalaṟkudaiyul vaittatam.
- (26) Kampṟi chayattamba naddatam
kadiaraṟ koṟ kalyaṟar kaddaṟa
kimpurippaṟai kīri ukaittavan
kiṟika! eddinum puli poṟittatam.
- (27) Oru kaṟiṟinmōl varu kaṟiṟaiot
tulakuyakkola porutu koppaiyil
porukaṟiṟin mōl mudi kavittavan
puvikavippatōr kudai kavittatam.
- (28) Panuvalukku mutalāya vētanānkin
paṇḍudaiya neṟi putukki paṟayar taṟkaṟ
manuvinukku mummadi uān mādiyāṟ
chōlan
valaṟkudaiṟkī! aṟaṟkalikka vaṟarntavā-
ṟum.
- (29) Kuntaṟarai kūḍal chaṟkamattu venṟa
kōn aṟayan kuvalayaṟ kāttalitta pinṟai
inta nīlakkulappāvai ivan pāṟohōra
enna tavaṟcheytiruntāl enna tōṟṟum.
- (30) Evvaṟavu tiripuvanam ulavāyṟtōṟṟum
evvaṟavu kula maṟaika! ulavāyṟṟikūm
avvaṟavu tikiṟivaraṟ alavuṟohēṟkōl
ārai chella aṟayan kāttalikkumūṟum.

Canto 10.

- (1) Anṟilaṟkai porutalitta avanē aṟ
pāratappōr mudittappinṟai
venṟilaṟku kaṟiṟāṟi viṟaiyataran
enavutittān viṟambakkōṟmin.
- (2) Tōvareṟāṟkūṟai irappa tōvaki tan
tiruvayyṟṟil vachu tōvaṟku
māvulakuntoṟa nedu māl munnoru nāl
avatāraṟcheyta pinṟē.

- (3) Irul muḷetu makarrum vitu kulattōntēvi
ikalviḷaṅku tapanakulat irācharāchan
aruḷ tiruvin tiruvayirḷil vantu tōṇṇi
āḷilaiyil avatarittān avanō miḷa.
- (4) Vantarūḷi avatārañcheḷ talumō
maṇṇulakum maṇaikaḷ nāṅkum
manṭara nīṅkiṇa enna
antara tuntumi muḷaṅki eḷuntatāṅkō.
- (5) Alar maḷai pōn maḷai poḷiya
atu kaṇḍu kaṅkaikōṇḍa chōḷan tēvi
kula makadan kula makanaḷ
kōkanaka malarkkaiyāl eduttakkondō.
- (6) Avanivarkku puttiranām adaiyālam
avayavattin adaiya nōkki
ivanemakku makanāḷki
iravikulam pāṇikkattakuvanenṇō.
- (18) Ichaiyudan edutta kodi apayan avanukki-
niya
iḷavarachil vaitta piṇakō
tiḥaiyaracharukkuriya tiruvinaḷ mukap-
patoru
tiruvuḷam aduttaruḷiyō.
- (20) Kudatiḥai pukak kadavu kurakata vit-
tiravi
kuṇṇakalum epikkum iruḷpōḷ
vadatiḥai mukattarachar varukataṁ-
kattanatu
kurakata mukattaruḷiyō.
- (23) Manukkōddam aḷitta pirān
vaḷavar pirān tiruppuravat
tanukkōddam naman kōddam
paḍḍatu chakkarakkōddam.
- (26) Māvukait orutani apayan ippadi
vadatiḥai mēṇchela manṇar manṇavan
tēvanukkarachanāy viḥumbin mēṇchela
tenṇichaiḷkup pukuntamai cheppuvām.
- (27) Maṇaiyavar veḷvi kuṇṇi
manu neṇi anaittumāṇi
tuṇaiḷkōṇḍumāṇi
ohurutiyumuḷakkam oḷyntō.
- (28) Ohāṭikalonṇōdonṇu
talaitada māṇi yārum
ōṭiya neṇiyinillā
oḷukkamum maṇantu pōyō.
- (29) Oruvarei oruvar kaṁmik
umbar taṅkōyil chōṁpi
arivaiyar kaṇṇi chōṁpi
araṇḷakalum aḷiya āṅkō.

- (30) Kaliyirul paranta kālai
kaliyirul karakkat tōṇṇum
olikadal arukkan enna
ulakuyya vantu tōṇṇi.
- (31) Kāppellām uḍaiya tānē
padaippatunḷkadanāḷkkōṇḍu
kōppellāṅ kulaintōr tammai
kuṇṇiyilē nīṇṇattivaṇṇē.
- (32) Viri punal vēlai nāṅkum
vētanḷkaṇāṅkum āṇṇe
tiripuvanaḷkaḷ vāḷṭa
tiru apidōkaṇi cheyṭō.
- (34) Nirai maṇi pala kuṇṇiṇiya
nedu mudi miḥai vitippadi
ohori punal idai muḷaittana
tuṇaiḷkaḷin aṇam anaittumō.
- (35) Potu aṇa ulaku kaikkōḍu
puli vaḷar kodi eduttalum
atu mutal kodi eduttana
amararkaḷ muḷavedukkavē.
- (36) Kuṇṇikaḷkodaraḥar churṇiya
kurai kaḷal apayan mutṭaṇi
kaṇṇikaḷiyin nīḷaveṇṇittatu
kali enum iruḷ oḷittatō.

Canto 11.

- (4) Ampon mēru atu kol itu kol eṇṇu
āyiram katir veyyavan aiyuṇum
chempon māḷikai ten kuda tikkinil
cheyṭa chittira maṇḍapam taṇṇilē.
- (5) Moittilāḷkiya tārakai vāninam
mukaddeḷunta muḷu mati pattiyin
neyttilāḷkiya nittila pantarin
niṇṇu veṇṇkudai eṇṇu nīḷaṇṇavē.
- (6) Mēḷ kavitta matikkudaiyin pudai
viḥukinṇa veṇṇchāmarai ten tiḥai
pāl kadal tirai ṇirāṇḍu iṅkiru
palum vantu paṇi cheyva pōṇṇumō.
- (7) Aṅkaṇ āḷam anaittum puyattilvaṇṇu
adakkak kiriṇṇil puli vaṇṇittavan
chiṇṇkavāḥanattu ēṇi iruppatōr
chiṇṇka ēṇa chevvi chiṇṇkavē.
- (16) Maṇḍalḷkarum mānīḷa vēntarum
vantuṇaṅku kadai talai vaṇḍai man
tonḍai mān mutan mantirapparaḷkar
chōḷṇtu tan kaḷal chōḷdi irukkavē.
- (17) Muṇaiyidat tarum mantira vēlai āḷ
mun vaṇṇaḷki muḷuvatum vēntar tam
tirai ida puṇam niṇṇaṇar eṇṇalum
cheyṭai nōkki vaṇṇeyṭi nerukkavē.

- (18) Tennavar villavar kûpekar châpekar
chêtipar yâtavârê
kannadar pallavar kaitavar kâdavar
kâripâr kôsalarê.
- (19) Kankar karîlar kavintar tumintar
kadambar tulûmbar kalê
vankar ilâdar marîdar virâdar
mayintar chayintar kalê.
- (20) Ohînkalar vanîkalar chêkunar chêvapar
cheyyavar aiyaparê
konîkavar konîkar kulûnkar chountiyar
kuchohavar kachohiyarê.
- (21) Mattavar mattirar mâlûvar mîgadar
machohar milachohar kalê
kuttar kupattar vadakkar turukkar
kurukkar viyattar kalê.
- (22) Ennakarâkâlum nâdum emak
karul cheytanai emmaiyaide
chonna tanakâl kopartanam
eupadi ohûdu karâkalodê.
- (26) Arachar aôchalenpadi irapdum avar
mudiyin vaittaruli arachar mar-
purai cheyum tiraikal oliya ninjavaram
ular kol enru arulu polutîlê.
- (27) Kadakar tam tirai kodadaiya vantarachar
kalal vapahkinarkal ivarudan
vada kalîngar pati avan irapduvichai
varukilan tirai kodenalumê.
- (28) Uravaten kol ena nilai kulaintarachar-
uyir nadunka olir pavala vây
muraval konde porul arikilam chipitu
munivu konde nilai vatanamê.
- (29) Eliyan enpidinum valiya kunjarapam
idiya nam padaiyar kaditu ohenru
ali alampu mata malaikal kondeaimin
avanaiyum koparmin enalumê.
- (30) Irâi mojitajavil elu kalînkamavai
erivan enru kalal toltanan
marai mojinta padi marapin vanta kula
tilatan vandai nakar arachanê.
- (31) Adaiya attichai pekai tukaippan enru
ichai konde adal tondeaiman
vidai enakkena puli uyarttavan
vidai kodukka appolutîlê.
- (32) Kadai kalakkavê malai idikkavê
kadaidai porî papa pañi
pidar odikkavê padai ninaippens
piralaiyattinil tirajavê.
- (52) Tannârin malar tirai tûl apayan
tân eviya chênai tanak adaiya
kappâkiya chôlan chakkaramâm
karupâkaran vâranam mël kolavê.
- (53) Tonдайyarkkarachin mun varum churavi
tunka vêl kodi uyarttakôn
vaidaiyarkkarachu pallavarkkarachu
mâl kalîrîn miôhai koljavê.
- (54) Marittôdi evvarachum chariya venru
varum apukkai pallavar kôn valavai
vêntan
nerittôdai ilânku nadai kalîrîn merkonp
irai vêdda perumpuli pôlikan mêchella.
- (55) Palâru kussittalai pon mukari
pâlavaru kadantepi kolliyenum
nâlârum akanoru pennaiyenum
nati aru kadantu nadantudanê.
- (56) Vayalâru kadantu manippulvâi
mannâru vayank elu kunriyenum
peyalâru varantu nîpinturavap
pêrârum ilintatu pippadavê.
- (57) Kôtaviri nati mëlârodu kulir
pampâ nati odu ochantappêr
ôdâ varu nati odu kotamaiyudan
oli nîr mali turai pirakâka.
- (58) Kadaiyil pudai oru kadai ottamarar
kalânkum parichu kalâkappuk
adaiyap padar eri koluvippati kalai
aliyach ohtirai kol polutattê.
- (59) Kankê nati oru puram âkappadai
kadai pâl vantatu kadai vantâl
enkê pukal idam enkê ini arap
ârê ati pati inkenrê.
- (60) Idikinrâna matil erikinrâna pati
elukinrâna pukai ejil ellâm
madikinrâna kudi kedukinrânam ena
alaikinrâna padai padai enrê.
- (61) Ulakuk oru mutal apayarkidutirai
urâi tappiyatematarachê em
pala karpanai tanai ninai vurrilai vidu
padai maravan vidu padai enrê.
- (62) Uraiyir kulariyum udaliy petariyum
oruvarkkoruvâr mun murai yiddê
araiyirukil vilâ adayachohanapati
adiyir puka vilu polutattê.
- (63) Antaramonpariyâta vada kalîngar
kulavêntan atipen vîram
ventaru kañ vekuliyinâl veituyirttu
kai pudaittu viyarttu nôkki.

- (64) Vandinukkum tichai yānai madam
kodukkum
malarkkavikai apayarkanpi
tandinukkum eliyānō ena vekundu
tadam puyānkaḷ kīlūnka nakkān.
- (65) Kān arāṇum malai arāṇum kadalarāṇum
chōḷ kidanta kalīṅgar pūmi
tānarāṇum udaittenṇu karutātu
varuvatum attāṇdu pōlum.
- (66) Enṇu kūḷalum yānavan kāriyam
onṇu kūḷavan kēḷ enru uparttuvān.
- (67) Arachar chīruvarēnum adiyavar
uraicheyātu oḷiyārkaḷ uṇṇuṇṇi.
- (68) Ennai vēntai eṇiya chayataran
tānai allatu tānavar vēṇḍumō.
- (69) Vidda tandinil minavar aivarum
kedda kēddinai kēddilai pōlu nī.
- (70) Pōrin mēḷ tēṇḍedukka purakidum
chōravārttai chevippaddatillaiyō.
- (71) Vēlai koṇḍu viḷiṇam aḷittatum
chōḷai koṇḍatum tēṇḍu koṇḍallavō.
- (74) Kanda nāyakar kākku navilayil
kondatu āyiram kuncharam allavō.
- (75) Aḷantu tāṇḍai māṇḍalam tēṇḍināl
iḷanta vēntar inaiyar enṇu enṇukēn.
- (76) Kaṇḍu kāṇṇu puyavali nṇumat
tēṇḍu koṇḍavan chakkaram vantatō.
- (77) Inṇu chīṇinum nāḷai aḷchōḷnaimun
ninra pōḷṭil ennai ninaittiyāl.
- (80) Ennudaia tōḷ valiyum enudaia
vāḷvaliyum yātum aṇiyatu piṇar pōḷ
ninnudaia pēṭaimaiyīnāl uraicheytāy
itu ninaippaḷavil vella aritō.
- (81) Vēḷam iratam puravi vempadaṇṇar
enṇinaia nampadaṇṇar chenṇu kaduka
chōḷa kuḷatuṇṇan vida vantu vidu
tēṇḍinetir chenṇamar tudaṇṇukenavō.
- (82) Paṇṇuka vayakkalīṇu paṇṇuka vayap-
puravi
paṇṇuka kaṇippil pala tēr
nannuka padai cherunar nannuka
cherukkalam namakkikaiḷ kidaitta tenavō.
- (83) Kalīṅgam avai ēḷinum eḷuntatoru
pōroli kaṇṇaku kadai ēḷum udanō
malānki eḷum ēḷichai enattichai
tikaiṇṇuṇṇu varun toni eḷuntatenavō.

Canto 12.

- (1) Edum edum edum ena eduttatōr
ikal oli kadai oli ikakkavō
vidu vidu vidu pari karikkulām
vidum vidum enum oli mikaikkavō.
- (3) Eṇi kadai odu kadai kidaittapōḷ
irupadaikaḷum etir kidaiḷkavō
maṇi tirai tirai odu malaitta pōḷ
varu pari odu pari malaikkavō.
- (4) Kana varai odu varai muḷaittapōḷ
kada kari odu kari muḷaiḷkavō
ina mukil mukil odum etirttapōḷ
iratamum iratamum etirkkavō.
- (5) Poru puli puli odu chilaittapōḷ
poru padar odu padar chilaiḷkavō
ariyin odu ariyam adarppapōḷ
aracharum aracharum adarppavō.
- (6) Vilai kanal viḷikāḷin muḷaiḷkavō
minal oli kanal idai erikkavō
valai chilai urum ena idikkavō
vadi kanai odu malai padaikkavō.
- (7) Kurutiṇin nati veli parakkavō
kudai inam nurai ena mitakkavō
kari tuṇi padum udal adukkiyō
karai ena iṇu pudai kidaikkavō.
- (22) Vidutta vīrar āyuthaṇṇaḷ
mēḷ viḷāmal yantirattu
edutta vēḷi pōḷ kalīṅgar
vaddaṇṇaḷ iddavō.
- (40) Alakil cheru mutarpoḷutu vaṇḍaiyar
arachan aracharkuḷ nāyakan māntiri
ulaku pukaḷ karuṇākaran tanatu
orukai iṇu paṇai vēḷam muntavō.
- (41) Upaya pelamum vidātu vēḷohamam
udalu poḷutinil vākai munkoḷa
apayan vidu padai ēḷi kalīṅgamum
adaiya oru mukam āki muntavō.
- (42) Aṇikaḷ oru mukam āka muntina
amarar amar atu kāṇa muntinar
tuṇikal pada mata mā mūrintana
turaka nirai odu tēr mūrintavō.
- (45) Purachai mata malai āyiraṇṇodu
poruvam ena varum ēḷi kalīṅgartam
arachan urai cheyta āṇmaiṇṇukeda
amaril etir viḷiyatu otuṇṇiḷyō.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(52) Appadi kalīṅgar ḍāa
adartṭeṛi ohānai vīrar
kaippadu kalīṅum mavum
kaṇitturaippavarkaḷ yāvar.</p> <p>(57) Ivai kavartupin eḷu kalīṅgartam
iraiyaiyum kodu peyartumenṇu
avan iruntāḷi aṇika enṇanan
apayan mantiri mutalvanā.</p> <p>(58) Uraikaḷ piṇpadum alavil oṇṇarkaḷ
oli kadaṇ padai kaditu pōy
varai kalil pudai tadavi appadi
vanam ilai purai tadaviyā.</p> <p>(59) Ohuvadu peṇṇilam avanai maṇṇoru
kavadu peṇṇanam oru malai
kavadu paṇṇiyatu namatu adaṇṇadai
koṇara appariṇḍu enalum enavā.</p> <p>(60) Ekkuvadam ekkadalum entakkādum
nikkalīṅkarkku araṇāvtu inṇā nāṇ-
chenṇu
akkuvadam ekkadalum valaintu veyyōn
attamanak kuvadu aṇaiyum alaviṇ
chenṇā.</p> <p>(61) Tōlāta kalīṇṇapaiyan vēddaippanṇi
toḷuvadaittu toḷu vatanaikkāppār pōla
vēlālum villālum vēli kōli
veṇṇatani vidi aḷavum kāttu ninṇā.</p> <p>(62) Jhemmalai yām oḷi padaittatyātō venṇu
Jheṇkatirōn utayaṇḍoḥeytutayamennum
ammalaiyō immalaiyam enna tevar
aḷi kurutū nati parakka adukkum pōḷtil.</p> <p>(67) Ivarkaḷ mēl ini oruvar piḷaittār illai
eḷu kalīṅgattu ḍiviyarkaḷ elutivaitta
shuvar kaṇmōl uḇḇaṇṇi udalkaḷ ennum
udarntu pidittatuttatu munnadaḷi
vānkā.</p> | <p>(68) Kadaṇ kalīṅgam eṇintu ohayattambam
nāddi
kadakarīyum kuvi tanamum kavartu
teyva
ohadarppadai vāḷapayan adi aruḷ inḍum
ohudinān vandaḷiyarkōn tondaimānā.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Canto 13.</p> <p>(60) Vapaṇkiya chēran māpi mudiyum
vaḷuti makudamum vaṇḍinamum
piṇaṇkiya ohāvadi pādīrē.
perumān tiruvadi pādīrē.</p> <p>(61) Oliṇu nedum padai vāḷ apayaṇku
uttara pūmiyar idda tirai
kalīṇu varuṇkadai pādīrē
kadan matam nāṇuna pādīrē.</p> <p>(62) Pavvam adaṇka valainta kudai
paṇḍitaḥḥōḷan makan kaḷalil
tevar valaintamai pādīrē
ohilai ādiya vali pādīrē.</p> <p>(63) Eṇṇaippakalum vellapi nāṇ
irunilappāvai tan kiṇṇaḷṇum
koṇṇakkudaiyaippādīrē
kulōttunga ohōḷanaippādīrē.</p> <p>(64) Vandaḷ vaḷam pati pādīrē
maḷiyalāiyum mallaiyum pādīrē
paḇḇadai vaḷam pati nakai pādīrē
paḇa nati yamunaiyum pādīrē.</p> <p>(65) Kāddiya vēḷa vaṇi vāṇi
kalīṅkappaṇaṇi nam kāvalanmēl
ohūddiya tōṇṇalaip pādīrē
tonḍaiyar vēṇṇanaippādīrē.</p> <p>(122) Pūṇṇatamattavan padaittamaitta
puviyai irandāvatum padaittu
kāṇṇatam eṇkadan eṇṇu kātta
kāṇṇikāḷa ohōḷanai vāḷttinavā.</p> |
|--|--|

THREE UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The plates which bear these inscriptions were presented, in 1824, to the *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Major (afterwards Colonel) Tod, by whom they had been obtained, about twelve years before, from the city of Ujjain;¹ and they are still in the Library of the Society. The inscriptions were first edited, with facsimiles and translations, by H. T. Colebrooke,² in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I. pp. 230-239 and pp. 463-466; and Colebrooke's paper on them was subsequently reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 297-314. I now re-edit the inscriptions from Mr. Fleet's photo-lithographs, which will be hereafter published as *Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 50-52.

¹ See *Transactions Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 307.² Colebrooke's readings were amended, in various places, by Dr. F. H. Hall, in his notes on two inscriptions of Arjanavarmanaditya, published by him in Vol. VII of the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*

The three inscriptions are grants of some of the later Paramāra rulers of Mālava; and they may be shortly characterised thus:—

A. is the concluding portion of a grant of the *Mahārāja* Yaśovarmadēva, dated in the (Vikrama) year 1192.

B. is part of a grant of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* Jayavarmadēva, the successor of Yaśovarmadēva.

C. is part of a grant of the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmiyarmadēva, dated in the (Vikrama) year 1200, confirming a grant made by Yaśovarmadēva, who is represented as the predecessor and apparently the father of Lakshmiyarmadēva, in the Vikrama year 1191.

To shew the mutual relation of the princes who issued these grants, it appears desirable to refer here, shortly, to other copper-plate inscriptions of the later rulers of Mālava. Five such inscriptions have been hitherto published, *viz.*:—

D. — The 'Piplīnagar' grant of the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandrādēva, the son of the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmiyarmadēva, of the Vikrama years 1235 and 1236, edited by L. Wilkinson in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 786.

E. — The Bhōpāl grant of the *Mahākumāra* Udayavarmadēva, the son of the *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandrādēva, of the Vikrama year 1256, edited by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254.

F. — The 'Piplīnagar' grant of the *Mahārāja* Arjunavarmadēva, of the (Vikrama) year 1267, edited by L. Wilkinson in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 378.

G. — A Bhōpāl grant of the same, of the (Vikrama) year 1270, partly edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 32.

H. — Another Bhōpāl grant of the same, of the (Vikrama) year 1272, edited by Dr. Hall, *ib.* p. 25.

In comparing these eight inscriptions with each other, the first thing to strike us is that (omitting the grant A., the commencement of which is missing) the inscriptions B., C., D. and E. open with two verses in praise of the god Śiva, which are followed by prose passages containing the genealogies of the granters; while the inscriptions F., G., and H. open with nineteen verses, of which four are in praise of the moon and of Paraśurāma, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira, and the rest of which is occupied with genealogical matter. Moreover, while in F., G., and H. the granter describes himself as *Mahārāja*, this title, in the other group of inscriptions, is applied only to the granter of A. (and was probably applied also to that of B.); and the three princes, who issued the grants C., D., and E., are content to style themselves by the lower title of *Mahākumāra*.

The line of princes, presented to us in the inscriptions F., G., and H., is this:— 1, Bhōjadēva, the ornament of the Paramāra family; 2, Udayāditya; 3, Naravarman; 4, his son Yaśovarman; 5, his son Ajayavarman; 6, his son Vindhavarman;³ 7, his son Subhavarman; 8, his son, the *Mahārāja* Arjunavarman, whose grants are dated in the (Vikrama) years 1267, 1270, and 1272.

³ As the matter may be of some importance, I would point out here that the verse referring to this prince has not been hitherto properly explained. The verse reads thus:—

Dhāray-oddhritayā śardhan dadhāti sma tridhātām ।
śāhyugmasya yasy-śāis-trātun lōka-trayīm-iva ॥

and it was translated by Mr. Wilkinson:—"The sword of this warrior assumed a threefold edge, when upraised to yield protection to the three worlds;" and by Dr. Hall:—"Of whom, skilled in warfare, the sword, with its edge upraised, as if to deliver the three worlds, assumed a triple edge;" Dr. Hall adding in a note, that "the Sanskrit is here peculiar, the idiom employed being of very questionable purity." Both translators have overlooked the fact that the first word of the verse clearly denotes Dhārā, the capital of Mālava, and that in the last word of the first half there is a reference to the Ganges (*tri-dhārā* = *tri-śrōtas* = *tri-pāṭha-pā*), which in its triple course flows through heaven, earth, and the lower regions. I would translate the verse, somewhat freely, thus:—"The sword of this (prince), skilled in war, acquired, with Dhārā rescued (by it), the properties of the Ganges, (inasmuch as, like the Ganges, it now had three *dhārās*), to protect, as it were, the three worlds."

In B. :— 1, The *Paramabhaffāra*, *Mahārājādhirdja* and *Paramāvara* Udayādityadēva; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva*; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P. Yaśovarman*; succeeded by 4, the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*.

In C. :— 1, The *P. M. P. Udayādityadēva*; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva*; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P. Yaśovarman* (who issued a grant in Vikrama 1191, and another grant in Vikrama 1192); succeeded by 4, the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva*, apparently a son of the former, who confirmed one of his father's grants in Vikrama 1200.

In D. :— 1, The *P. M. P. Udayāditya*; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Naravarmadēva*; succeeded by 3, the *P. M. P. Yaśovarman*; succeeded by 4, the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*; apparently succeeded, according to the body of the grant, by 5, the *Mahākumāra Hariśchandrādēva*, who at the end of the grant calls himself the son of the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva*, and the son of the lotus of the *Paramāra* family, and who issued his grants in the Vikrama years 1235 and 1236.

In E. :— 1, The *P. M. P. Yaśovarman*; succeeded by 2, the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*; succeeded by 3, the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva*; succeeded by 4, the *Mahākumāra Hariśchandrādēva*; succeeded by 5, his son the *Mahākumāra Udayavarmadēva*, whose grant is dated in the Vikrama year 1256.

If we compare these lists with the line of princes furnished by F., G., and H., we see at once that the genealogy in both groups of inscriptions is the same as far as Yaśovarman, but that the two groups entirely differ after that prince. According to F., G., and H., Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Ajayavarman; and since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title of *Mahārāja* which had been borne by Yaśovarman, it would appear that the princes 5 to 8, mentioned in F., G., and H., after Yaśovarman's death, represented or pretended to represent the main line of the *Paramāra* family, and were the chief rulers of *Mālava*.

In the groups A. to E., the line of succession after Yaśovarman is not at once so clear as it is in the other group; but the actual data presented to us are the following :—

According to B., which contains no date, Yaśovarman, whose grants are dated in Vikrama 1191 and 1192, was succeeded by the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*, whom there appears no reason to identify with the prince Ajayavarman of the inscriptions F. to H.

According to C., which omits Jayavarmadēva, Yaśovarman had been succeeded in Vikrama 1200 by (his son) the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva*.

According to D., Yaśovarman was succeeded, as in B., by the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*, who in his turn had been succeeded in Vikrama 1235 by the *Mahākumāra Hariśchandrādēva*, the son of the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva*.

According to E., the line of succession is :— Yaśovarman; the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva*; the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva*; the *Mahākumāra Hariśchandrādēva*; the *Mahākumāra Udayavarmadēva* (Vikrama 1256).

Here we naturally ask why the *P. M. P. Jayavarmadēva* should have been omitted in the inscription C., and why the *Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva* similarly should have been omitted in the inscription D. Some indications of how these questions may have to be answered, would appear to be furnished by certain expressions which occur in D. and E. In E. we read — *śrīmaj-Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē nija-kara-kṛita-karavāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyā . . . mahākumāra-śrīmal-Lakshmiyarmmadēva*, i. e. 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious *Lakshmiyarmadēva*, who had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule of the illustrious *Jayavarmadēva* had passed away;' and in D., — *śrī-Jayavarmmadēva ity-ētasmāt-prishṭhatama-prabhōḥ prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyā . . . mahākumāra-śrī-Hariśchandrādēva*, i. e. 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious *Hariśchandrādēva*, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious *Jayavarmadēva*.' Taking these expressions in connection

with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions, I conceive the succession in the family of Yaśovarman to have been as follows :—

Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman,⁴ Ajayavarman, and Lakshmi-varman; and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves *Mahādījas*. The third brother, Lakshmi-varman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E., he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakshmi-varman and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariśchandra, in the grant D., professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakshmi-varman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahādījendra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmi-varman's grandson Udayavarman.

**A. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahārāja Yaśovarmanadēva.
The (Vikrama) year 1192.**

The plate which holds this fragmentary inscription is one of (apparently) two plates, the first of which has never been discovered. It is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 14½" by 10½". The edges of it were raised into rims, to protect the writing. The concluding portions of lines 7-13 have suffered somewhat from corrosion; but the writing is nevertheless well preserved and may, with one or two unimportant exceptions, be read with certainty. The weight of the plate is 4 lbs. 2½ oz. — The rings belonging to this grant, with possibly a seal on one of them, are not now forthcoming. But on the plate itself, in the lower proper left corner, there is a representation of Garuḍa, depicted entirely as a man, except for the wings attached to his shoulders; he is kneeling, half front and half to the proper right; and in his right hand he holds three snakes, which he is about to devour or otherwise destroy. — The size of the letters is about ⅓". The characters are Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is carefully written, and in respect of orthography I have only to state that *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*. The *avagraha* is used in line 6, in the *sandhi* of a final *d* with an initial *a*.

The inscription is one of the *Mahādīja*, the illustrious Yaśovarmanadēva, and records (in lines 3-6), in terms which call for no remarks, the grant of the village of Laghuvatīnganapada and of part of the village of Thikkarika, or, as the name is written in line 2, Thikarika, to two people⁵ the names of whom must have been given in the now missing portion of the grant. Owing to the fragmentary state of the inscription, the exact purport of the preceding lines 1-2 is not clear to me;⁶ but it would appear that the two villages mentioned were granted instead of other land, somehow connected with a place called Dēvalapāpaka, which had been given to the grantees on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the lady Mōmsādhēvi, probably the mother of Yaśovarman. Lines 7-12 contain five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by the date, given in figures only, 'the 8rd of the dark half of the month Mārgaśīras of the year 1192,' corresponding, probably, to either the 27th October or the 25th November, A. D. 1135. Line 13 mentions, as *dātakas*, 'the *Purōhita*, the *Thakbura*, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmin; the *Thakbura*, the illustrious Paruśhōtama; the *Mahāpradhāna*, the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious Dēvadhara, and others.' Line 14 contains the usual — '(may) bliss (and) good fortune (*attend*)!'; followed by the

⁴ In the inscriptions Jayavarman is not actually called a son of Yaśovarman.

⁵ The original has, in line 2, the ungrammatical *abhaya-jana-dvābhyak*.

⁶ It may be noted that lines 1 and 2 contain the terms *bhūḥ-kale* and *bhūḥ-nivartana*, denoting certain measures of land. The expression *brāhmaṇa-śūpyakṣya*, in line 1, also appears to be used in a technical sense.

syllable *Ra*, about the meaning of which I am doubtful.⁷ And finally, line 15 contains the signature of the grantor, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Yasovarmanadēva*, which is again followed, in line 16, by words of auspicious import.

The three places, mentioned in the grant, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁸

- 1 śrī-Māmaladēvi-sāmvatsari[ka]⁹-kalpitavād-bhujyamāna-Dēvala pāṭakād-bhūhala-
dvaya-parivarttōna vrā(brā)hmaṇa-mā[pya]kiya-bhūhala-
- 2 dvaya-samva(mba)ddhō Thikkarikā-grāma-vibhāga ubhaya-jana-dvābhyām bhū-nivart-
tana-saptadaśak-ōpāta-bhūhal-aikādaśaka-sāmvadh[ē]¹⁰ samasta upa-
- 3 rilikhita-Laghuvairāgaṇapadra-grāmas-tathā Thikkarikā-grām-ārdhaśa-cha sva-
sīmā-triṇa-[yā]ti-gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-vṛkṣa-māl-ākulaḥ
- 4 sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhōgaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sarv-ādāya-samōtaś-cha mātā-pitrōr-
ātmanas-cha puṇya-yasō-bhivṛddhayaś āśānēn-ōdaka-
- 5 pūrvvakatayā pradattaś-tan-matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādikam-
[ā*]jjākravapa-vidhōyair-bhūtvā sarvva-m-ētābhyām sam[ā]pa-
- 6 nātavyam | Sāmānyam ch-aitat-puṇya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā samad-vaśasajair-anyair-
api bhāvi-bhōktṛibhir-asmat-pradatta-dharmm-ādāyō-yam-anumanta-
- 7 vyaḥ pālaniyaś-cha | Uktam cha | Va(ba)hubhir¹¹-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-
ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam ||
- 8 Yān¹²-tha dattāni purā narēndrain-ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yasas-karāpi | nirmālya-
vānti-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ puṇa-
- 9 r-ādedita || Asmat¹³-kula-kramam-udāram-udāharadbhir-anyais-cha dānam-idam-abhya-
numōdanīyam | lakshmyāś-tadid-valaya-vudvuda¹⁴-cha[m] [cha]-
- 10 lāyā dānam phalam para-yasah-paripālanam cha || Sarvvān¹⁵-ētān-bhāvinaḥ pāthiv-
ēndrān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmabhadrah | sāmā-
- 11 nyō-yam dharmma-sctur-ōripānām kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhīḥ || Iti¹⁶ kamala-dal-
āmivu(bu)-vimdu-lōlā[m] śriyam-anuchim[tya mā]-
- 12 nuahya-jīvitam cha | sakalam-idam-udāh[ri]tam cha vudhvā¹⁷ na hi puruṣhaiḥ
para-kṛttayō vilōpyā itī || Samvat¹⁸ 1192 Mā[rgga]-va-
- 13 di 3 [n*] Dā¹⁹ purōhita-ṭhakkura-śrī-Vāmanasvāmi-ṭhakkura-śrī-Purnahōttama-
mahāpradhāna-rājaputra-śrī-Dēvadhara-prabhṛitayaḥ ||
- 14 Maṃgalaṃ mahā-śrīḥ || Ra.²⁰
- 15 Sva-hastō-yam mahārāja-śrīmad-Yasovarmanadēvasya |
- 16 Adhi²¹ || Śrīḥ ||

B. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahārāja Jayavarmanadēva.

The plate which bears this inscription is the first of (probably) two plates of a grant, of which only this single plate has been discovered. It is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 10½" by 8½". The edges of it were raised into rims, to protect the writing. In a few places the writing is slightly effaced, but on the whole it is well preserved, so that it may

⁷ See below, note 20.

⁸ From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 51.

⁹ This *akṣara* may possibly be *lē*.

¹⁰ As the construction is not clear to me, I am not sure whether this should be *sambaddhā* or *sambaddhā*.

¹¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹² Metre, Indravajrā.

¹³ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ Read *buddhā*.

¹⁵ Metre, Ślōka.

¹⁶ Metre, Pūṣpitaṅgrā.

¹⁷ Read *buddhā*.

¹⁸ Read *samvat*.

¹⁹ i. e. *dā*.

²⁰ This *akṣara*, which is engraved on a level with the preceding words but is of much larger size, I am unable to explain properly. I can only suggest that it may stand for *rachitam* (which we find in the grants of Arjunavarman), and that it should have been followed by the name of the official who executed the grant.

²¹ This may be an abbreviation of *adhi*, or it may have to be taken as forming a compound with the following *śrī*.

be read with certainty throughout. The weight of the plate is 2 lbs. — The rings of this grant, with possibly a seal on one of them, are not now forthcoming. — The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. As regard orthography, *ḍ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *vinasavarah*, line 14; and the word *trīśat* is spelt *trīśat*, in line 8. The *avagraha* occurs twice in line 1, in its proper use; and also in line 15, after the *é* that has resulted from the *śandhi* of a final and initial *a*.

The inscription, after the words 'Om, may it be well ! Fortune, victory, and prosperity !' and two verses in praise of Siva (Vyōmakṣa, Smarārāṭi), introduces (in lines 4-7) the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, Jayavarṇadēva, the successor of the P. M. P. Yaśovarmadēva, who had succeeded the P. M. P. Naravarṇadēva, who in turn had succeeded the P. M. P. Udayādityadēva. From his residence at Vardhamānapura (line 8), Jayavarṇadēva (in lines 8-16) informs the officials and people concerned that, when in residence at Chandra-puri (line 9), [he granted] the village of Māyamōḍaka (line 8), belonging to the Vatakhōṭaka Thirty-six (group of villages), to a person living at Rājabrahmapuri,²² who had emigrated from the place Adriyalavidāvari in the south, and belonged to the Bhāradvāja [*gōtra*], but whose name has not been here preserved. There can, however, be little doubt that the grantee was the same person who is mentioned as grantee in the inscription C., below. The extant portion of the inscription contains no date, but the grant may be assigned with certainty to the time between the Vikrama years 1192 and 1200.

The several localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²³

- 1 Om²⁴ svasti [1*] Śrī-jayā śbhyudayaś-cha ṽ Jayati²⁵ Vyōmak[ḍ]śō śs[au] yah
sarggāya vi(bi)bharti [t]ā-
- 2 m ; aishdayīm śiraś lōkhān jagad-vij-āṅkur-ākṛtiṁ M Tanvaṁtu vaḥ Smarā-
rāt[ḍ]h kalyā-
- 3 ṇam-anīśaṁ jātāḥ ; kalpānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍid-valaya-piṅgalāḥ ṽ Śrī-Varddha-
māna-
- 4 pura-samāśāt paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī²⁶-Udayādityadē-
va-pādānu-dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Naravarṇadēva-
pādānu-
- 6 dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Yaśovarmadēva-pādānu-
dhyāta-para-
- 7 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-maj-Jayavarṇadēva vijay-ōdayi [1*]²⁷
- 8 Vatakhōṭaka-śaṭṭrīṭh(ṭrīṭh)śat-saśva(ba)ddha-Māyamōḍaka-grāmō samasta-rāja-
purushān vrā(bṛā)hmaṇ-ōttarān-pra-
- 9 turvasi-paṭṭakila-janapad-āditiś-cha vō(bō)dhaty-astu vaḥ saṁviditāḥ yathā [1*]²⁸
Chandrapuri-samāśāt.
- 10 śitais-śmābhilī śnātā cāraṭhara-gurūḥ bhagavaṁtāḥ Bhavānīpatīḥ samabhyar-
chohya saṁśrasy-āśrātāḥ
- 11 dṛiśhva²⁹ [1*] tathā hi ; Vāt³⁰-ābhra-vibhramśm-idaś vasudh-ādhipatyam-āpāta-
mātra-madhurō viśay-ōpabhōga-

²² I am doubtful whether the word *Rājabrahmapuri* in line 15 should be taken as the name of a town, or be explained to mean 'at the king's brahmapuri.' See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 44, note 180.

²³ From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 52.

²⁴ Metre, Śūktā (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following verse.

²⁵ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

²⁶ The sentence is continued in line 14, *iti jagatō . . .*, and the intermediate passage is put in by way of parenthesis.

²⁷ Metre, Vasantatillakā.

²⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

²⁹ Read *śrī-Uda*.

- 12 ḥ | prāpā-³⁰tripāgra-jalavimdu-samā narāpāṁ dharmmaḥ sakṣā param-ahō paralōka-
yānō ||
- 18 Bhramat³⁰-samsāra-cha[k]r-āgra-dhār-ādharām-imāṁ śriyaṁ | prāpya yē na dadus-
tēśhām paśchāttāpāḥ param pha-
- 14 lam || iti jagatō vinasva(śva)raṁ svarūpam-ākalayy-ādriṣṭa-phalam-a[ḥ]gikṛitya
ohamdr-ā-
- 15 rkkāsrṇṇava-kṣhiti-sama-kālam yāvat-parayā bhaktyā Rājavra(bra)hmapuryām
dakṣhiṇa-dā-ā-
- 16 ntaḥpātī³¹A[dr]ityalavidāvari-sthāna-vimringatāya Bhāradvāja-

C. — Copper-Plate Grant of the Mahārāja Yaśovarmadēva and
the Mahākumāra Lakshmiyarmadēva.

The Vikrama years 1191 and 1200.

As in the case of the preceding inscription, the plate which bears this inscription is the first of (probably) two plates of a grant, of which only this single plate has been discovered. It is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 16" by 9½". The edges of it were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface. The writing has in several places suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *akṣaras* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. The weight of the plate is 3 lbs. 9½ oz. — The rings of this grant, with possibly a seal on one of them, are not now forthcoming. — The size of the letters is about ¼". The characters are Nāgarī; and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to state here that *ḍ* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal in *śiraśā*, line 1, and *sam-*, line 8. A few other mistakes will be pointed out and corrected in the text. In this grant, the *avagraha* does not occur.

The inscription opens in the same way as the inscription B. above. It then introduces (in lines 2-4) the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmiyarmadēva, who had attained the five *mahāśabdās*, and who is represented as the successor of the *P. M. P.* Yaśovarmadēva, whose predecessors are given as in the preceding grant. Lakshmiyarmadēva (in lines 5-6) informs the officials and people of the village of *Vaḍaḍḍa*, belonging to *Surāṣanī*, and of the village of *Uthavanakā*, belonging to *Suvarṇaprā[s]ādika*, both situated in the *Rājasthāna bhāga*³² which was in the *Mahādīvāka maṇḍala*, as follows (lines 6-15): —

On the eighth lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika of the Vikrama year 1191 (expressed in words), at the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva, the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Perantivara* Yaśovarmadēva, at Dhārā, granted the above-mentioned villages of *Vaḍaḍḍa* and *Uthavanakā* to the householder *Dhanspāla*, son of *Viśvarūpa* and grandson of the *Thakura* *Mahiraśāmin*, a *Karṇāṭa* Brāhman from the south, a student of two *Vēdas*, and a follower of the *Āśvalāyana śākhā*, who belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and had the three *preceptors* *Bhāradvāja*, *Āṅgira* and *Bārhaspatya*; and was an emigrant from the place *Adrēlav[ī]ddhāvāri*.

Having communicated this, Lakshmiyarmadēva (in lines 15-16) further records that on the fifteenth lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvapa in the year 1200 (expressed again in words), on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, he himself, for the spiritual benefit of

³⁰ Metre, *śūlka* (Anuśtubh). I understand the first half of the verse to mean — 'wealth which has for its seat the circumference of the edge of the revolving wheel of manifold existence.' Colebrooke read *Bhramat-samsāra-cha[k]ra-dhār-dhārām*, and translated — 'prosperity, which is the receptacle of the slips and bounds of a revolving world.' — *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 234. In the *Bhōpāl* plates of *Udayavarma*, line 18, we read *Bhramat-samsāra-cha[k]ra-dhār-dhārām*, the concluding portion of which must be altered to *-dhār-dhār-dhārām*, as required by the metre.

³¹ Read *opditya[dr]*.

³² On *bhāga*, as a technical territorial term, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 112, note.

his illustrious father, whom from the context I understand to be Yaśovarmadēva, repeated (or confirmed) the above donation; and (in lines 16-18) he directs the people concerned to make over to the donee whatever may be due to him, and exhorts future rulers to protect the grant. The concluding lines (18-20) contain some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I have already stated that the donee of this grant in all probability also is the donee of the grant B., and I have here only to draw attention to the fact that the name of the place, from which that person is stated to have emigrated, in the grant B. is written Adriyala-vidāvari, while it is here spelt Adrālav[ī]ddhāvari.

Of the two dates given in this grant, the first does not admit of verification. As regards the second date, referring the year 1200 to the Vikrama era, I find for Brāvana śukla 15 the following possible equivalents:—

Northern V. 1200 current: the 8th August, A. D. 1142, when there was a partial lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 17 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise;

Northern V. 1200 expired: the 28th July, A. D. 1143, when there was a total lunar eclipse, not visible in India, 12 h. 38 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 11 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise;

Southern V. 1200 expired: the 16th July, A. D. 1144, when there was a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 44 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

It appears, then, that in every one of the three possible years there was a lunar eclipse on the particular day mentioned in the date, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain the true corresponding date with absolute certainty. But since it so happens that of the three eclipses only the last was visible in India, it is highly probable that the last mentioned day, the 16th July, A. D. 1144, is the proper equivalent for the day of the renewal of the grant, and that the year mentioned in the inscription, accordingly, is the southern Vikrama year 1200, expired.

Excepting the well-known Dhārā, I am here also unable to identify the localities mentioned in the inscription on the maps at my disposal.

TEXT.²

- 1 [Om³⁴] svasti || Śrī[r]-jayā-bhyudayaś-cha || Jayati³⁵ Vyōmakṣō³⁶-śan yaś sarggāya
vi(bi)bha[r]tī tām | sindavān si(śi)rasā lōkham jagad-vij-āmkur-ākṛitīm ||
[Tanva]-
- 2 [ntu] yaś Smarātīśh kalyāṇam-anīśam jaiśh | kalpānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍid-valaya-
piṇ[g]alāśh || Paramabhaṭ[ī]āraka-ma[h]ārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī³⁷-[U]daya-
- 3 dityadēva-pādānudyāta-paramabhaṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para mēśvara-śrī-Nara-
varmmadēva-pādānudyāta-paramabhaṭāraka-ma[h]ārājādhirāja-paramē[śv]ara-
- 4 śrī-Yaśovarmmadēva-pādānudyāta-samastaprasastōpēta-samadhigata p a m o h a m a h ā ś a -
vd(bd)-ālamkāra-virājamāna-mahāk[u]māra-śrī-Lakṣmīva[r]mmadēvaśh ||³⁷ śrī-
- 5 Ma[h]ādēvadēvaka-maṇḍalē śrī-Rājabaya[n]śh³⁸-bhōgē Su[rā]saṇi-samva(mba)ddha-
Vaḍaśūda-grāma³⁹ | ta[th]ā Suvar[un]apra[s]ā⁴⁰adikā-samva(mba)ddha-⁴¹
Uthavaṇaka-grāmayōśh sama-

² From Mr. Fleet's photo-lithograph; *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 50.

³ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following verse.

⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Here the mere base is used, without a termination, as if the word were compounded with the following *Uthavaṇaka-grāma*. The sign of punctuation after *-grāma* is superfluous.

⁶ I am doubtful about this consonant, which in the photo-lithograph looks rather like *ga*. — Colebrooke has in the text *śrīpīṇḍaravara-prāddikā*, and in the translation *Śrīpīṇḍaravara-prāddikā*.

⁷ Here, and in several places below, which need not be pointed out separately, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

⁸ Apparently expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read *-try-Uda*.

¹⁰ Colebrooke has *-Rājāsana*.

- 6 [sta]-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīn-vrā(bṛā)hmaṇ-ōttarān-vō(bō)dhayaty-astu vah
samvidita[h] ⁴³ ya[th]ā śrīmad-Dhārāyā mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-śrī-
- 7 Yabōvarmmadāśvānā śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ātita-samvatsar⁴⁴-aikānavaty-a dhika-kat-
aikāda[ś]jshu Kārttika-kudi aśṭamyaśh samjāta-mahārāja-śrī-[Nara]-
- 8 varmmadāśva-samvatsarikō⁴⁴ tīrth-āmbhōbbhiḥ snātvā dēva-ṛishi-manushya-pitṛīma-
tarppayitvā bhagavantaṁ [Bha]vānpatiṁ samabhyarohya sa(śa)mī-ku[śa]-til-
ā[nn]-ā-
- 9 [jy]⁴⁵-āhutiḥhir-hiraṇyārōtasāṁ hutvā bhānavō arghyaṁ vidhāya kapilām triḥ
pradakṣiṇīkṛitya sāsārasya-āsaratām dṛiṣṭvā nalinī-dala-gata-
- 10 jala-lava-taralataṁ jīvitaṁ dhanāṁ ch-āśvōkshya⁴⁶ i uktaṁ cha i Vāt⁴⁷-ābhra-
vibhramam-idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam-āpātāmātra-madhurō viśhay-ōpabhōgaḥ i
prā-
- 11 [nā]-trīp-āgra-jala-vindu-samā narāpāṁ dharmmaḥ sakṣā param-ahō para-lōka-
yānō i evam-ākalayya A[dr]ōlav[i]p[?]ddhāvāri⁴⁸-[sth]āna-vi[nirgga]ta-Bh[ā*]ra-
- 12 dvāja-gōt[r]āya Bh[ā*]radvāja-āṅgīrasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-triḥpravarāya⁴⁹ āślāyana-āśkhinē
dakṣiṇ-ā[yāta]p[?]Karṇāṭa-vrā(bṛā)hmaṇa-divōda-[ṭha]kkura-
- 13 śrī-[Ma]hiraśvāmi-pautra-śrī-Viśvarūpa-suta-āvasthika⁵⁰-śrī-Dhanapālāya uparilikhita-
Vadātūda-grāma-Uthavaṇaka-grāmau sa-vṛi-
- 14 kṣha-māl-ākulaṁ nidhi-nikṣhēpa-sahitaṁ vāpi-kāpa-tadāg-ānvitaṁ chatuṣ-kamkāṣa-
viśuddhaṁ [ch]āṁdr-ārkkāṁ yāvad-udakapūrvvakatayā śā-
- 15 sanēna pradattaṁ i Samvatsara⁵¹-kata-dvādabakōśh[u] Śrāvāna-kudi parichhadasyāṁ
sōma-grahāṇa-parvvaṇi śrīmat-piṣṭi-śrēy[ō]-rtha[m] [pā]nar-ōv-ā-
- 16 smābbhiḥ ōtau grāmaṁ udakapūrvvakatayā śāsanēna pradattaṁ i Tad-anayō[r]-
grāmay[ō]r-nivāsi-samasta-paṭṭakil-ādī-lōkaiḥ-tathā ka-
- 17 rahakāi[ś-cha] ya[thō]tpadyamāna-kara-hiraṇya-bhāgabhōg-ādīkam-ājñā-śrāvāna-vidhō-
yai[r-bhō]tvā sarvvaṁ-amushmai samupanētavyam i Sāmā-
- 18 [nyam] ch[aita]-pūnya-phalaṁ vu(bu)ddhā āsmad-vāśāsajair-anyair-api bhāvi-
bhāpatibhiḥ dharmma-ādāyō-ya[m-anu*]mantavyaḥ pālanīyaś-oh-ēti i Yatō
Va(ba)hubhi[r]⁵²-vvasudhā bhuktā
- 19 rājabbhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ i yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam i Sva-
dattām para-dattām⁵³-vā yō harēta vasumdharaṁ i aśaṣṭi-varaḥ[sa]-
- 20 haarāṇi viśhā(śhthā)yāṁ jāyatō kṛimih i Sarvvān⁵⁴-ōtān-bhāvināḥ pāthiv-
ēndra[n*]-bhāyō bhuyō yāchatō Rāmabhad[r]aḥ i sāmānyō-yaṁ dharm-
ma-sō-

⁴³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁴⁴ Read -śvatsar-.⁴⁵ Read -śvatsarikō.⁴⁶ Colebrooke read these very indistinct consonants dy; and similarly, Mr. Wilkinson, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 737, l. 15, has *asmit-kata-til-āna-ādy-āhutiḥhir*. Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254, l. 14, read -til-āna-*āhutiḥhir*.⁴⁷ The sentence is continued in line 11, *śvāt-ākalayya* . . . , and the intervening passage is put in by way of parenthesis.⁴⁸ Metre, Vamāttilakā.⁴⁹ Colebrooke has *Adhvānādāśvāri*; but the consonant of the fourth akṣara, v, looks as if it had been preceded by the sign for i.⁵⁰ Read -trīpravarāya-āślāyana-.⁵¹ Read, as suggested by Colebrooke, -āvasathika-. The word occurs again in the Bhōpāl grants of Arjunavarman, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 22; and evidently in the Piplānagar grant of the same, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 379.⁵² Read *asvatsara* . . .⁵³ Read -dattām.⁵⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following verse.⁵⁵ Metre, Śālinī.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.L.E., GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 187.)

2. — IRREGULAR DATES.

(a). — Dates which, though irregular by the Tables,¹ are shewn to be regular, when calculated by one or other of the Siddhāntas.²

151. — V. 1207. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 97, and Plate xxxii. 12. Inscription on pedestal of boar at Ohāndpur : —

(Line 1). — Sa[m*]vat 1207 Jyēṣṭha-vadi 11 Bavau ||

Northern V. 1207 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 5 May, A. D. 1149.

amānta : Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1149.

Northern V. 1207 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 25 April, A. D. 1150.

amānta : Wednesday, 24 May, A. D. 1150.

Southern V. 1207 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : By the Tables the 11th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 13 May, and ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 14 May, A. D. 1151. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the *tithi* commenced 0 h. 11 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and ended 0 h. 10 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, the corresponding day is Sunday, 13 May, A. D. 1151.

amānta : Tuesday, 12 June, A. D. 1151.

152. — V. 1258. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 315; and *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 37. Kālañjar stone inscription of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva : —

Samvat 1258 Kārttika-śudi 10 Sôṃś.

V. 1258 current : Thursday, 19-October, A. D. 1200.

V. 1258 expired : By the Tables the 10th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 38 m. and ended 23 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 8 October, A. D. 1201, which would make the Monday the 9th of the bright half, and the 10th *tithi* a *leshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the 10th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 12 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, Monday, 8 October, A. D. 1201, was really the 10th of the bright half.

(In the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* the year of the date is wrongly given as 1298; and in *Archæol. Surv. of India*, loc. cit. p. 38, the corresponding date is stated to be, evidently by a misprint, Monday, the 28th October, A. D. 1201.)

153. — V. 1365. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), App. p. 231. Date of the composition of Jinaprabha's *Ajitasāntistava-vritti* :³ —

Śaṃvad-Vikrama-bhūpatēḥ śi(śa)ra-pit-ādarohohiḥ-śaśāmkāir-mitā

Paṇḥasy-śaita-pakṣa-bhāji Śaśinā yuktā dvitīyā-tithau :

śrīmān(ś-)/śrī-Jinasinhāsūri-sugurōḥ pādābja-puṣpamdhayaḥ

puryām Dāśarathē-Jinaprabha-gurur-jagrantha śikām-imām ||

¹ The Tables here spoken of are Professor Jacobi's Tables. The results for the several Siddhāntas, mentioned below, have been worked out from other, unpublished, Tables, which were placed at my disposal by Professor Jacobi.

² The above heading is strictly applicable only to the dates Nos. 151—153. About the proper equivalent for the date No. 159 there can in my opinion be no doubt, and I consider the date to be really regular, but am unable to prove this by calculation.

³ Compare the date No. 17, p. 26 above, which shows that in the present date the year 1365 should be the expired Vikrama year 1365.

V. 1865 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 12 December, A. D. 1807; the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 0 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 10 January, A. D. 1808.

V. 1865 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 30 November, A. D. 1808.

amānta : By the Tables the second *tithi* of the dark half commenced 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 29 December, and ended 0 h. 17 m. before mean sunrise of Monday, 30 December, A. D. 1808. But by the *Ārya-siddhānta*, corrected, the same *tithi* ended 0 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise of the Monday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhānta*, the corresponding day is Monday, 30 December, A. D. 1808.

154. — V. 1394. — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Of two stone inscriptions at Udaypur in Gwālior, one is dated : —

(Line 1). — Saṁ 1394 Māha-vadi 1 Vu(bu)dhā śrī-Ūdalśvara-dēvatā-jā(yā)trā-sa[mayē]; and the other :—

(Line 1). — Saṁ 1394 varah[ā] Māha-vadi 1 Vu(bu)dhā Ūdalśvara-dēvatā-jā(yā)trāyā[m].

V. 1394 current, —

pūrṇimānta : the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 4 m., and ended 22 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 19 December, A. D. 1836.

amānta : Saturday, 18 January, A. D. 1837.

V. 1394 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : By the Tables the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 8 January, A. D. 1838. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the same *tithi* ended 2 h. 42 m. before mean sunrise of the Thursday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhānta*, the corresponding day is Wednesday, 7 January, A. D. 1838.

amānta : Friday, 6 February, A. D. 1838.

155. — V. 1452. — *List of Antiquarian Remains, Bo. Pres.*, p. 179. Stone inscription at Māngrol in Kāthiāwāḍ, of the time of the Pāṭālihi Nasaratha :—

Saṁvat 1452 varahā Vaiśāka(kha)-vadi 15 Bavau śrī-Yōginipurē pāṭālihi-śrī-Nasaratha-vijayārajyē tanniyukt[ā] śrī-Gurjara-dharitryām śrī-Dapharkhānē rājyām kurvati iha Sunāshṭrāyām śrī-Maṅgalapurē . . .

Northern V. 1452 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 1 April, A. D. 1894.

amānta : Thursday, 30 April, A. D. 1894.

Northern V. 1452 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Tuesday, 20 April, A. D. 1895.

amānta : Wednesday, 19 May, A. D. 1895.

Southern V. 1452 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 8 April, A. D. 1896; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : By the Tables the 15th *tithi* of the dark half commenced 1 h. 17 m. and ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 7 May, A. D. 1896, which would make the Sunday the 14th of the dark half, and the 15th *tithi* a *lekha-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the 15th *tithi* commenced 0 h. 56 m. before mean sunrise of the Sunday, and accordingly, by that *Siddhānta*, Sunday, 7 May, A. D. 1896, was really the 15th of the dark half.

156. — V. 1466. — *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 18, and Plate xiv.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone inscription at Rāsin :—

(Line 1). . . Saṁvat 1466 varahā Chaitra-sudi 7 Saṁ[au] !

* 4. e. Nusrat Shāh (of Yōginipura, i. e. Delhi), A. D. 1895-96. See Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 312 and 318; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII. p. 544.

Northern V. 1466 current: the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 8 m. and ended 23 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, 4 March, A. D. 1408.

Northern V. 1466 expired: By the Tables the 7th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 0 h. 34 m. and ended 23 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 23 March, A. D. 1409; which would make the Saturday the 6th of the bright half, and the 7th *tithi* a *kshaya-tithi*. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the same *tithi* commenced 1 h. 23 m. before mean sunrise of the Saturday, and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, Saturday, 23 March, A. D. 1409, was really the 7th of the bright half.

Southern V. 1466 expired: Thursday, 13 March, A. D. 1410.

157. — V. 1489. — Date of my MS. of an *Avachārī* on Hama-chandra's *Liṅgadrśana-
vṛtti*: —

Saṁvat 1489 *dvitīya-Śrāvaṇa*-śudi 6.

There was an intercalary month in northern V. 1489 expired. Calculated in the manner which has been followed in preceding dates (and according to the *Book of Indian Eras*), that month was *Āshāḍha*; for the solar *Āshāḍha* lasted from 27 May, 20 h. 59 m., to 28 June, 11 h. 38 m., A. D. 1432, and there were new-moons on 29 May, 15 h. 5 m., and on 27 June, 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise. But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* (and according to Dr. Schram's Tables) the intercalary month was *Śrāvaṇa*. For, by the *Brahma-siddhānta* there were new-moons on 27 June, A. D. 1432, 21 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise, when the true longitude of the sun was $90^{\circ} 31' 40''$, and on 27 July, 6 h. 24 m., when the true longitude of the sun was $118^{\circ} 33' 34''$; and by the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* there were new-moons on 27 June, 23 h. 51 m., when the true longitude of the sun was $90^{\circ} 40' 8''$, and on 27 July, 8 h. 0 m., when the true longitude of the sun was $118^{\circ} 39' 12''$; or, in other words, by both the works mentioned there were two new-moons during the solar month *Śrāvaṇa*.

158. — V. 1747. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 219. Date of a MS. of Anubhūtiśvarāpa's *Sārasvatī-prakriyā*: —

Saṁvat 1747 *varṣa* *prathama-Vaiśākha*(kha)-vadi *dvitīya-chaaturthi-dina* *Budh* *Ṣnurādha-yōga*.

Vaiśākha was intercalary in northern V. 1747 expired; for in that year the solar *Vaiśākha* lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m., to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m., A. D. 1690, and there were new-moons on 30 March, 9 h. 42 m., and 28 April, 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise. By the Tables the results for the ending-points of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th *tithis* of the dark half of the *purnimanta* first *Vaiśākha* would be as follows: —

the 3rd *tithi* ended on Monday, 17 March, A. D. 1690, 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise;

no *tithi* ended on Tuesday, 18 March;

the 4th *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 19 March, 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise; and on this day the *nakṣatra* was *Anurādha* up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise;

the 5th *tithi* ended on Thursday, 20 March, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

By the Tables, therefore, we should have a *prathama-tritīyā* (Monday) and a *dvitīya-tritīyā* (Tuesday), but only one *chaaturthi* (Wednesday). But by the *Brahma-siddhānta* the 4th *tithi* ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 18 March; no *tithi* ended on Wednesday, 19 March; and the 5th *tithi* ended 0 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 20 March; and accordingly, by that Siddhānta, Wednesday, 19 March, A. D. 1690, is properly called the *dvitīya-chaaturthi*.

(*Anurādha-yōga* in the date is a mistake for *Anurādha-nakṣatra*.)

159. — V. 1404. — (See note 2, above). — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 19, and Plate xviii.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Stone-inscription at the Fort of Marpha: —

(Line 3). — Saṁvat 1404 *Kārttika*-śudi 14 *Gurau*

V. 1404 current: Sunday, 29 October, A. D. 1346.

V. 1404 expired: By the Tables the 14th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 18 October, A. D. 1347, and ended 0 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 19 October. I have no doubt that Thursday, 18 October, A. D. 1347, which according to the Tables was wholly occupied by the 14th *tithi*, is the proper equivalent of the date; but by the Siddhāntas, for which I have made the calculations, the 14th *tithi* in every case ended shortly after mean sunrise of the following day.

(b). — Dates of which the reading is, or may appear to be, doubtful.

160. — V. 1181. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 115, and Plate vii. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindahandradēva of Kanauj: —

(Line 16) . . . samvat 1181 Bhādrapada-sudi [4 ?] Gurau ady-ēha [Vārā]ṇasī[m] Gaṅgāyām . . .

This date has been already treated by me, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 58. I have there stated that it is doubtful whether the figure after the word *sudi* is 3 or 4; that, if it be 3, the corresponding day, for northern V. 1181 expired, is Thursday, 14 August, A. D. 1124, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise; and that, if it be 4, the corresponding day is the same, but that, in that case, the day was coupled with the (fourth) *tithi* which commenced on it.

161. — [V. 1220 ?]. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 343. Stone inscription at Udaypur in Gwālior, of the reign of the Chaulukya Kumārāpālādēva: —

(Line 1) . . . śha-sudi 15 Gurau ||

(Line 11) sōmagrahaṇa-parvvanī . . .

I have attempted to shew, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 342, that the full date, at the commencement of line 1, was —

Samvat 1220 varshē Pausha-sudi 15 Gurau;

and that the corresponding day, for V. 1220 expired, is Thursday, 12 December, A. D. 1163, when there was a partial lunar eclipse, visible in India, 13 h. 23 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 12 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

162. — [V. 1237 ?]. — In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xii. B., Sir A. Cunningham has given a photo-lithograph of a stone inscription at Ajaygaḍh, the date of which, *ib.* p. 49, he transcribes thus:—

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1237 Āshāḍha-sudi 2 Sōmā Jayapuradurgīya . . .

Supposing this reading to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be:—

Northern V. 1237 current: Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1179.

In northern V. 1237 expired Āshāḍha was intercalary; for, the solar Āshāḍha lasted from 25 May, 16 h. 2 m., to 26 June, 6 h. 41 m., A. D. 1180, and there were new-moons on 26 May, 6 h. 44 m., and on 24 June, 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. The 2nd of the bright half of the first Āshāḍha was Wednesday, 28 May, A. D. 1180; and of the second Āshāḍha, Thursday, 26 June, A. D. 1180.

Southern V. 1237 expired: Tuesday, 16 June, A. D. 1181; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

None of these equivalents satisfies the requirements of the date, and the date would therefore appear to be irregular. But, in the photo-lithograph, the third figure of the year of the date, in my opinion, is much more similar to 2 than it is to 3, and taking the year of the date to be 1237, I find that Āshāḍha-sudi 2 of southern V. 1237 expired, corresponds to Monday, 7 June, A. D. 1171, when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

(Sir A. Cunningham, *loc. cit.* p. 50, concludes "that Sōmā, or Monday, was a mistake of the writer for Sāmyā, or Wednesday.")

163. — V. 1232. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 125, and Plate xxxviii. No. 18. Inscription over a statue at Gayā, of the reign of the Pāla Gōvīndapālādēva :—

(Line 8) . . . Samvat 1232 Vikāri-saṃmvatsarē | śrī-Gōvīndapālādēva-gata-rājyē catur-
ddasa-saṃmvatsarē Gayāyām ||

(Line 12) . . . Āśvinā śukla-pañcama . . . (?).

The year Vikārin, No. 33, which is here coupled with the (Vikrama) year 1232, lasted, according to the Śūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bṛ̥ja*, from 10 February, A. D. 1175, to 6 February, A. D. 1176, and with *bṛ̥ja*, from 16 March, A. D. 1175, to 11 March, A. D. 1176; and according to the Jyōtistattva rule, from 25 January, A. D. 1175, to 21 January, A. D. 1176. Accordingly, Vikārin was actually current during the bright half of Āśvina of northern V. 1232 expired (17 September to 1 October, A. D. 1175), and also at the commencement of the solar year (25 March, A. D. 1175). By the Tēlinga rule the bright half of Āśvina of northern V. 1232 expired would fall in the year Manmatha, No. 29.

The 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina of northern V. 1232 expired ended on Monday, 22 September, A. D. 1175, 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. I am unable to ascertain whether Monday is the day given in the original inscription, or whether the inscription mentions any week-day at all.

164. — V. 1264. — *ante*, Vol. XL. p. 337, Dr. Hultzsch has published, with a photolithograph, a copper-plate inscription, of the time of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II., the date of which he reads thus :—

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1264 varahē lan° Āśhāḍha-śudi 2 Sōmā.

Supposing this reading to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be :—

Northern V. 1264 current : Saturday, 10 June, A. D. 1206.

Northern V. 1264 expired : Wednesday, 30 May, A. D. 1207.

Southern V. 1264 expired : Tuesday, 17 June, A. D. 1208; the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, none of these equivalents would satisfy the requirements of the date, and the date might therefore seem to be irregular. Referring, however, to the photo-lithograph, I find that the numeral for the day does not look at all like 2, but is very probably 7, or perhaps 8. And calculating for the 7th and 8th *tithis*, I obtain the following results :—

For northern V. 1264 expired, Āśhāḍha-śudi 7 : Monday, 4 June, A. D. 1207, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; and—

for southern V. 1264 expired, Āśhāḍha-śudi 8 : Monday, 23 June, A. D. 1208, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 8 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise.

165. — V. 1288 or 1289 ? — In *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. II. p. 173, there is an inscription from Gīrnār, the date of which is given thus :—

(Line 2). — Śrī-Vikrama-saṃvat 1288 varahē Āśvina-vadi 15 Sōmā.

The same inscription is published in *Archæol. Remains, Bo. Proc.*, p. 315, where the date is given thus :—

(Line 2). — Śrī-Vikrama-saṃvat 1289 varahē Āśvina-vadi 15 Sōmā.

The possible equivalents of the date for both the Vikrama years 1288 and 1289 would be :—

Northern V. 1288 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 8 September, A. D. 1230.

amānta : Monday, 7 October, A. D. 1230; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 22 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.

In northern V. 1288 expired Āśvina was intercalary; for the solar Āśvina lasted from 28 August, 21 h. 39 m., to 28 September, 8 h. 35 m., A. D. 1231, and there were new-moons on 29 August, 1 h. 25 m., and on 27 September, 11 h. 20 m., after mean sunrise. The 15th of the dark half of the first Āśvina was, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 29 August, A. D. 1231;

amānta : Saturday, 27 September, A. D. 1231; and of the second Āśvina, —

amānta : Sunday, 26 October, A. D. 1231, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1232 expired,—

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 16 September, A. D. 1232.

amānta : Friday, 16 October, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1233 expired,—

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 5 October, A. D. 1233.

In my opinion, the probability is that the year of the date is 1233, and that the true equivalent of the date therefore is Monday, 5 September, A. D. 1233.

166.—V. 13[8]6. — *anta*, Vol. XV. p. 360. Hāthasāṁ stone inscription of the Mōhara chief Tṛhōpaka :—

(Line 17). — Saṁvat 13[8]6 varahā || Bhāva saṁvatsarē pūrṇe Āshāḍhe śhaḍaṁtīkē sapṭamyaṁ Sōmavārēṇa.

This date offers the following difficulties: — 1, According to the transcript the third figure of the year of the date (the 8) is doubtful; 2, the date does not specify the fortnight of the month; and 3, the exact meaning of the term *śhaḍaṁtīkē*, which the editor of the inscription has taken to mean 'in the eighty-sixth (year),' is not apparent.

The first difficulty is much lessened by the statement that the date was recorded when the Jovian year Bhāva was completed, i. e. in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon the year Bhāva. For, this statement proves that the year of the date must be either 1326 or 1386, because in the 14th century of the Vikrama era⁵ the year Bhāva ended, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, without *bijā*,⁶ —

on Pausa *śukla* 7 of V. 1326 expired = 31 December, A. D. 1269; and

on amānta Vaiśākha *kṛishṇa* 8 of northern V. 1386 expired = 22 April, A. D. 1329.

Now, if the year of the date was V. 1326, the month Āshāḍha, mentioned in the date, must have fallen in southern V. 1326 expired; and if the year was V. 1386, the month Āshāḍha may have fallen in either northern V. 1386 expired or southern V. 1386 expired.

Calculating, then, the 7th of both the bright and the dark fortnights of Āshāḍha for the three possible years, we obtain the following results :—

For southern V. 1326 expired, —

pūrṇimānta, *kṛishṇa* 7 : Wednesday, 11 June, A. D. 1270.

śukla 7 : Friday, 27 June, A. D. 1270.

amānta, *kṛishṇa* 7 : Friday, 11 July, A. D. 1270.

For northern V. 1386 expired, in which Āshāḍha was intercalary,⁷—

pūrṇimānta, *kṛishṇa* 7 of first Āshāḍha : Saturday, 20 May, A. D. 1329.

śukla 7, " " : Sunday, 4 June, A. D. 1329.

pūrṇimānta, *kṛishṇa* 7 of second Āshāḍha : Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1329, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

śukla 7 of second Āshāḍha : Tuesday, 4 July, A. D. 1329.

amānta, *kṛishṇa* 7 " " : Wednesday, 19 July, A. D. 1329.

⁵ The date cannot be referred to the Śaka era, because during the 14th century of the Śaka era the year Bhāva ended, by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, in Śaka 1310 expired and Śaka 1309 expired. Nor can the writer have followed the Telinga rule, because by that rule the years following immediately upon Bhāva were Vikrama 1332 and 1302 expired, and Śaka 1317 and 1377 expired.

⁶ By the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule with *bijā*, and by the Jyōtiṣṭatva rule, the dates would be the 14th February, A. D. 1270, and the 16th December, A. D. 1230; and the 23rd May and 2nd April, A. D. 1329. In the present case it is immaterial which of the three rules was followed by the writer.

⁷ The solar Āshāḍha lasted from 27 May, 5 h. 20 m., to 27 June, 20 h., A. D. 1329, and there were new-moons on 29 May, 7 h. 22 m., and on 27 June, 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

For southern V. 1886 expired,—

pūṇimānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Friday, 8 June, A. D. 1830.

śukla 7 : Saturday, 23 June, A. D. 1830.

amānta, kṛishṇa 7 : Sunday, 8 July, A. D. 1830.

Of all these possible equivalents only one, the 19th June, A. D. 1829, would so far meet the requirements of the date. For that day fell in northern V. 1886 expired, one of the three years to which the date is restricted; it fell in the Jovian year which followed immediately upon Bhāva, which had ended on 22 April, A. D. 1829; on that day one of the seventh *tithis* of Āshāḍha ended, 13 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise; and the day was a Monday, as required. It remains to shew, how far or in what sense the term *śaḍaśtīka* may be applicable to it.

Although the word *śaḍaśtīka*, so far as I know, has not itself been met with elsewhere, it is clear that it is used here in a technical sense, the exact nature of which may be suggested to us by the sense of the better known terms *śaḍaśtī-mukha* and *śaḍaśtī*. According to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, xiv. 3-5,—

"By solar time are determined . . . the *śaḍaśtīmukhas* . . .

"Beginning with Libra, the *śaḍaśtīmukha* is at the end of the periods of eighty-six (*śaḍaśtī*) days, in succession: there are four of them, occurring in the signs of double character (*dvivabhāva*);

"Namely, at the twenty-sixth degree of Sagittarius, at the twenty-second of Pisces, at the eighteenth of Gemini (*Mithuna*), and at the fourteenth of Virgo."

But according to the *Kālamādhava*, Calcutta Ed. pp. 331-3, and the authorities cited in that work, *śaḍaśtīmukha*, as well as the simple *śaḍaśtī*, denote both the signs Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanuḥ, and Mīna, and also the *samkrānti* of the sun into those signs.*

Now, as regards our date, it is clear that the term *śaḍaśtīmukha*, in the sense in which the word is explained in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, would in no way be applicable to the 19th June, A. D. 1829; for in A. D. 1829 the sun was in the eighteenth degree of Mithuna already on the 14th and 15th June. Nor would *śaḍaśtīmukha* or *śaḍaśtī*, denoting the Mithuna-samkrānti, be applicable to the above-mentioned 19th June, because that *samkrānti* had taken place as early as the 27th May, A. D. 1829. But the two terms would be applicable to the 19th June, A. D. 1829, if, in accordance with the alternative allowed by the *Kālamādhava*, they are taken to denote the whole sign Mithuna, for in the present case the sun was in the sign Mithuna up to the 27th June, A. D. 1829. And such being the case, I take the word *śaḍaśtīka* of the date to be used, for the sake of the metre, for *śaḍaśtīka*, denoting the sign Mithuna, and consider it to be simply synonymous with the phrase *mithuna-rātra sthitiḥ sūrya*. And I accordingly regard Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1829, which strictly fulfils every one of the conditions of the date, to be its true equivalent.

By a curious coincidence Monday, 19 June, A. D. 1829, was the 86th day, counted from the preceding Māsha-samkrānti, which took place on 25 March, A. D. 1829, 21 h. 26·9 m. after mean sunrise.

167. — [V. 1583 ?]. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 69. Date of a MS. of the *Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa* :—

Svasti samvat Āshāḍhadi 83 varshē Vaiśāḥa(kha)-sita-dviti[yā*]yām Bhūmi-tanayē . . .

This date has been treated* by me *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 252. I have there shewn that the writer in all probability intended to write—

samvat 15 Āshāḍhadi 83 varshē,—

and that, for southern V. 1583 expired, the date corresponds to Tuesday, 2 April, A. D. 1527 when the second *tithi* of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

* See particularly *Kālamādhava*, p. 333 :—Tair-ctālḥ samjā-bhādi rāyā vyavahriyanti | tad-rā sambandhāt-tad-rādi-samkrāntim-āpi tany-eva nāmāni |

* I now find that the 'Hāḍri Samvat, which commences in Āshāḍha,' had been already mentioned, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 183.

(c). — Dates which work out satisfactorily only when the day of the date is taken to have been joined with the tithi commencing on it.

168. — V. 1050. — Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 228. Date of the composition of Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-saṁhita*, of the reign of Muñja of Dhārā :—

Samāruḍhē pūta-tridasa-vasatīn Vikrama-nripē
sahasrē varahāpām prabhavati hi pañcāśad-adhikā ।
samāptam pañcamaśvām-avati dharapān Muñja-nripatan
sitē pakṣe Paushē budha-hitam-idaś āstram-anagham ॥

Although the author does not actually say that he completed his work on Budha or Wednesday, yet by the expression *budha-hitam* he undoubtedly suggests that such was really the case; and calculating the possible equivalents of the date, we find :—

V. 1050 current: Friday, 2 December, A. D. 992.

V. 1050 expired: the 5th tithi of the bright half commenced on Wednesday, 20 December, A. D. 993, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Thursday, 21 December, 2 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

Amitagati therefore completed his work on Wednesday, 20 December, A. D. 993 (civilly Pausha-śudi 4), after the commencement of the 5th tithi.

169. — V. 1078. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 53. Copper-plate inscription of the Mahārājādhirdja Bhōjadēva of Dhārā :—

(Line 8) atit-ashtasaptaty-adhika-sahasrika-samvatśarē. Māgh-āsita-tritīyāyām ।
Ravāv-udagayana-parvvanī śrīmad-Dhārāyām-avasthitair-asmābhiḥ . . .

V. 1078 current, pūrṇimānta: 10 Wednesday, 4 January, A. D. 1021; Uttarāyana-samkrānti on 23 December, A. D. 1020.

V. 1078 expired, pūrṇimānta: the third tithi of the dark half commenced on Sunday, 24 December, A. D. 1021, 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Monday, 25 December, 4 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. And the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place on Saturday, 23 December, 20 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise.

There can be no doubt that Sunday, 24 December, A. D. 1021, is the proper equivalent of the date, and that the ceremonies connected with the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, which took place late on Saturday, had to be deferred to the Sunday, and were permitted to be performed on that day even after the commencement of the third tithi; and the Sunday may, therefore, have been joined here with the (third) tithi which commenced on it. At the same time, considering that the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place during the second tithi and that the Sunday also was civilly the second, I cannot suppress the suspicion that the word *tritīdyām* of the date may have been put erroneously for *deutīdyām*.

(In lines 30 and 31 the same inscription contains the date.—

Samvat 1078 Chaitra-śudi 14.

This date does not admit of verification, but it clearly fell later than the other date; and it may be pointed out that, if the figures for the year of the second date are correctly given, the year in which the first date fell must have commenced with the month Kārttika.)

170. — V. 1145. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 99, and Plate xxii. Stone inscription from a temple at 'Dubbund' (south-west of Gwālior), of the reign of the Mahārājādhirdja Vikramasimha(P):—

(Line 61) . . . Samvat 1145 Bhādrapada-śudi 3 Soma-dinē ॥

The possible equivalents for V. 1145 and the surrounding years are :—

Northern V. 1144 current: Saturday, 15 August, A. D. 1086.

Northern V. 1145 current: Wednesday, 4 August, A. D. 1087.

¹⁰ In Māgha, the Uttarāyana-samkrānti can take place only during the dark half of the pūrṇimānta month.

Northern V. 1145 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Monday, 21 August, A. D. 1088, 8 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 22 August, 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1145 expired: Saturday, 11 August, A. D. 1089.

Southern V. 1146 expired, in which Bhādrapada was intercalary, —

first Bhādrapada: Thursday, 1 August, A. D. 1090;

second Bhādrapada: Friday, 30 August, A. D. 1090.

Southern V. 1147 expired: Wednesday, 20 August, A. D. 1091.

Here the probability is that Monday, 21 August, A. D. 1088, is the true equivalent of the date; but, unable to make out the object of the inscription from the published lithograph, I can give no reasons why the day should have been joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it.

171. — V. 1173. — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 147. Date of the renewal, by the Chandēlla Jayavarmadēva, of the Khajurāhō inscription of Dhaṅgadēva:—

(Line 34) . . . Saṁvat 1173 Vaisā(śa)kha-sudi 3 Sukrē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1173 and the surrounding years are:—

Northern V. 1172 current: Thursday, 9 April, A. D. 1114; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1173 current: Tuesday, 30 March, A. D. 1115.

Northern V. 1173 expired: Monday, 17 April, A. D. 1116.

Southern V. 1173 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Friday, 6 April, A. D. 1117, 2 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 7 April, 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1174 expired: Thursday, 25 April, A. D. 1118; the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1175 expired: Monday, 14 April, A. D. 1119.

Here, again, the probability is that Friday, 6 April, A. D. 1117, is the true equivalent of the date, but no reason is apparent why the day should have been joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it.

172. — V. 1185. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 120, and Plate viii. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaohandradēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 15) . . . pañchāś(śi)ty-adhik-aiśāḍasa(śa)-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarēṣu Chaitrē māsi su(śu)kṣa-pakṣe paurnamāsyāṁ tithau Su(śu)kṛa-dinē aṅkē-pi saṁvat 1185 Chaitra-sudi 15 Su(śu)krē [ady-ēṣa] śrīmad-Vāṛaṇasyāṁ manvādau Gaṅgāyāṁ snātva . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1185 and the surrounding years are:—

Northern V. 1184 current: Wednesday, 10 March, A. D. 1126.

Northern V. 1185 current: Tuesday, 29 March, A. D. 1127.

Northern V. 1185 expired: Sunday, 18 March, A. D. 1128.

Southern V. 1185 expired: the full-moon *tithi* commenced on Friday, 5 April, A. D. 1129, 10 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 6 April, 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1186 expired: Wednesday, 26 March, A. D. 1130.

Southern V. 1187 expired: Sunday, 16 March, A. D. 1131.

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 59, that I consider Friday, 5 April, A. D. 1129, to be the true equivalent of the date, and that I believe the ceremonies connected with the manvādī festival to have been performed late in the afternoon of that day, after the commencement of the full-moon *tithi*.

173. — V. 1229. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 347. Udaypur (in Gwālīor) stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapālādēva:—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1229 varṣe | Vaiśākha-sudi 3 Sōmē ||

(Line 3) . . . -Ajaya[pā]lādēva-kalyāṇavijayājyē . . .

(Line 7) . . . akṣaya-tritiyā-yugādi-parvvanī . . .

Northern V. 1229 current: Saturday, 10 April, A. D. 1171.

Northern V. 1229 expired: Wednesday, 29 March, A. D. 1172.

Southern V. 1229 expired: the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Monday, 16 April, A. D. 1173, 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 17 April, 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

I have shewn, *loc. cit.* p. 846, that the ceremonies connected with the *yugādi* had necessarily to be performed on Monday, 16 April, A. D. 1173, because the third *tithi* of the bright half commenced before the 13th *ghaṭikā* of that day, and ended before the 13th *ghaṭikā* of the next day, and that the Monday, therefore, is the true equivalent of the date.

174. — V. 1234. — *anta*, Vol. XVIII. p. 139. Copper-plate inscription of Jayachandradēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 24) . . . *chatuśtriṃśaty¹¹ adhika-dvādaśa-sa(m)ta-sahvatsarē Paushā māsī su(śu)kla-pakṣā chaturthī-an-tithau Ravi-dinē śuklā-pi sahvāt 1234 Pausha-sudi 4 Ravana uttarāyana(na)-sankrāntau ady-ēha śrīmad-Vārāhasyaṁ Gaṇḍīyāṁ snātva . . .*

V. 1234 current: Tuesday, 7 December, A. D. 1176; and Uttarāyana-sankrānti on 25 December, A. D. 1176.

V. 1234 expired: the 4th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Sunday, 25 December, A. D. 1177, 4 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Monday, 26 December, 6 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; and the Uttarāyana-sankrānti took place on Sunday, 25 December, 5 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

The true equivalent is Sunday, 25 December, A. D. 1177, and the meaning of the date appears to be, that the donation spoken of in the inscription was made at the Uttarāyana-sankrānti which took place during the 4th *tithi* on that Sunday.

175. — V. 1877. — Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 61. Date of a MS. of the *Vārāha-parāśa*, written at Benares:—

Sahvāt 1877 Khara-nāma-sahvatsarē adhika-Jyēṣṭhā(śhṭhā) māsē śuklā pakṣā sapta-myāyām¹² Guru-vāsarē tad-dinē . . .

Jyāishṭha was intercalary in northern V. 1877 expired;¹³ for, in that year the solar Jyāishṭha lasted from 11 May, new style, 20 h. 51 m., to 12 June, 6 h. 32 m., A. D. 1820, and there were new-moons on 12 May, 8 h., and 10 June, 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of the first or adhika Jyāishṭha commenced on Thursday, 18 May, 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Friday, 19 May, 10 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and the 7th of the bright half of second Jyāishṭha was Sunday, 18 June.

In my opinion, Thursday, 18 May, new style, A. D. 1820, is the true equivalent of the date, and the writer finished his work in the afternoon or evening of that day, after the commencement of the 7th *tithi*.

The year Khara, No. 25, lasted, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* rule, without *bhā*, from 9 August, new style, A. D. 1819, to 4 August, A. D. 1820, and with *bhā*, from 18 September, A. D. 1819, to 13 September, A. D. 1820; and according to the *Jyōtiṣatattva* rule, from 19 July, A. D. 1819, to 14 July, A. D. 1820. Accordingly, Khara was current on the actual day of the date (18 May, A. D. 1820) and also at the commencement of the solar year (10 April, A. D. 1820). By the *Tēlinga* rule the date would fall in the year Vikrama, No. 14.

(d). — A date with a wrong week-day.

176. — V. 1161. — *anta*, Vol. XIV. p. 103. Basalt copper-plate inscription of Gōvinda-chandradēva of Kanauj:—

(Line 8) . . . *Sahvāt sahas[r*]-śikṣā śkashashṭy-uttara-śat-ābhyadhikē Pausha-māsē śukla-pakṣā pañcāmyām Ravi-dinē śuklā sahvāt 1161 Pausha-sudi 5 Ravana . . .*

¹¹ Read *chatuśtriṃśad*.

¹² Read *saptāmyāyām*.

¹³ See No. 181 above, p. 177.

(Line 16) . . . mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvēna uttarāyana(na)-sankrānti-tau . . .

V. 1161 current: Sunday, 6 December, A. D. 1103; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended, 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise. Uttarāyana-sankrānti on 25 December, A. D. 1103.

V. 1161 expired: Saturday, 24 December, A. D. 1104, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, and when the Uttarāyana-sankrānti took place 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

In my opinion, Saturday, 24 December, A. D. 1104, which is the day of the Uttarāyana-sankrānti (which actually took place during the 6th *tithi*), and on which also the 5th *tithi* ended, is the true equivalent of the date, and the words *Ravi-dinā* and *Ravan* of the date have been put erroneously for *Nani-dinā* and *Nanau*.

(e). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for the immediately following year.

177. — V. 1049. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 783; Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 324, *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. I. p. 355; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 81; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Dēwal stone inscription of Lalla, the Chhinda:—

(Line 26) . . . Samvatsara-sahasra 1049 Mārgga-vadi 7 Guru-dinē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1049 and V. 1050 are:—

V. 1049 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 1 November, A. D. 991.

amānta: Monday, 30 November, A. D. 991.

V. 1049 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: the 7th *tithi* of the dark half commenced on Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 992, 6 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Friday, 21 October, 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Saturday, 19 November, A. D. 992.

V. 1050 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 9 November, A. D. 993; the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta: Friday, 8 December, A. D. 993.

Here, either the Thursday was joined with the (7th) *tithi* which commenced on it, and in that case the proper equivalent of the date would be Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 992; or the year 1049 has been put erroneously for 1050. As no reason is apparent why the former course should have been adopted (the date not being connected with any religious ceremony), I would decide in favour of the second alternative, and accept Thursday, 9 November, A. D. 993, as the true equivalent of the date.

(According to Prinsep in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 786, the date corresponds to 'Thursday, 5th November, A. D. 992.' But the 5th November, A. D. 992, was a Saturday, and was the 3th of the bright half of Mārgaśīra.)

178. — V. 1107. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 205. Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of the Chandālla Dēvāvarmadēva:—

(Line 7). — Samvat 1107 Vaiśākha-māsē kṛi[shva]-pakshē tṛitīyāyām Sōma-dinē Suhavāsa-samāvāsē . . . ātmiya-mātul rājā-śrī-Bhuvanadēvyāḥ samvatsarī(ri)kē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1107 and V. 1108 are:—

Northern V. 1107 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 25 March, A. D. 1049

amānta: Sunday, 23 April, A. D. 1049.

Northern V. 1107 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 14 March, A. D. 1050.

amānta: Thursday, 12 April, A. D. 1050.

Southern V. 1107 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced on Monday, 1 April, A. D. 1051, 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 2 April, 7 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Wednesday, 1 May, A. D. 1051.

Southern V. 1108 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Saturday, 21 March, A. D. 1052.

amānta : Monday, 20 April, A. D. 1052; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 1 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, either the Monday was joined with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it, and in that case the proper equivalent of the date would be Monday, 1 April, A. D. 1051; or the year 1107 has been put erroneously for 1108. And I would here, too, decide in favour of the second alternative, and therefore accept Monday, 20 April, A. D. 1052, as the true equivalent of the date.

179. — V. 1182. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVII. p. 243. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindaachandradēva of Kanauj :—

... dvyaśīty-adhik-aikādaśa-tata-saṁvatsarē Māgha-māsē kṛishṇa-pakṣhē śaśṭhīyām tithāv-aikataḥ saṁvat 1182 Māgha-vadi 6 Śukrē Śrīṣa-Pratishṭhānē Gaṅgāyām anātvā ...

The possible equivalents for V. 1182 and V. 1183 are : —

V. 1182 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 28 December, A. D. 1124.

amānta : Monday, 26 January, A. D. 1125.

V. 1182 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 17 December, A. D. 1125.

amānta : the 6th *tithi* of the dark half commenced on Friday, 15 January, A. D. 1126, 14 h. 2 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Saturday, 16 January, 11 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1183 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 6 January, A. D. 1127.

amānta : Friday, 4 February, A. D. 1127; the 6th *tithi* of the dark half ended 14 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

Considering that on Friday, 15 January, A. D. 1126, the 6th *tithi* commenced so late as to render the performance of religious ceremonies after the commencement of the *tithi* on that day impossible, I here, too, take the year 1182 of the date to have been put erroneously for 1183, and accordingly regard Friday, 4 February, A. D. 1127, as the true equivalent of the date.

180. — V. 1231. — *anta*, Vol. XVIII. p. 83. Copper-plate inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapāladēva : —

(Line 11) ... nripa-Vikrama-kālad-arvvāk śaktimāda-adhika-dvādaśa-tata-saṁvat-sar-āntarvarttini Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakṣhē śkādaśyām Sōma-dinē upāhaya Kārttik-ōdyāpana-parvvani ...

(Line 31) ... Saṁvat 1231 varahē Kārttika-śudi 13 Vu(bu)dhē ||

The possible equivalents of these two dates for V. 1231 and V. 1232 are : —

Of the first date (Kārttika-śudi 11) : —

V. 1231 current : Thursday, 18 October, A. D. 1173.

V. 1231 expired : the 11th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Monday, 7 October A. D. 1174, 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Tuesday, 8 October, 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1232 expired : Monday, 27 October, A. D. 1175; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

Of the second date (Kārttika-śudi 13) : —

V. 1231 current : Saturday, 20 October, A. D. 1173.

V. 1281 expired: the 13th *tithi* of the bright half commenced on Wednesday, 9 October, A. D. 1174, 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and ended on Thursday, 10 October, 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1282 expired: Wednesday, 29 October, A. D. 1175; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, either the *tithis* of both dates were joined with the days on which they commenced, or the year 1281 has been put wrongly for 1282. And I would again decide in favour of the second alternative, and accordingly take Monday, 27 October, and Wednesday, 29 October, A. D. 1175, as the true equivalents of the two dates; for, in the second date, a so-called current *tithi* would be altogether out of place, and in the case of the first date, too, no religious ceremony could have been performed during the 11th *tithi* on Monday, 7 October, A. D. 1174 (when that *tithi* commenced as late as 17 h. 21 m. after sunrise); and I can find no reason why the ceremonies connected with the *śuddhānt* should not have been performed on the day on which the *tithi* ended, i. e. on Tuesday, 8 October, A. D. 1174.

181. — V. 1288. — *cat.*, Vol. VI, p. 203. Kaṭi copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 16) . . . Śrīmat(d)-Vikramāditya-otpādita-sahvatsara-tatāhū dvādaśasu aṣṭā-
ṣṭy-uttarāhū Bhādrapadamāsiya-śukla-pratipadyāh Sōma-vārē śrī-śhakatō-pi sahvasi 1288
varāhē Bhādravā-śudi 1 Sōmē śayāh sahvatsara-māsa pakṣa-vāra-pūrvvikāyāh tithāv-ady-
tā śrīmad-Apāhīlapāṭakē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1288 and V. 1289 are : —

Northern V. 1288 current: Saturday, 10 August, A. D. 1280.

Northern V. 1288 expired: Thursday, 31 July, A. D. 1281.

Southern V. 1288 expired: Wednesday, 18 August, A. D. 1282.

Southern V. 1289 expired: Monday, 8 August, A. D. 1283; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise.

Since the *tithi*, for V. 1288, can in no way be combined with a Monday, I take the year 1288 to have been erroneously put for 1289, and accordingly consider Monday, 8 August, A. D. 1283, to be the true equivalent of the date.

182. — V. 1491. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1886-86), App. p. 249. Date of the composition of Śīlāratnasūtrī's commentary on Mārutiṅga's *Māghadīti* : —

Varāhē chandira-nidhāna-pūrva-1491-kālītē śrī-Vikramārktat-tathā
Chaitr-śhitar-vadi-pachohamī-Budhadinō śrēṣṭh-Ānūrādhā-yutē
śrī-jainōjjvala-Māghadīti-suvṛiṇat-kāvyasya pūrp-ābhava-
śrī śrī-Apāhīlapāṭaka iti khyātē kṣhīṇa pāttanē ṃ

The possible equivalents for V. 1491 and V. 1492 are : —

Northern V. 1491 current, —

amānta : Friday, 10 April, A. D. 1433; *nakṣatra* at sunrise, Māla (19).

pūrṇimānta : Sunday, 28 February, A. D. 1434; *nakṣatra* at sunrise, Viśākṣā (16).

Northern V. 1491 expired, —

amānta : Tuesday, 30 March, A. D. 1434; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise; *nakṣatra* at sunrise, Māla (19).

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 17 February, A. D. 1435; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; *nakṣatra* Svātī (15), up to 13 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1491 expired, —

amānta : Saturday, 19 March, A. D. 1435; *nakṣatra* at sunrise, Jyēṣṭhā (18).

Southern (or northern) V. 1492 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Wednesday, 7 March, A. D. 1436; the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise; and the *nakṣatra* was Viśākṣā (16) up to 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise, when it was followed by Anurādhā (17).

Since in V. 1491 there is no Wednesday which could in any way be joined with the *tithi* and at the same time with the *nakshatra* Anurādhā, I take the year 1491 to have been erroneously put for 1492, and accordingly consider Wednesday, 7 March, A. D. 1436, to be the true equivalent of the date.

(f). — A date which yields no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for both the immediately preceding year and the immediately following year.

183. — V. 1174. — *etc.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 20. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindahandra-dēva of Kanauj : —

(Line 13) . . . *chatuṣṣaptaty-adhik-aikādaśa-sa(śa)ta-saṁvatsarē Phālgunē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣe tṛtītyān-tithau Sukra-dīne-śukē-pi saṁvat 1174 Phālgū[na-vadi 3(P)] Sukrē . . .*

The possible equivalents for V. 1174 and the surrounding years are : —

V. 1173 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Thursday, 3 February, A. D. 1116.

amānta : Friday, 3 March, A. D. 1116; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1174 current, —

pūrṇimānta : Monday, 22 January, A. D. 1117.

amānta : Wednesday, 21 February, A. D. 1117.

V. 1174 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced 12 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 11 January, A. D. 1118, and ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 12 January.

amānta : Sunday, 10 February, A. D. 1118.

V. 1175 expired, —

pūrṇimānta : Friday, 31 January, A. D. 1119; the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

amānta : Saturday, 1 March, A. D. 1119.

Since, on Friday, 11 January, A. D. 1118, the third *tithi* commenced so late as to render the performance of religious ceremonies on that day, after the commencement of the *tithi*, almost impossible, I consider the year of the date to be wrong. And, in my opinion, the probability is that, of the two surrounding Vikrama years, which would yield the proper weekday, the true year of the date is V. 1173 current or 1173 expired, because that year yields the Friday by the *amānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, which has been apparently followed in other dates of Gōvindahandra and his successor. I would therefore take Friday, 3 March, A. D. 1116, to be the proper equivalent of the date.

(g). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out properly for both the immediately preceding year and the next year but one.

184. — V. 1208. — From a rubbing supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Copper-plate inscription of Gōvindahandradēva of Kanauj : —

(Line 16) . . . *saṁvatsarāpāh aṣṭādhika-dvādaśa(śa)-sa(śa)tāhu Kārttikē māsi su(śu)kṣa-pakṣe paurṇamāsyān tithau Bh[au]ma-dīnē śukē-pi saṁvat 1208 Kārttika-sudi 15 Bhaumē . . .*

The possible equivalents for V. 1208 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1207 current : Tuesday, 18 October, A. D. 1149; the full-moon *tithi* ended 16 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1208 current : Monday, 6 November, A. D. 1150.

V. 1208 expired : Saturday, 27 October, A. D. 1151.

V. 1209 expired : Wednesday, 16 October, A. D. 1152.

V. 1210 expired : Tuesday, 3 November, A. D. 1153 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

For V. 1208, the *tithi* can in no way be joined with a Tuesday ; and all that can be said is, that the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1206 expired, or V. 1210 expired.

185. — V. 1295. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 205. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II. : —

(Line 17) . . . [śrīmat(d)]-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-tatēṣu dvādaśeṣu pañcāhanavaty-uttarēṣu Mārggaśīrṣya-śukla-ahaturddasīyāṁ Guru-vārē śra-śrīkatō-pi saṁvat 1295 varṣhē Mārggē(rgga)-śudī 14 Gurāva-syāṁ saṁvatsara-māsa-pakṣha-vāra-pūrvvikāyāṁ tithāvady-śha śrīmad-Aṇahillapātākē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1295 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1294 current : Thursday, 13 November, A. D. 1236 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1295 current : Wednesday, 2 December, A. D. 1237.

V. 1295 expired : Monday, 22 November, A. D. 1238.

V. 1296 expired : Saturday, 12 November, A. D. 1239.

V. 1297 expired : Thursday, 29 November, A. D. 1240 ; the 14th *tithi* of the bright half ended, at Aṇhilwād, 0 h. 6 m. before mean sunrise of the following day.

Here, again, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Thursday in V. 1295 ; but the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1293 expired or V. 1297 expired.

186. — V. 1512. — Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 281. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Aśṭāṅgaḥṛīdaya* :—

Saṁvat 1512 pravartamānē sādharāṇa-Phālaguṇa-suddha-pratīpa Bhauma-vāra . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1512 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1511 current : Tuesday, 29 January, A. D. 1454 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1512 current : Monday, 17 February, A. D. 1455.

V. 1512 expired : Saturday, 7 February, A. D. 1456.

V. 1513 expired : Friday, 25 February, A. D. 1457.

V. 1514 expired : Tuesday, 14 February, A. D. 1458 ; the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, too, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Tuesday in V. 1512 ; but the date would work out satisfactorily for either V. 1510 expired or V. 1514 expired.

(h). — Dates which yield no satisfactory equivalent for the year of the date, but which would work out satisfactorily for the next year but one.

187. — V. 1190. — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 208. Bāndā copper-plate inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmaḍva :—

(Line 10) . . . Bhailasvāmi-saṁp-āvāśē navaty-adhika-śa(śa)taik-ōpēta-sahasratamē saṁvatsarē Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣhē pūrṇamāyāṁ Sōma-vārē śrīkatō-pi saṁvat 1190 Māgha-sudī 15 Sōmē ||

The possible equivalents for V. 1190 and the surrounding years are :—

V. 1189 current : Wednesday, 3 February, A. D. 1132.

V. 1190 current : Sunday, 22 January, A. D. 1133 ; the full-moon *tithi* ended 17 h. after mean sunrise.

V. 1190 expired : Friday, 12 January, A. D. 1134.

V. 1191 expired : Thursday, 31 January, A. D. 1135.

V. 1192 expired: Monday, 20 January, A. D. 1136; the full-moon *tithi* ended 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

Here the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Monday in the years V. 1189, 1190, and 1191; but the date would work out satisfactorily for V. 1192 expired.

188. — V. 1287. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 201. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II.: —

(Line 11). . . Brīmat(d-)Vikramādity-ōtpādita-saṁvatsara-fatēshu dvādaśasu saptaśṣṭy-uttarēshu Aśāḍhamāsiya-śukl-āṣṭamyaṁ Sukra-vārē str-āṁkatō spi saṁvat 1287 varāhē Aśāḍha-śudi 8 Sukrē sayāṁ saṁvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-vāra-pūrvvikāyāṁ tithāv-ady-ēha Śrinad-Apāhilapāṭakē . . .

The possible equivalents for V. 1287 and the surrounding years are: —

Northern V. 1286 current: Sunday, 11 June, A. D. 1228.

Northern V. 1287 current: Saturday, 30 June, A. D. 1229; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 14 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1287 expired: Wednesday, 19 June, A. D. 1230.

Southern V. 1287 expired: Monday, 9 June, A. D. 1231.

Southern V. 1288 expired: Sunday, 27 June, A. D. 1232.

Southern V. 1289 expired: Friday, 17 June, A. D. 1233; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, the *tithi* cannot be combined with a Friday in the years V. 1286, 1287, and 1288; but the date would work out satisfactorily for southern V. 1289 expired.

189. — V. 1724. — *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 18; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Rāmnagar stone inscription of the kings of Maṇḍala: —

(From the rubbings, line 64) . . . Vēda-nētra-hay-ēndv-abdē Jyēshṭhē Viśṇu-tithau [ē] itau 11(1) Sadāśivēna likhitam-utkīrṇam taiḥ sukilpibhiḥ 11 52 11 Saṁvat 1724 varāhē Jyēshṭha-śuddha 11 Sukra-vāsar[ē] 11

The possible equivalents for V. 1724 and the surrounding years are: —

Northern V. 1723 current: Monday, 15 May, A. D. 1665.

Northern V. 1724 current: Sunday, 3 June, A. D. 1666.

Northern V. 1724 expired: Thursday, 28 May, A. D. 1667; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1724 expired: Tuesday, 12 May, A. D. 1668.

Southern V. 1725 expired: Monday, 31 May, A. D. 1669.

Southern V. 1726 expired: Friday, 20 May, A. D. 1670; the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, the *tithi* can in no way be combined with a Friday in the years V. 1723, 1724, and 1725; but the date would work out satisfactorily for southern V. 1726 expired.

(Dr. F. E. Hall has read the figures, after the words *Jyēshṭha-śuddha*, as 12; but the 11 is quite clear in both my rubbings, and has been so read also by Captain Fell, *As. Rec.* Vol. XV. p. 487. Moreover, Dr. Hall (*Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 22) has given, as the corresponding date, "the fifth of June, A. D. 1667, N.S.;" but the 5th June, new style, A. D. 1667, was a Sunday.)

(4). — Dates which contain other errors.

190. — V. 794. — *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 155, and Vol. XVI. p. 197; and the *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 47 and 48. Dhiniḥ copper-plate inscription of Jāikadēva: —

(Line 1) . . Vikrama-saṁvatsara-fatēshu saptaśu chaturnavaty-adhikēshv-āṁkatāḥ [79]4 Kārttika-māsa-āpara-pakṣē amāvāsyāyāṁ Āditya-vārē Jyēshṭhā-nakṣatrē ravigrahaṇa-parvvaṇi 1 aśvīṁ saṁvatsara-māsa-pakṣa-divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ tithāv-ady-ēha Bhāmi-
Nāyāṁ . . .

Calculating again, as in the case of the preceding dates, for Kārttika-vadi 15 both of V. 794 current and expired, and also of the surrounding years V. 793 current and V. 795 and 796 expired, we obtain the following results:—

V. 793 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 20 October, A. D. 735; no eclipse.

amānta: Saturday, 19 November, A. D. 735; no eclipse.

V. 794 current, —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 9 October, A. D. 736; no eclipse.

amānta: Wednesday, 7 November, A. D. 736; no eclipse.

V. 794 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 28 September, A. D. 737; no eclipse.

amānta: Monday, 28 October, A. D. 737; *nakṣatras*, Viśākhā and Anurādhā; an altogether invisible solar eclipse, 8 h. 18 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 795 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Friday, 17 October, A. D. 738; a total solar eclipse, not visible in India, Greenwich time 0 h. 11 m. of 18th October, or, at Ujjain, 23 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of 17th October.

amānta: Sunday, 16 November, A. D. 738, when the new-moon *tithi* ended 10 h. 38 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Jyēṣṭhā up to 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise; no eclipse.

V. 796 expired, —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 7 October, A. D. 739; a solar eclipse, not visible in India.

amānta: Friday, 6 November, A. D. 739; no eclipse.

From the above it is at once clear that there is no day in V. 794, either current or expired (nor in V. 793 current or V. 796 expired), which would at all satisfy the requirements of the date. In V. 795 expired, which is one year later than the year of the date, Kārttika-vadi 15, by the *amānta* scheme, the adoption of which by the writer is clearly suggested by the term *aparapakṣe* of the date, did fall on a Sunday, — the 16th November, A. D. 738, — and on that day the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Jyēṣṭhā, as required; but there was no solar eclipse. There was, however, such an eclipse, not visible in India, on the preceding new-moon day, the 17th October, A. D. 738. And taking these two facts together, Professor Bühler, when editing the inscription, arrived at the conclusion that the grant was actually made on the occasion of the (calculated) eclipse, i. e. on Friday, 17th October, A. D. 738, which was the new-moon day of the *amānta* Āśvina, and that the document was drawn up exactly one month later, on the new-moon day of the *amānta* Kārttika, i. e. on Sunday, 16th November, A. D. 738. But it may be objected, that the new-moon day of Kārttika, on which Professor Bühler supposes the scribe to have written the date, belonged all over India to the year 795 expired, and not to V. 794, either current or expired, and that therefore even the adoption of Professor Bühler's views would not remove all the difficulties of the date. And besides, from the wording of the date it seems quite certain that the writer distinctly desired to couple the eclipse with the new-moon day of Kārttika and with a Sunday; and I fail to perceive that the present date is at all similar, e. g. to that of the Morbi copper-plate, where an eclipse is spoken of in an early part of the document, while at the end of it a date is given on which that eclipse cannot possibly have taken place.

Sir A. Cunningham, in the *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 48, proposes that we should substitute *Āśvina* for the word *Kārttika* of the date, — an alteration by which the date would fall on the last day of southern V. 794 expired, = Friday, 17th October, A. D. 738, the day of the solar eclipse, — and that we should then assume the writer to have put down in the date the following Sunday, — the 19th October, A. D. 738, — because the day of the eclipse, which Sir A. Cunningham assumes to have been Saturday, was a very inauspicious day. Against this proposal it may be said, that the day of the eclipse in India was a Friday; that, even if it had been a

Saturday, no aversion is felt to Saturday in other grants; that the moon was in the *nakshatra* Jyêshthâ, neither at the time of the eclipse, nor during day-time of the following Sunday; and that, if we must alter the wording of the date, and besides resort to artificial explanations which after all would not set right all the details of the date, we might as well at once alter the year of the date to 795, and assume that the writer had made a mistake about the eclipse. But, being averse to assuming such an accumulation of errors, I see no way of setting the date right; and I concur in the views of Mr. Fleet, that the unsatisfactory nature of the date is one of the reasons for regarding the inscription in which the date occurs as a forged document.¹⁴

191. — V. 1154. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 11. Copper-plate inscription of Chandradêva and Madanapâladêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 11) . . . chatuhpa(ahpa)ichâsa(sa)d-adhika-sa(sa)taikâdasa(sa)-samvatsarê Mâghê mâsi su(su)kâ-pakshê tṛitīyâṁ Sôma-dinê Vârîpasyâṁ uttarîyana(na)-samkrântau ahkatah samvat 1154 Mâgha-sudi 3 Sômê Vârîpasyâṁ . . .

I have already stated, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 10, that the Uttariyapa-samkrânti, which introduces the solar month Mâgha, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar Mâgha, and that therefore it cannot possibly take place on the third of the bright half of the lunar Mâgha; and that, accordingly, I must regard the quotation of the Uttariyapa-samkrânti in connection with Mâgha-sudi 3 as erroneous.¹⁵ Irrespectively of the *samkrânti*, the equivalents of the date would be: —

V. 1154 current: Monday, 19 January, A. D. 1097, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. after mean sunrise. (Uttariyapa-samkrânti on Wednesday, 24 December, A. D. 1096.)

V. 1154 expired: Friday, 8 January, A. D. 1098. (Uttariyapa-samkrânti on Thursday, 24 December, A. D. 1097.)

192. — V. 1166. — *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 16. Copper-plate inscription of Madanapâla and Gôvindahandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 17) . . . sah 1166 Pauṣa-vadi 15 Bavau || . . .

(Line 18) . . . Râhu-grastê savitari . . .

The possible equivalents for Pauṣa-vadi 15 of V. 1166, current and expired, are: —

V. 1166 current, —

pûrṇimânta: Friday, 4 December, A. D. 1108; a solar eclipse, not visible in India, 13 h. 38 m., Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

amânta: Sunday, 3 January, A. D. 1109; the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 2 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise; no eclipse.

V. 1166 expired, —

pûrṇimânta: Thursday, 23 December, A. D. 1109; no eclipse.

amânta: Saturday, 22 January, A. D. 1110; no eclipse.

None of these equivalents satisfies all the requirements of the date, because, although the 15th of the dark half of the *amânta* Pauṣa of V. 1166 current did fall on a Sunday, there was no eclipse on that day. As regards the immediately surrounding years, there was a solar eclipse, visible in India, on the 15th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Pauṣa of V. 1163 current, = 16th December, A. D. 1107, but the day was a Monday; and generally, in all the years from A. D. 1100 to 1120, the 15th of the dark half of Pauṣa never fell on a Sunday on which there was a solar eclipse. I therefore am inclined to assume that the solar eclipse has been erroneously put down in the inscription, and that the proper equivalent of the date is Sunday, 3 January, A. D. 1109.

¹⁴ See *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 183; and compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 276.

¹⁵ The error would under any circumstances show great want of thought on the part of the writer; but, as an extenuating circumstance, it may be stated that the date refers to a donation which was made by the predecessor of the king under whom the document was drawn up, and not to a contemporaneous event.

193. — V. 1187. — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, and Plate vi. Raiwân copper-plate inscription of Gôvindahandradêva of Kanauj: —

(Line 18) . . . saṁvat 1187 Mārgga-sudi paurn̄ṇi(r̄ṇṇa)māsyāṁ tithau Sôma-dinê || ady-êha śrīmad-Vārāṇasī[m*] saṁkrāntau . . .

The possible equivalents for Mārgga-sudi 15 of V. 1187, current and expired, and the days of *saṁkrānti* are: —

V. 1187 current: Wednesday, 27 November, A. D. 1129. There was a *saṁkrānti* on Monday, 25 November, 10 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1187 expired: Monday, 17 November A. D. 1180; the full-moon *tithi* ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. There was a *nirayana saṁkrānti* on Tuesday, 25 November, 17 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and a *śāyana saṁkrānti* on Saturday, 15 November, 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

Here, again, none of the possible equivalents satisfies all the requirements of the date; and since, as I have shewn (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 58), the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha in all the years from V. 1180 current to V. 1190 expired fell on a Monday only in V. 1187 expired, and never on the day of a *saṁkrānti*, I assume that the *saṁkrānti* has been wrongly put down in the date, and that the proper equivalent of the date is Monday, 17 November, A. D. 1180.

194. — V. 1299. — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 208. Kaṭī copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapāladêva: —

(Line 14) . . . Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ôtpādita-saṁvatsara-śatêśhu dvādaśasu navanavaty-uttarêśhu Chaitramāsiya-śukla-shaṣṭhyām Sôma-varê Śtr-âṁkatô Spi saṁvat 1299 varshê Chaitra-sudi 6 Sôma-śayām saṁvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvvikāyam āt̄m° lau° Phālguna-māsiya-amāvāsīya(ayā)yam saṁjāta-sūryyagrahapa-parvvanī saṁkalpitāt tithāv-ady-êha śrīmad-Apāhillapātākê . . .

This date gives us for calculation Chaitra-sudi 6 of V. 1299, which should be a Monday; and a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the month Phālguna, preceding the previously mentioned Chaitra-sudi 6. For Chaitra-sudi 6 the possible equivalents would be: —

Northern V. 1299 current: Wednesday, 20 March, A. D. 1241.

Northern V. 1299 expired: Sunday, 9 March, A. D. 1242, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1299 expired: Saturday, 28 March, A. D. 1243, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 9 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise.

None of the three possible years, therefore, yields the desired week-day; nor, I may add, did the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra end on a Monday in the surrounding years, northern V. 1298 current and southern V. 1300 expired, or in southern V. 1301 expired.

As regards the other item of the date, there was no solar eclipse in the month Phālguna, either *pūrṇimā* or *amānta*, which immediately preceded the 20th March, A. D. 1241, and the 9th March, A. D. 1242; but there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the *amānta* Phālguna (of V. 1299 expired) immediately preceding the 28th March, A. D. 1243. This eclipse took place on Sunday, 22 March, A. D. 1243, 2 h. 2 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 1 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and it was not visible in western India.

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that some at least of the recorded details of this date are incorrect; and the probabilities are that the eclipse, although it was not visible, has been rightly quoted, but that either the *tithi* of Chaitra referred to in the date was really the 8th, or the week-day a Saturday. In the former case the proper equivalent of the date would be Monday, 30 March, A. D. 1243, in the latter, Saturday, 28 March, of the same year.

195. — V. 1597. — Dr. Peterson's *Third Report* (1885-86), App. p. 214. Date of the composition of Pāṇvaachandra's *Vārṭtika* on Vīrabhadraśādhū's *Chaturāśvina-praktīpaka* :—

Muni-nand-śāhu-chandr-ābdē vyatitē Vikramārkataḥ |
subhāsi Phālgunē māsi trayōdaśyām Ravēr-dinē ||
pavitṛē Mūla-nakṣatrē . . .

Here the possible equivalents for V. 1597 and the surrounding years would be :—

V. 1596 current : Sunday, 2 March, A. D. 1539; the 18th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise; *nakṣatra* Maghā (10), not Mūla (19).

V. 1597 current : Friday, 20 February, A. D. 1540; *nakṣatra* Āślāṣhā (9).

V. 1597 expired : Wednesday, 9 February, A. D. 1541; *nakṣatra* Pushya (8).

V. 1598 expired : Monday, 27 February, A. D. 1542; the 18th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise; *nakṣatra* Maghā (10).

V. 1599 expired : Friday, 16 February A. D. 1543; *nakṣatra* Āślāṣhā (9).

These equivalents shew that some of the recorded details of the date must be incorrect; for it appears from them that the moon is never anywhere near the *nakṣatra* Mūla on the 18th of the bright half of Phālguna, and that this particular *tithi* of Phālguna cannot in any way be joined with a Sunday in V. 1597 current or expired. The proper year of the date may be V. 1596 current, but even so the quotation of the *nakṣatra* would be incorrect.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL REGULAR DATES.

196. — V. 811. — In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. II. p. 764, Colonel Tod reports that at Chitōr in Rājputānā he found an inscription which was dated¹⁶—

'Sambut 811, Māgha-sudi 5th, Vṛishpatwar (Thursday).'

Assuming this statement to be correct, the possible equivalents of the date would be :—

V. 811 current : Thursday, 3 January, A. D. 754; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 811 expired : Wednesday, 22 January, A. D. 755; the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 15 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

(For Saka 811, current and expired, the equivalents would be Friday, 10 January, A. D. 885, and Tuesday, 30 December, A. D. 889.)

197. — V. 1244. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 90, and Plate x. Inscription on pillar of the entrance gateway of the fortress of Tabangadh in Rājputānā :—

(Line 1) . . . Samvat 1244 [Jyē]ṣṭha-su 15 Gurō(rāu).

Northern V. 1244 current : Tuesday, 3 June, A. D. 1186.

Northern V. 1244 expired : Sunday, 24 May, A. D. 1187.

Southern V. 1244 expired : Thursday, 12 May, A. D. 1188; the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

198. — V. 1317. — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 51, and Plate xiii.; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the Chandēlla Vīravarmān :—

(Line 14) . . . Sagar-āndv-agni-sudhāmsu(śu)-mitē Vikrama-vatsarē . . . Samvat 1317 . . . Vaiśāḥa(kha)-sudi 13 Gurau.

Northern V. 1317 current : Tuesday, 6 May, A. D. 1259.

Northern V. 1317 expired : Sunday, 25 April, A. D. 1260.

Southern V. 1317 expired : Thursday, 14 April, A. D. 1261; the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

¹⁶ I give this date here because, if correctly copied, it is the earliest known regular date of the Vikrama era which admits of verification.

199. — V. 1510. — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Gwālior stone inscriptions of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Puṅgarēndradēva :¹⁷ —

(Line 1) . . . Saḥvaṭ 1510 varshē Mīgha-sudi 8 Sōmē śrī-Gōpagirau mahārājādhirāja-rājā(śrī)-Puṅgarēndradēva-rājy[āḥ] pravarttamānē |

V. 1510 current: Thursday, 18 January, A. D. 1453.

V. 1510 expired: Monday, 7 January, A. D. 1454; the 8th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise.

200. — V. 1814. — Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 344. Date of a MS. of Chiramjiva-bhappā's *Kāvya-vilāsa* : —

Saḥvaṭ 1814 Saka 1679. Śivara-nāma-saḥvatsarē Kārttikē māsi śukla-pakṣaḥ 6 Guruvāsarē śaahṭhyām tithau Kārttikā-dēśē Muhaḥbhāḍ-ākhyā-grāmē likhitam . . .

V. 1814 current: Friday, 29 October, new style, A. D. 1756; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1814 expired: Thursday, 17 November, new style, A. D. 1757; the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

By the so-called Tālinga rule, the year Śivara (No. 11) coincided with Saka 1679 expired or northern V. 1814 expired. By the Sārya-Siddhanta rule, without or with *śrī*, and by the Jyōtiṣṭattva rule, the date (the 17th November, new style, A. D. 1757) would fall in the year Sarvadhārin (No. 22).

(To be continued.)

PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give text and translation of some of the nuptial songs sung among Gujarātī Hindus and Parsis. These songs seem to have been handed down from times immemorial, and consequently some of the words have been altered and corrupted to such an extent as to render the original meaning almost unintelligible. I hope to give a few more of these songs later on.

TRANSLATION.

No. 1.

Song sung by the Bridegroom's Party on the occasion of a Betrothal.

Playing by the side of the fountain my Sōrābjī¹ saw her :

Home he came and continued repeating — " Father, have me married."

If I marry at all I shall marry none but Farāmji's² daughter or shall go unmarried through life.

Mēharwānji³ asked a question or two : — Farāmji² joined his hands together (in compliance).

5 Mēharwānji³ sent some *pān*-leaves⁴ ; — Farāmji² accepted them with pleasure :

Mēherbāi⁵ sent some flowers : Ratanbāi⁶ accepted them thankfully.

(The two parties then said) : " We were only as brothers before, (but) now we are *reḥasīs* :"⁷

We were only as sisters before, but now we are *śāśuśās*.⁷

¹⁷ By Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. II. p. 386, the above date was read thus : — *Saḥvaṭ 1510 varshē Mīgha-sudi 8 (a)śrī-pakṣa(śrī)śrī*.

¹ The bridegroom ; any other name might be substituted. ² The bride's father. ³ The bridegroom's father.

⁴ The *pān*-leaves and flowers may be supposed to convey a formal offer of marriage. Among the Parsis curds and fresh fish are the first presents sent from the bridegroom's house to the bride's. The offer of marriage, however, does not always come from the bridegroom ; it might come from either party.

⁵ The bridegroom's mother.

⁶ The bride's mother

⁷ The parties whose children intermarry are the *śāśuśās* (masculine) and *śāśuśās* (feminine) of each other.

No. 2.

Song sung on a like occasion by the Bride's Party.

- (On) a golden chair studded with rubies,
Sits my Sīrinbāī* and prays to her father:—
"Father, find me such a husband as will grant me all I wish for."
(And to her mother) "Mother, find me such a husband as will bring bracelets and bangles for me."
‡ The Māhētā* encounters the bridegroom (who says to him): "Māhētā, on what errand are you bound?
Turn back, Māhētā, (for) I have (already) brought bangles and bracelets."

No. 3.

Song sung when a Brother¹⁰ sends Presents to his Sister on the occasion of her Children's Marriages.

- Amadābād¹¹ is in an uproar to-day:
Amadābād is full of people to-day.
My mother's son sends (me) his presents.
My (maternal) grandmother's son sends (me) his presents.
§ "Wherefore these presents, brother?"
"Sister, because thy son is to be married."
The *mosḍilā* makes the house look grand.
There is no end of people in the train (of those who bring it).
Sister mine, go under the *maḍḍas*,¹² and put on¹³ the (marriage) dress.
10 The advent of the *mosḍilā* makes the yard resound with music.
I knew that my brother would furnish the *mosḍilā*,
And that my good-luck-bearing sister-in-law would bring it down.
The *mosḍilā* makes the house look grand.
The banker comes with the rupees,
15 And the goldsmith brings the gold coins.
The whole street looks gorgeous with the splendour of the *mosḍilā*.
The goldsmith brings necklaces and chains,
And the jeweller comes with his diamonds.
The *mosḍilā* makes the house look grand.
20 The florist brings garlands of flowers.
The *pān*-leaf seller brings packets ((*biddā*)) of *pān*-leaves.

* The bride; any other name might be substituted.

† The Māhētā is a sort of secretary and accountant in a wealthy family. His duty is to keep all the accounts, write letters for the master and mistress, and do such other jobs for the family. It is generally the Māhētā, or the family priest, who is entrusted with the match-making.

‡ On the occasion of a wedding, presents, chiefly of clothes, are made to the bride and bridegroom and also to both their parents by all their relatives. But by far the best presents are expected by both the bride's and the bridegroom's mothers from their respective brothers. These presents are called, collectively, *mosḍilā*, lit. 'coming from the mother's side.'

¹¹ i. e. Ahmedābād. The name of any other place where the wedding takes place might be substituted here.

¹² The *maḍḍas* is a canopy, under which the marriage festivities are held.

¹³ All the presents, which chiefly consist of suits of wearing apparel and jewellery, are arranged in a tray, with a large conical packet of sugar, a coconut, a few *pān*-leaves and betel-nuts, some dry dates, a garland of flowers, a handful of rice, some curds, and some *kakṛāt*. The recipient of the presents is made to stand on a small stool, and is then either dressed in or only presented with the clothes, the garland of flowers is placed round her neck, the auspicious red mark in *kakṛāt* made on her forehead, the coconut, *pān*-leaves, betel-nuts, and dates placed in her lap, and finally some curds or sugar is placed in her mouth. This done the recipient of the presents bows down, and touching the feet of the woman who represents the donor, makes an obeisance, while the latter in her turn sprinkles some rice over the recipient's head and waving her hands over it, cracks her finger joints against her own temples, at the same time uttering many good wishes, while the women around all join in singing auspicious songs.

- At sight of the *mosāḍā* the sister's heart rejoices.
 The embroiderer comes with gold embroidered *sāḍā*,
 And the shawl-dealer brings shawls and plaids.
 25 The *mosāḍā* makes the house look grand.
 Present the bridegroom's father with a shawl¹⁴ and a scarf,
 And present the bridegroom's uncle with a scarf and a turban.
 Dress the bridegroom in gold embroidered robes,
 And dress the bridegroom's mother in a gold embroidered *sāḍā*.
 30 So many presents does the *mosāḍā* consist of.

No. 4.

Song sung when a Wedding is near.

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| A wedding is to be celebrated in our house. ¹⁵ | How do we know ? |
| The trades-people throng our yard. | That's how we know ! |
| A wedding is to be celebrated in our house. | How do we know ? |
| The merchants crowd in our doorway. | That's how we know ! |
| 5 There are rejoicings in our house, | How do we know ? |
| The sweet strains of music ¹⁶ regale our ears. | That's how we know ! |
| Ours is the bridegroom's house. | How do we know ? |
| The horses ¹⁷ are standing under the <i>māḍāv</i> . | That's how we know ! |
| Ours is the bridegroom's father's ¹⁸ house. | How do we know ? |
| 10 The wedding guests are sitting under the <i>māḍāv</i> . | That's how we know ! |

No. 5.

Song sung when the Mother-in-law welcomes her Son-in-law,

- Be ready mother-in-law with (your) presents. The son-in-law who comes to your door is a merchant.
 Be ready mother-in-law with (your) presents (P).¹⁹ The son-in-law who comes to your door is a great man.
 Be ready mother-in-law with (your) trays (P).¹⁹ The son-in-law who comes to your door is a petted one.
 Sing songs some of you : let every one get acquainted (with him).
 5 Inform Mēharwānjī,²⁰ the celebrator of the wedding (of his coming).
 Some great man's son is coming ! Some gentleman's son is coming !
 Some nobleman's son is coming ! Some (great) merchant's son is coming !
 With a number of merchants in his train.
 Some Rānī's son is coming ! Or one born of a Thākuraṇī is coming !
 10 Every street is being swept clean ! The father-in-law orders the floor of the *māḍāv* to be sprinkled with water :
 (And) the mother-in-law gets figures in pearls²¹ made upon the door-sill.

¹⁴ A shawl is generally presented as a mark of honour to him who does some great or meritorious thing, and among the Pārāis and Hindūs none can have a better claim to such distinction than "the celebrator of a wedding."

¹⁵ Lit. "that our house is full of a wedding."

¹⁶ A wedding in a Pārāi family calls forth the greatest enthusiasm, and gives occasion for much rejoicing. The Pārāi father does not grudge his hard-earned gains on such an occasion, but spends money freely on feasting his relatives and neighbours, and providing bands of musicians and singing women, for he believes that he wins the approbation of Ahīra Māshda by doing so.

¹⁷ Up to a very recent period the Pārāi boy-bridegroom used to ride to the house of his bride attended by all his playmates on horseback dressed in fancy costumes. The custom is still in vogue among the Hindūs.

¹⁸ Greater merit attaches to being of the bridegroom's party, than of the bride's.

¹⁹ The text is unintelligible here.

²⁰ The bride's father.

²¹ These figures are daily made with a kind of powdered *chunam* on the door-sills of Pārāi and Hindū houses with the object of inviting good luck to them. Making them in pearls is nothing but allegory.

- The father-in-law gets rose-water sprinkled in the yard :
 And orders carpets to be spread along every street (leading up to his house) :
 And the mother-in-law has every door decorated with festoons (of flowers).
 15 Music is being played in every street.
 The mother-in-law comes out to see the bridegroom's face²² with her hands full of silver coins.
 Brother, thy mother-in-law has brought thee pearls : and my Shrinbhai²³ is a luck-bringing girl.
 We have got such a very handsome son-in-law,
 And we have made him sit in our palace.

TEXT.

गीत १.

छोकरांभोने अहराववानी वस्त्रते छोकरी तरफथी गावानुं गीत.

धवाडाये कांठे रमवीरे, रमवी मारा सीरावजीए शीरीरे.
 परे जइ राहरी धरीभोरे, बाबा मुञ्जने परपावोरे.
 परपूतो करामजीनी धीसेरे,²⁴ नहीतर एहीच कुमारीरे.
 नेहरवानजीए पुछी बे वातरे, करामजीए बीडीमा बेह
 हापरे.

5 नेहरवानजीए मोकळीभां पानरे, करामजीए राखीभां
 मानरे.
 नेहरवानजीए मोकळीभां फुलरे, रतनबाइए राखीभां फुलरे.²⁵
 आगळ हवा आपणे बेह भाइरे, हवे यमा पेहेबाइरे.
 आगळ हवां आपणे बेह बेहेनोरे, हवे यमां पेहेवांपोरे.

गीत २.

छोकरांभोने अहराववानी वस्त्रते छोकरी तरफथी गावानुं गीत.

सुनरा²⁶ माचीरे, माचीए रतन जडाव.
 बेपर बेठां मारां सीरीनबाइरे, बाबाजीने भरज करे.
 बाबा एवी वर सोभजोरे, हरख मारा पुरा करे.

माए एवी वर सोभजोरे, सुरावारा जोर लावे.
 5 सामा मळीभा राएवररे,²⁷ मेहेवा तमे सीए चालीभा.
 मेहेवा पाछा वळजोरे, सुरावारा भमे लावीभा.

गीत ३.

बाप धीकरीने भयवा भार बेहेनने वास्ते मोसाळुं मोकळे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

अमबाबाए धराधर वागे,
 अमबाबावनी वस्ती छे आजे.
 ममाइ जाबा मोकळे मोसाळुं,
 माज जाबा मोकळे मोसाळुं.
 5 एरे मोसाळुं ते सीएने काजे,
 बाइ ताचे पुत्र परणे तेने काजेजी.
 मोसाळुं आवे अवास²⁸ फावे.
 एरे मोसाळांभी एरोने छेरो,
 बेनुं²⁹ मारी मांइव हेठे जइ पेहेरोजी,
 10 मोसाळुं आवे मांयपुं माजे.
 एरे मोसाळुं ते सीरो³⁰ सांचबसे,
 भीबाइ पनीनी लइ आवेजी.
 मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
 बापावली आवे ने रुपैया लावे.
 15 सीपीजी आवे ने सुनैया लवेजी,

मोसाळुं आवे मोहजी सीने.
 सीनीरो³¹ आवे ने हार सांकळी लावे.
 हावेरी हीरा लइ मावेजी,
 मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
 20 मालीरो³² आवे ने फुलगजारा लावे,
 तन्वीली आवे ने पामबीडा लावेजी,
 मोसाळुं आवे बाइ मारी हरखे.
 कसबीघोर आवे ने कारचोकी लावे,
 हुलइभो साल पामरी लावेजी,
 25 मोसाळुं आवे अवास फावे.
 साल पामरी जोर वरना बावाने पेहेराची,
 पामरी पाचजी जोर वरना काकामे बंधाचो.
 कासबी सवामा वरराजाने पेहेराचो,
 धरीनी सारी वरनी माएने पेहेराचीची,
 30 मोसाळुं आवे पेहेरामणीचो लावे.

²² It not unfrequently happens among some castes of the Hindus that the mother-in-law and her party see the bridegroom's face for the first time on the wedding-day.

²³ The bride.

²⁴ धी, 'daughter;' this word is not in common use now. [It is, however, the usual word in Parsi.] — R. O. T.]

²⁵ Lit. 'price.'

²⁶ सुनरा, poetical form of सोबरी.

²⁷ राएवर, 'the king-husband.' राएवर or वरराजा is the word used for the bridegroom during the period of his betrothal and marriage.

²⁸ This word is now obsolete.

²⁹ बेनुं poetical form of बेन, sister.

³⁰ सीरो, lit. 'hero;' this word is generally used by the doting sister for her brother.

³¹ सीपीजी, poetical form of सोबी.

³² मालीरो, the same as माली.

गीत ४.

सगनना दिवसोपर गावानुं गीत.

अमारां वीहवा भजीं धेर,	केम जाणीए;	डडां बाजां गावण आपे तेहेर,	तेम जाणीए.
एना वेपारीभी उभा बाहार,	तेम जाणीए.	अमारां वरराजा धेर,	केम जाणीए;
अमारां वीहवा भजीं धेर,	केम जाणीए;	जेना बोनुला ²³ उभा मांइव मांहे,	तेम जाणीए.
जेना सोबागर उभा बाहार,	तेम जाणीए.	अमारां वरबाबा धेर,	केम जाणीए;
5 अमारां भलबेलीभां धेर,	केम जाणीए;	10 जेना साहाजनीभां डेडां मांइवमांहे,	तेम जाणीए.

गीत ५.

सासु सोपारो लह जायछे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

सासु सेजोरे सोपारो, जमाइ तोरये भाय्जो वेपारो. ²⁴	10 सेरीसेरीना कचरा बघवेछे, ससरं मांइवे पाणी छंदावेछे.
सासु सेजोरे सोडकरो, जमाइ तोरये भाय्जो मोडकरो. ²⁵	सासु मोसीना चीक पुरावेछे.
सासु सेजोरे बाडकरो, ²⁶ जमाइ तोरये भाय्जो लाडकरो. ²⁷	ससरा गोलाबनां छंदां छंदावेछे.
कोइ हाल करी हलकारकरी, कोइ जाण करी पिछाण करी.	सेरीसेरी यालीना पंयरावेछे,
6 पेला फरामजी वेहैबाइने जाण करी.	सासु फुलनां तोरयो बंधावेछे.
कोइ मोडांनी जाबो आवेछे, कोइ साहेबजासी आवेछे,	15 सेरी सेरीमां बाजां वजरावेछे,
कोइ उमरावजासी आवेछे, कोइ वनजाणीनो जाबो आवेछे	सासु मल जोबाने भाय्जारे, कधी रुपेभी लह भाय्जारे.
कधी वनजार वनजाने ²⁸ लावेछे.	भाइनी सासु लाय्जां मोसीरे, नारी सीरीनबाइ छे
कोइ राणीनी बीरो आवेछे, कोइ इकपानी जाबो आवेछे.	पणीसीरे:
	अमारो भाबो रुपाको जमाइजी,
	सेने मोहेरा ²⁹ मोहोन बेसाबोरे.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON VIMALA.

Dr. Peterson says in his Third Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle (page 44), that the *Padma-Charita* is probably the work of the Buddhist author of the *Prasādhara-Ratnamālā*, and that a particular verse in the *Hitopadeśa* is, in that book, a quotation from the latter work, where it stands in its own context, so to say, as one of a series of answers to a series of questions. Now, having examined a number of copies of the *Prasādhara-Ratnamālā*, I am in a position to disprove that the author of it was ever a Buddhist, or that he had any connection with the *Padma-Purāṇa* or *Padma-Charita* referred to, the author of which distinctly gives

his date in the closing stanzas of his exceedingly interesting and instructive poem.

The personality of the author of the *Prasādhara-Ratnamālā* must remain for the present an open question. Of the different copies that have fallen under my observation, some speak of Vimala as the author of it, and contain no clue to his date:—

रश्मिना सितपद्मयुग्मा विमला विमलेन रत्नमालेव ।
प्रबोद्धमालेन कण्ठगतं किं न ज्ञापयति ॥

"This excellent series of questions and answers, composed by Vimala, a teacher clad in white garments,—does it not adorn one who can recite them, just as a garland of pure gems

²³ Poetical form of घोडा.

²⁴ वेपारो is incorrect; it should be वेपारी, but the incorrect form is used here for the sake of rhyme.

²⁵ छोटकरो seems to be a corrupted form of छोटकुं, 'a die,' but it is not plain why it is used here.

²⁶ छोटकरो, poetical form of मोटो.

²⁷ बाटकरो might be a poetical form of बाटी, 'a small cooking pot;' but it is not plain why it is used here.

²⁸ लाडकरो, poetical form of लाडको.

²⁹ वनजाने, past participle formed from the noun वनजार, 'a caravan,' and वनजारी, 'a merchant,' and is only used here in connection with वनजारी.

³⁰ मोहेरा appears to be a corruption of मारु, 'mine.'

enhances the beauty of a man when placed on his neck?"

While, two of the copies examined by me contain the following *śloka* at the end, instead of the one quoted above:—

विवेकास्वकर्तृत्वेन राजेशं रत्नमालिका ।
रत्नमालीषवर्षेण सुविदां सरलकृतिः ॥

"This garland of gems, an excellent ornament for the learned, was composed by king Amoghavaraha, who gave up his kingdom owing to his discriminative knowledge."

The *Prasānī-tara-Ratnamālā* is here ascribed to king Amoghavaraha; and, as four sovereigns of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* line bore this name, it is not practicable to determine exactly the date of the poem. But it should be noticed at the same time, that Amoghavaraha I. is known for certain to have been a Jaina and a devoted worshipper of the Digambara saint Jinasēna, who wrote the well-known *Adi-Purāṇa*. Amoghavaraha I. reigned in the latter part of the ninth century; the dates occurring in two Kanheri inscriptions in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavaraha, are Śaka-Samvat 775 and 797. If we choose to lay no stress on the fact of Amoghavaraha I. having been a Jaina, and consider the claim of all the kings of that name to the authorship of this work as on a par, all we can say is, that the author must have lived between A. D. 853 and A. D. 978; the last king who had this name having been conquered in the latter year by the Western Chālukya king Tailapa I.

Dr. Peterson regards, with Prof. Weber, the author of the *Prasānī-tara-Ratnamālā* as a Buddhist; but, — whichever view is adopted as to the personality of the author, — from the closing stanza, as well as from the commencement it is evident that he was a Jaina, and belonged to one or other of the rival sects of the Jainas. He begins by paying obeisance to Vīra, the most excellent of excellent Jinas, and in the closing stanza, according to one set of copies, describes himself as a *śita-pāṭa-guru* or 'a teacher clad in white garments,' that is, a Jaina *Siddha* of the Śvētāmbara sect. If, on the contrary, Amoghavaraha was really the author of it, the poem must be regarded as a Digambara work.

The author of the *Padma-Charita* also bears the same name (Vimala), and distinctly states at the end of his work that he wrote it when 532 years had elapsed since the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra:—

पद्मे व वाससवा पुसमाए तीसरिससंयुता ।

वीरे सिद्धिमुपगए तमो निवर्द्ध इमं परिमम् ॥

The date of this *Nirvāṇa* has not as yet been satisfactorily and finally settled; but the majority of orientalists accept B. C. 526. If we reckon from this date, we arrive at A. D. 6 as the date of this work. But if we accept Dr. Jacobi's corrected date of this *Nirvāṇa*, viz. B. C. 467, — which, he says, agrees so very well with the adjusted date of Buddha's *Nirvāṇa*, 477 B. C., — the date of this *Purāṇa* would be A. D. 65. This work was, therefore, written in the first century of the Christian era; and it contains an elaborate version of the *Edmāṇa* from the Jaina standpoint. Since Dr. Weber pointed out the importance of the *Dāśarāṭha-Jātaka* in the history of the Indian epics, I have been trying to secure and study the oldest version of these stories as given in Jaina works. Vimala's *Padma-Purāṇa* is not only one of the oldest dated works of this class, but has considerable poetic merit and deserves to be edited by a competent scholar. As a *Prākṛit* poem, it is, I believe, superior in many respects to the better known *Edmāṇa* and *Gaṇḍakāś*. I mean to publish an analysis of this work in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, as soon as I have sufficient leisure for the undertaking.

Before concluding this note, I wish to take the occasion of making a suggestion which has often occurred to me, but which I have nowhere seen distinctly stated by any one else. It is now admitted by many, that there were two distinct waves of the great tide of the *Āryan* immigration into India. The distinction that existed in ancient times, as regards culture and customs, between North-Western India, the country of the Kurus and Pāṇchālas, and Eastern India or Viddha, Magadha and Kōśala, has been made clear by recent investigations. Dr. Hoernle has shewn that, unless two waves of immigration are admitted, many linguistic phenomena, — the development and extension of *Māgadhī* and *Saurasēnī*, as well as the differences that characterized them, — cannot be satisfactorily accounted for. While what is called the *Brahmarahidā* by Mann, was the home of genuine *Brāhmanism* whose customs and rights were to be taken as models, the *Prāchya* or Eastern Land, often named in Vēdic and Sūtra texts in a hostile or contemptuous tone, gave birth to Jainism and Buddhism, so opposed to the spirit of the ancient literature that the North-Western *Āryans* have bequeathed to us. It was no accident that Eastern India produced Buddhism and Jainism, while the kings who exerted themselves to restore Hinduism to its former position of ascendancy, belonged to the other part of *Āryāvarta*. Now, it seems to me most probable that, while

the *Mahābhārata* was originally the national epic of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava country, the *Rāmāyana* was originally the national epic of the Eastern Āryans, though afterwards remodelled by its Brāhmaṇ redactors. It is in keeping with this view that, in the ancient literature of North-Western India, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are so often referred to, while those of the *Rāmāyana* are conspicuous by their absence. While there is an allusion to Vāsudēva, Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in *Mahābhārata* characters in his illustrations, there is not a single reference to Rāma, his brothers, or their father, Daśaratha, in the works of these grammarians. Amarasinha, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛishṇa legend; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛishṇa, is mentioned.

It should be noted, on the other hand, that, while a Buddhist (or Eastern) version of the *Rāmāyana* (viz. the *Dakṛiṭha-Jātaka*) has been discovered, no such version of the Kṛishṇa legend or of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war has yet been found among the writings of the Eastern Āryans. All these facts are easily accounted for, I think, if we look upon the *Rāmāyana* as the national epic of those Āryans who first entered India, but who in course of time had to recede more and more towards the east before the advancing tide of a new group of Āryans who produced the most ancient monuments of the Indian mind which we possess and which constitute the Vedic literature. Many of the chronological difficulties created by the hypothesis now generally received and countenanced by high authorities, that the *Rāmāyana* is really later than the sister epic, are obviated by the view suggested above.

Jajpur.

HARIDAS SASTRI.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHITÔR.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

SIRS, — In the footnote on p. 222 of the present volume of your *Journal*, you object to *Chitôr* spelling *Chitôr*. With dots it may be *چیتور* Jaipur or *چیتور*. You, however, say *چیتور* is the correct spelling. I have gone through Tod. He spells it everywhere *Chetore*. Sir Thomas Roe spelt it "Oytore." Tod gives a facsimile native letter in which the word occurs and is spelt *चितोर*. This is fair evidence that in all probability I am right in assigning the coin to this town, Jaipur being out of the question. I have often heard the word pronounced *Chaitawr*. I compared several coins in my possession before I ventured to make a guess. You say it may read *Qonawj*. On coin 37 I give this mint *قنوج*. It does not much resemble *چیتور*.

The mint of Islām Shah's coin, which I mentioned, is *شہر گڑھ قنوج*. I am certain about this reading, as I have some half dozen coins to back me up.

If now, however, we decide that *چیتور* is not Jaipur and not Chitôr, we must try and find out what it may be.

I hope I did not make the mistake of writing

Godlior on page 221. It ought to have been *Godliôr*, as the spelling on coins for more than two centuries was *گولیار*.

The *y* at the end of *چیتور* may be *ṣ* or *ṭ*. The pronunciation is immaterial, as *bēmdr* is pronounced by Persians *bēmdr* ('without strength'). I don't know how it was pronounced in Akbar's time. The word *tanka*, however, cannot be *tankṭ*, as it is spelt on the coins *تنک* *tanka*. Your first note on p. 220 overlooked this spelling. In support of your theory for the other words, you have the *y* going across the coins at the end of *الہی* and *شارہی*, both of which are pronounced now as *ṭ*. The origin of the word would shew whether it is *ṣ* or *ṭ*, as we now use these sounds.

Were I going to stay on, I would set to work at the Sûri copper coins, and write a full monograph on them, but I fear I shall never do it, as my time is fully occupied until September 30th. After that I shall have to work at other subjects and probably in England, and all my knowledge of the coins of India will be a burden to myself and lost to the country.

O. J. RODGERS.

Amritsar, July 28th, 1890.

[The difficulty of arguing with Mr. Rodgers is that his plates are hand-drawn and not reproduced mechanically. — ED.]

BOOK-NOTICES.

ALBESBURY'S INDIA: an account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A. D. 1390. An English Edition with Notes and Indices. By Dr. EDWARD C. SACHAU. London; Trübner & Co., 1888. Two Volumes; pp. l., 408, 481.

Some years ago I called attention in the pages of this Journal, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 81 f., to the importance of Bérnini's India, a translation of which Professor Sachau had then begun to print. This translation has now been some time before the public, and I believe that a further notice is desirable both in the interest of Sanskrit philology and in acknowledgment of the eminent service which Professor Sachau has rendered to the students of Indian history and literature, by making the famous Muhammadan's work accessible to those not acquainted with the Arabic language.

An Arabist who undertakes the translation of a book like the India, has the choice between two different methods. He may either content himself with rendering his text as exactly as possible, leaving it to the Sanskritists to make of it what they can; or he may attempt not only to translate, but to do also the work of a commentator and to trace the statements of his text in Sanskrit literature. Professor Sachau, who is not only one of the most distinguished Arabic scholars of the day, but is also acquainted with the sacred language of the Brāhmins, has chosen the second more ambitious course, which in the case of Bérnini's work is particularly arduous and toilsome. For Bérnini gives hundreds of quotations from Sanskrit authors, numerous mathematical or astronomical calculations, and very extensive lists of Sanskrit names and technical terms, the verification or identification of which frequently presents very great difficulties. The Sanskrit books which he quotes have by no means all been published and translated. Some are not even known, while others are preserved only in MSS., of which no sufficient account has been given. The Sanskrit names and words, for the expression of which the Arabic alphabet is at the best not very convenient, have been sadly mangled and distorted in very numerous cases, be it through Bérnini's or his copyist's carelessness. Their restoration frequently becomes so much more difficult, as they have not been preserved in the Sanskrit works hitherto accessible, and as hence purely conjectural emendations are required. Professor Sachau has manfully grappled with these numerous difficulties and with signal success. His elaborate notes show

that he has not only carefully consulted the translations of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* and the *Pātañjala Yōgaśāstra*, but that he has even utilised the original texts of which he was able to procure printed copies. Nor has he forgotten Colebrooke's and Prinsep's *Essays*, Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, A. Weber's numerous contributions to the history of Sanskrit literature and antiquities, Cunningham's important works on geography and archaeology, and Elliot's *History of India*. Where the published works failed to give the requisite help, Professor Sachau has availed himself of the services of a number of specialists. Thus, our distinguished Viennese astronomer, Dr. Schrap, has verified the numerous calculations. And Prof. Kielhorn and other Sanskritists have furnished notes on various single points. The result is that a very considerable proportion of Bérnini's statements and quotations has been verified, and that a very large number of the dark points have received light. Taken together with the copious and judicious introduction, the notes furnish a very good guide for those who wish to utilise Bérnini's work.

These achievements are such that even a Sanskritist, and so much more an Arabist, might regard them with just pride. Nevertheless there is yet, as Professor Sachau himself says, (Preface, p. xlix) something to do for Sanskritists in connection with the India. It will probably take some time until all the Sanskrit names and words in Bérnini's text have been restored to their proper shape, and perhaps somewhat longer until his sources have been all identified and his treatment of them has been fully elucidated. For the restoration of the rarer names and terms one must wait, as in the case of all more difficult conjectural emendations, for a lucky moment, without which mere laborious poring over the distorted letters remains useless. A few instances which, it seems to me, confirm the truth of this assertion, and which possess some interest, may be here adduced. Bérnini repeatedly quotes astronomical works with the title *Śrāddhara* or rather *SRVDHV*, which he ascribes to different authors. There cannot be a doubt that the name is corrupt. Professor Sachau suggests that it may be *Sarvadkhara* (p. xxxix.) or *Śrōtavya* (p. 158, 807), to which former emendation I gave my adhesion, when Professor Sachau consulted me regarding it. Neither is, however, correct. *SRVDHV* is without doubt the Sanskrit *Sārāddhara*, 'an extract of the essentials.' This

word is extremely common (see the smaller Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*), both as an independent title and as the second part of a title, which according to the Indian custom of abbreviating long names, may be used for the whole. If I had noticed formerly that Bārṇi not rarely neglects to note the Sanskrit *ā* by *ali*, I suppose I should have been able to make a better suggestion than to approve of the possible but unusual *Sarvadhara*. Again Bārṇi quotes, I. p. 157, a title *RAHVYNAKEN*, which he renders by 'the breaking of the Karanas.' Professor Sachau transliterates doubtfully *Rāhvārāṇa* (?) and adds in the note that one would expect the word *Karāṇa* to stand in the beginning. Nevertheless it seems to me that the Arabic transcription is nearly correct. The Sanskrit equivalent is *Rāhvārāṇa*, which means literally 'the removal of Rāhu.' Rāhu, the demon of the eclipses and of darkness, has been used figuratively to denote the bad Karanas, which by their erroneous teaching obscure the light of science. Similar highflown titles are very common in Sanskrit literature, and Bārṇi gives some instances (Vol. I. p. 156). His translation 'breaking the Karanas' is also in substance correct. But it may easily mislead. Further, Bārṇi tells us (Vol. II. p. 178) that the Kāśmīrians celebrated on the second of Chaitra a festival called *agḍa*, on account of a victory gained by their king *Muttā* over the Turks. In the course of some further remarks on this king, we hear that he ruled at a time 'not much anterior to our time.' This note greatly interested me, when Professor Sachau first communicated it to me some years ago, but I was unable to suggest who *Muttā* could be. Now the solution appears to me very simple. *Muttā*, in Arabic مطّا, is a mistake of the copyist for مطّا, which latter

may stand according to Bārṇi's method of transcription either for *Muttāpir* or for *Muttāpiḍ*. The latter form is no doubt intended. It is the still used Kāśmīrian Prākṛit for Sanskrit *Muktāpīḍa*.¹ *Muktāpīḍa* is the second name of Lalitāditya, who ruled, according to Sir A. Cunningham's adjusted chronology of the *Rājatarāṅgī*, from 726-763 A.D. or about 270 years before Bārṇi. The *Rājatarāṅgī* highly extols his victory over the Tukhāras, to the north of Kāśmīr. These are doubtless the Turks, mentioned by Bārṇi. A good many other incorrect forms may be set right by a comparison of partly untranslated, partly unpublished Sanskrit texts, as I shall show further on. Here I will, however, note

that the names of the festivals in Chapter LXXVI. (Vol. II. p. 179) may all or nearly all be emended with the help of Hēmādri's *Vratatāṇḍa* and many even by an inspection of the *Vratardja*. Thus Bārṇi's festival *Harbāl* (?) on Bhādrapada sukla 8 is of course the *Hāriddhika-vrata*; *Gāhat* on the 8th of the same month, the *Kapild-Shashik* (*gā*, 'a cow,' being the equivalent of *kapild*, 'a brown cow' and *hat* the Prākṛit form for *shashik*); the festival *dhruvagrīha* (?) on the 8th of Bhādrapada, is the *Dhruva-Ashṭami* or *Dhruvākura-Ashṭami*, and the *Paricart* (?) on the 11th, is the *Paricartīnā-Śuddhā*, when Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva turns in his sleep.

The second task which awaits the Sanskritist in connection with the *Indica*, the verification of the quotations from Sanskrit authors, is more arduous, particularly in the case of the less known works. But it yields by no means insignificant results. In order to show what may be gained by it, I shall go through Bārṇi's translations from the *Viṣṇu-Dharma*, from which work he quotes more than thirty passages. He describes it (Vol. I. p. 132) as a book on 'the religion of God who in this case is understood to be *Nārāyaṇa*.' In his note to Vol. I. p. 54, Professor Sachau very shrewdly points out that some of the quotations contain Bhāgavata doctrines, and conjectures that the work is probably identical with the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* mentioned by Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. 284, etc.). Until lately I held the same opinion, and expressed it to Professor Sachau, when he consulted me regarding this and other titles. For I remembered that the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which I discovered during my Kāśmīr tour in 1875, is a Bhāgavata composition and somewhat resembles a Purāṇa. When, however, thanks to the liberality of Mr. Chatfield, who kindly has lent me the MSS. Nos. 89-91 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-77, I was able to examine the work thoroughly, I found that Bārṇi has used not only this work, but a second homonymous one, and has erroneously considered both to be one.

The Kāśmīrian *Viṣṇudharmottara*, from which the greater number of his quotations has been taken, is a large book, which contains three Kāṇḍas with about 21,000 ślokas. It is certainly a production of the Bhāgavata sect. Each Kāṇḍa begins with the well known Bhāgavata Mantra:—

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।

देवीं सरस्वतीं ध्यासं ततो ज्ञानमुदीरयेत् ॥

¹ The shortening of the penultimate *i* is due to the stress which is put on the long *ā*. Similarly *Jayapīḍa* is now in Kāśmīrian *Jyīḍ*.

The type of Vaishnavism, which it teaches, is not the licentious worship of the shepherd Krishna, but one similar to that described by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar in his paper on the Fāḷcharitra or Śāttvata system in the *Transactions* of the Aryan Section of the VIIth Int. Or. Congress. On the whole, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* preaches Śmārta doctrines and practices, replacing Brahman by Viṣṇu, and mixing the Vedic rites with Vratas in honour of the latter deity. Some passages, which mention the river Taushī, i.e. the modern Tōhī, the sacred lake Bindusaras, &c., show an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kāśmīr, and make it probable that the book has been written or received its present shape in Kāśmīr. The whole is stated to have been communicated by the Bīshī Mārkaṇḍeya to king Vajra, a son of Aniruddha and a contemporary of Parīkṣit. As is usual in this class of works, there are, however, a good many other interlours. The language shows the slipshod Sanskrit, common to all Purāṇas, and the author does not shrink from coining the most absurd forms, when they suit his convenience. Thus we find (I. 253,3) the accusative singular *duhitām* in the following verse:—

कसत्स वामनेस्त्व दुहिता मानसी स्वबम् ।
रसो प्रजापतिः श्रीमान् रूपवो वनसेतुताम् ॥

The first Kāṇḍa, which contains 269 Adhyāyas, very much resembles the first Kāṇḍas of other Purāṇas. It narrates the creation or rather the successive creations of the world, gives the usual Pāṇḍic accounts of geography, astronomy and time, numerous genealogies and legends, and some Stōtras, as well as rules regarding certain Vratas and the Śrāddhas. Among the legends, a long account of the loves of Purāṇas and Urvāśī, which fills Adhyāyas 180-187, deserves to be mentioned, as it comes a little closer to Kālidāsa's story than the other known versions.

The second Kāṇḍa, which is said to have been originally revealed by Vārūṇi Pushkara to Parāśurama, is about as large as the first. The chapters are, however, not numbered continuously in the MS. accessible to me, and my statement is therefore only an estimate. It is filled chiefly with treatises on Dharma and Rājantī, but con-

tains also something on Vratas, Śāntis, medicine, the Dhanurvéda, astronomy and astrology. The portions on Dharma and Rājantī include many verses found in the *Mānava-Dharmasūtra*. The section on astronomy, which is chiefly in prose, bears the separate title, *Pañcama-Siddhānta*. The preamble states that it was originally communicated by Brahman to Bhṛigu. Next Vārūṇi Pushkara revealed it to Parāśurama, and finally Mārkaṇḍeya to Vajra.¹ It consists of nine Adhyāyas with about 400 Granthas, viz.: I. *śikhā*, II. *jātaka*, III. *upakaraṇa*, IV. *grahagati*, V. *tithimāhātara*, VI. *chādyā*, VII. *lagna*, VIII. *udayastamaya*, IX. *pañcama-siddhāntam* (!). After the last colophon, which is no doubt faulty, and stands for *pañcama-siddhānta*, follow the words *samṛptaḥ pañcama-siddhāntam*. This *Pañcama-Siddhānta* is certainly that on which Brahmagupta in 628-29 A. D. founded his *Sphuṭa-Brahmasiddhānta*. For it contains the passages, quoted by the commentators of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and printed by Mr. Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 348 note 4; ed. Cowell). Its character has been appropriately described by Dr. Thibaut (*Pañcama-siddhānta*, p. xxi.), who assigns it 'to the modern phase of Hindu astronomy.' It is full of Greek terms, such as *śāntara*, *līpta*, *sunaphā*, *hibuja*, &c. I may add that it shows the influence of the Vaishnavas; for, in the beginning of Adhyāya III., Time is identified with Viṣṇu:—*अमाधि[र]विषयः कालः प्रजापति-विष्णुस्तस्य महर्गत्वनसारेण गणितम् ॥*

It further shows a very close connexion with the section on Time in the first Kāṇḍa, which resemblance may be explained either by the assumption that both portions of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* have been composed by the same author, or that the *Siddhānta* is an older book, according to which the chapters of the first Kāṇḍa have been modelled.

The third Kāṇḍa gives short treatises on Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammar, on lexicology, metrics, poetics, dancing, singing and instrumental music, as well as detailed instructions for sculptors and painters making images of the gods, for architects constructing temples, and for priests consecrating images or sacred buildings. It is much shorter than the other two and contains only 118 Adhyāyas.

¹ It begins:—अथ मार्कण्डेयः । अथ मार्कण्डेयो रामो वरुण-
नन्दं पुनरुक्तं पश्यन् । मगवन् ज्योतिषामयन् श्रोतुमिच्छामि ।
तमुवाच वरुणः । पुरा मुरारिमध्यगतं मगवन्मतिष्ठयिन् संजग-
सर्व[जगत्सम]पावनसंहारकरं श्रीवराहं मूर्धुर्विज्ञापयामास ।
मगवन् ज्योतिषामयन् श्रोतुमिच्छामि । तमुवाच मगवान्पुतामहः ।
यदा ते त्वं कृष्णो हृदयज्जलस्तदा मया ते लोकानां चतुर्वि-
धविषयः [४] ज्योतिषां प्रकृतं तदेवास्मिन्नाहने यदे महादे-

वशापेन ज्वालां मिच्छ विनिर्गतस्य जन्मान्तरोत्पन्नस्यातिर्वि-
[शि]तं वक्ष्यामि । तच्छ्रुत्वा सर्वमेव ते पूर्वजन्माभिहितं ज्योति-
षानमाविर्गेष्यति । अथ मगवान्हरिश्चन्द्रमिषमो विमज्ज-
मयुजः । . . .

The last verse is:

वेदास्तु यज्ञार्थमभिपूजाः क[र्त्ता]मानुपूर्णा विहिताश्च वज्रः ।
तस्यादिदे कालविषयश्चास्त्वं यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद सर्वज्ञः ॥

As might be expected from these facts, all Bérnini's quotations from the *Vishnu-Dharma*, in which Mārkaṇḍeya is mentioned as the speaker, have been taken from the Kāśmīrian *Vishnu-Dharmottara*. In order to show exactly how Bérnini has

treated the original, I give heretwenty-two passages in full, quoting (1) the Sanskrit text, (2) my translation, and (3) Bérnini's rendering, the latter two in parallel columns. I mark the discrepancies by italics and add explanatory notes regarding them.

I. Vishnu-Dharmottara I. 29, 16 b.

वृद्धिर्मे निर्मले पृथ्वी ससैलवनकानना ॥ १६ ॥
सप्ताकृतिः सदा वृद्धया ससलरमास्वतीनव ।
तेनैव कारयेन स्वमुच्यते मुगलाम्भनः ॥ १७ ॥

(16.) "In thy³ pure disk the earth together with its mountains, groves and forests" —

(17.) "Is always visible in the shape of a hare; hence thou art called *Sasalakṣman* (hare-marked). For the same reason thou art called *Mrigalākṣhmana* (deer-marked)."

Indica II. 102: — The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: —

"The moon is called *Sasalakṣha*,⁴ for the globe of her body is watery reflecting the figure of the earth, as a mirror reflects." On the earth there are mountains and trees of different shapes, which are reflected in the moon as a hare's figure. It is also called *Mrigalākṣhmana*, i. e. the figure of a gazelle, for certain people compare the black part on the moon's face to the figure of a gazelle."⁵

II. V. Dh. I. 72, 17 b.

आदिस्वभावायोगेन सौरी दिवस उच्यते ॥ १७ ॥

(17.) "The solar day is declared (to be completed) by the enjoyment (bhōga) of the share of the sun."

Indica I. 358: —

According to the *Vishnu-Dharma* this [the solar day] is the time of the sun's passing his bhukti.

III. V. Dh. I. 72, 18 b.-19 a.

माने मासस्तु मासवः सप्तविंशतिभिर्दिने ॥ १८ ॥
परिचयेषु मासे[ने]षु मासस्त्रिंशदिनः स्युतः ।

(18 b.) "In its measure the sidereal month (is completed) by twenty-seven days."

(19 a.) "In the other measures the month is stated to consist of thirty days."

Indica I. 354: —

"According to the *Vishnu-Dharma* the sidereal month has only twenty-seven days, whilst the months of the other measures have thirty days."

IV. V. Dh. I. 72, 19b.-28a.

सौरेणादस्तु मासे[ने] न वशा भवति मार्गव ॥ १९ ॥
साधनेन तु मानेन दिनपट्टेन पूर्वते ।
ऊनरात्र्याथ ते प्रोक्ताः संवत्सरिण पट् ॥ २० ॥
सौरसंवत्सरस्त्वान्ते मानेन दधिजेन तु ।
एकादशातिरिच्यन्ते दिनानि भृगुनम्बन ॥ २१ ॥
मास[समा]द्वये साष्ठमासे दिनषोडशकानि[म्ब]ते ।
न[मा]लीचतुष्टयान्ते तु तस्मान्मासोपतिरिच्यते ॥ २२ ॥
स चाभिमासकः प्रोक्तः क्षाम्यकर्मषु गार्हितः ।

³ The moon is addressed by *Īvara* or *Śiva*.

⁴ *Lakṣha* is probably due to a clerical mistake.

⁵ This is, of course an explanatory interpolation of Bérnini's. Regarding the watery nature of the moon, see below No. XVIII, verse 3.

⁶ This is again an interpolation by Bérnini, who explains *Mrigalākṣhmana* wrongly as a *Takpuruṣa*

compound.

⁷ In his remarks on this statement Bérnini says that it must be due to a mistake in the text of the *Vishnu-Dharma*. This is, however, not the case, as various other Sanskrit works give the division of the sidereal month into twenty-seven days in accordance with the ancient number of the *Nakṣatras*.

(19 b.) "But when, *O descendant of Bhrigu*, a year has elapsed according to the *solar measure* (*Saura māna*),"

(20.) "It must be completed according to the civil measure (*Sāvana māna*) by (adding) six days; and (hence) six *Ānarātras* are declared (to exist) in (each) year."

(21.) "But at the end of the solar year eleven days are in excess as compared with the lunar measure (*Chāndra māna*), *O son of Bhrigu*."

(22.) "In two years eight months, and sixteen days, at the end of four *Nādikā* (*Nādikā*) there is for this reason a month in excess."

(23.) "That is called the *Adhimāsa* (intercalary month), (which is) unpropitious for all reward-desiring rites."

V. V. Dh. I. 73, 13.

मेपादिपुङ्गे सूर्ये तेषां दिवस उच्यते ।

शुक्रादिपुङ्गे सूर्ये तेषां रात्रिः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १३ ॥

(23.) "The period during which the sun passes through the six (signs) beginning with Aries is called their (the *Dēvas*) day; (the period) during which the sun passes through the six (signs) beginning with Libra is declared to be their night."

Indica I. 381: —

"Not much better is what the author of the *Vishnu-Dharma* says: —

'The half beginning with Capricornus is the day of the *Asura*, i.e. the *Dānavas*, and their night begins with the sign of Cancer.'¹² Previously he had said: — 'The half beginning with Aries is the day of the *Dēva*.'"

VI. V. Dh. I. 73, 14-16.

पितृणां चान्द्रमासेन अहोरात्रीमिधीयते ।

कृष्णपक्षादमे मध्ये तेषां रात्र्युपवः स्मृतः ॥ १४ ॥

शुक्लपक्षादमे मध्ये तेषामस्तमवस्तया ।

मर्धरात्रः पौर्णमास्यां पितृणां समुदाहृतः ॥ १५ ॥

कृष्णपक्षावसाने च तेषां मध्याह्न उच्यते ।

शुक्लपक्षावसाने तस्मात्तेषां भ्रातृः प्रकीर्तते ॥ १६ ॥¹³

(24.) "A day and a night of the manes is said (to be completed) by a lunar month. On the eighth of the dark half, in the middle (of the day), the rising of the *sodiacal sign* is stated (to take place) for them ;"

Indica I. 328-329: — "After the human day follows *Pitṛinām ahôrātra*, i.e. the *nycthemeron* of the forefathers Evidently their moon (read noon) is the time of the conjunction or full-moon and their midnight at opposition or

¹² Here our text seems to be at fault, and Bérnini to have the correct reading. For the *Chāndra māna* has six days less than the *Sāvana māna*, — viz. 354 solar days, against 360.

¹³ This is an explanatory note, added by Bérnini. It is in substance correct, but he erroneously takes *and* for a substantive.

¹⁴ It is difficult to find a good reason why Bérnini has given an incorrect figure for the months and has omitted the days and *Nādikā*, which agree almost exactly with the particulars of his accurate description, which follows immediately after his quotation. I suppose the Arabic

text must be corrupt, especially as Bérnini does not say that the figures of the *Vishnu-Dharma* are wrong.

¹⁵ This is a very slovenly paraphrase of the text, which forbids only the performance of those rites by which the worshipper desires to obtain some particular result.

¹⁶ It is very probable that a verse, containing this statement which is not found in the present text, has been accordingly omitted. It probably stood immediately after verse 18.

¹⁷ भ्रातृः is unusual in Sanskrit; perhaps the author wishes यज्ञः to be understood with it.

(15.) "Likewise its setting on the eighth of the bright half, in the middle (of the day). The midnight of the manes is said (to be) on the full-moon day."

(16.) "And at the end of the dark half is stated (to be) their midday. Hence the funeral oblations are offered to them at the end of the dark half of the month."

new-moon. Therefore the nycthemeron of the forefathers is a complete lunar month, the day beginning at the time of half moon, when the light on the moon's body begins to increase and the night beginning at the time of half moon when her light begins to wane The day of this nycthemeron extends from the last quarter of a month to the first quarter of the succeeding month; the night from the first to the second quarter of one identical month. The totality of these two halves is the nycthemeron of the forefathers. Thus the subject is explained by the author of *Vishnu-Dharma* both at large and in detail, but afterwards he treats it a second time with very little understanding, and identifies the day of the forefathers with the black half of the month and their night with the white half, whilst the correct statement is that which is just mentioned. This view is also confirmed by their custom of offering food to the forefathers on the day of conjunction, for they explain noon to be the time of taking food. For this reason they offer food to the forefathers at the same time when they themselves take it."¹⁴

VII. V. Dh. I. 73, 18-19, 355-40.

समाग[रा]नैर्द्वावृत्तिर्दिश्यैस्तिष्ठन्नुगं स्मृतम् ।
 द्विगुणं द्वापरं शेषं त्रेता त्रिगुणमुच्यते ॥ १७ ॥
 चतुर्गुणं कृतं प्रोक्तं पिण्डितं चाश्वसंख्यया ।
 चतुर्वेगं सहस्राणि राम द्वावृत्तं कीर्तितम् ॥ १९ ॥
 चतुर्वेगेकसप्तत्वा मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ॥ २५ ॥
 कल्पस्तु राम विशेषो मनवस्तु चतुर्वेदः ।
 आदिमध्वान्तरालेषु मयूनां शृणुसत्तम ॥ ३६ ॥
 कृतमात्रमात्रेण संधिर्भवति मामह ।
 चतुर्वेगसहस्रं तु कल्पमाहर्मेनीषिणः ॥ ३७ ॥
 कल्पश्च दिवसः प्रोक्तो ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ।
 तावती च निशा तस्मै तस्मां शेते स भार्गव ॥ ३८ ॥
 एवंविधैरहीराजैर्दिनमासाद्य संख्यया ।
 पूर्णं वर्षं शतं सर्वं ब्रह्मा भार्गव जीवति ॥ ३९ ॥

¹⁴ Bérn's discussion shows that in his copy of the *Vishnudharmottara* the words *kṛishna*, 'dark,' and *śukla*, 'bright,' in verses 14b and 15a had exchanged places and possibly also the words *ardhadr̥ta* and *mīdhya* in verses 15a and 16b. These discrepancies can however only be accidental mistakes, such as have happened also in the *Mahābhārata*, XII. 232, 10, where the same error about the day and the night of the manes occurs. For all authorities from the earliest *Dharma* and *Grhyasūtras* to the latest *Prayōgas* agree that the manes wake during the dark half of the month and that the Śrāddhas must as a rule be offered during that period, not on the full-moon day, as Bérn asserts. Full-moon Śrāddhas are only exceptionally permissible in the month of *Māgha*, which is sacred to the manes. A minor allp in Bérn's discussion is the statement that

the night extends 'from the first to the second quarter of one identical month.' It ought to be to the third quarter. His remark that the same matter is discussed again in the *Vishnudharmottara* is true. The 142nd chapter of the first *Kāṇḍa* gives the times for the Śrāddhas. They do not differ from the ordinary ones, and, though there is no distinct statement to the effect that the dark half of the month is the day of the fathers, any intelligent reader may gather as much from the tenor of the rules, the first of which enjoins that Śrāddhas are to be offered on the new-moon day. There is further a third passage on this subject in the *Pañcama-Siddhānta*, *Upākaraṇādhyāya*; पितृणामहोरात्रः । तेषां कृष्णार्द्धम्यामर्कोदयः । अमावास्यायां मध्याह्नः । शुक्लार्द्धस्यामर्कोस्तमयः । पौर्णिमास्यामर्धरात्रः । "The day and night

(8-19.) "The Tishya age is stated¹⁴ (to consist of) 1200 divya (years). Know the Dvāpara to be double (of that); the Trētā is declared to be treble; the Kṛitayuga fourfold; and a Chaturyuga is said, O Rāma, (to consist of) the sum of the number of (their) years, viz. 12,000."

(25b.) "One Manvantara is here declared (to consist) of 71 Chaturyugas."

(26-27.) "But know, O Rāma, that 14 Manus are one Kalpa. At the beginning, in the middle (between each two Manvantaras) and in the interval¹⁵ there is a Saṁdhi, O lord, of the measure of one Kṛitayuga. But the wise call 1000 Chaturyugas one Kalpa."¹⁶

(28.) "And a Kalpa is declared to be a day of Brahman-Paramahansa; and his night during which he sleeps, O Son of Bhṛigu, is of equal length."

(29.) "Brahman lives one whole century which consists of such nycthemera, days, months and so forth, O Son of Bhṛigu."¹⁷

In connection with this passage Bérnī states that the above was communicated by Varuṇa to Rāma the son of Daśaratha, and that the same information was also given by Bhārgava, i.e. Mārkaṇḍeya. Bérnī, moreover, adds with respect to the latter: "He is to the Hindus like the angel of death who kills them with his seat, being *apratidhṛishya* (irresistible)." This is a curious mixture of truth and error. The *Viśva-karmadhāra* declares indeed, that chapters 72-73 were originally revealed by Varuṇa to Rāma, which latter is, however, not the son of Daśaratha, but, as is explicitly stated in the beginning of chapter 71, the son of Jamadagni, who belongs to Bhṛigu's

Indice I. 372;—"The author of the *Viśva-Dharma* says:—

"Twelve hundred divya years are one yuga, called tishya. The double of it is a dvāpara, the triple a trētā, the quadruple a kṛita, and all four yugas together are one chaturyuga, i.e. the four yugas or sums.¹⁸

Seventy-one chaturyugas are one manvantara, and 14 manvantaras, together with a Saṁdhi of the duration of one Kṛitayuga between each two of them, are one Kalpa."

Two Kalpas are a nycthemeron of Brahman, and his life is a hundred years, or one day of Parāśa, the first man of whom neither beginning nor end is known."¹⁹

race. The further assertion that the same information was given by Mārkaṇḍeya, and that the latter was a Bhārgava, is correct. But the last note regarding Bhārgava-Mārkaṇḍeya's being like the angel of death who kills with his seat, is sheer nonsense. No such story occurs in the *V. Dh.* or any other Sanskrit work known to me. Bérnī, who knew, as other passages show, the story of Parāśurāma-Bhārgava, seems to have mixed up the latter with Mārkaṇḍeya. Parāśurāma slew all the Kshatriyas with his axe and was indeed *apratidhṛishya*. The mention "of the seat," which is utterly inexplicable, is, I suppose, due to a clerical mistake in the Arabic text.

VIII. V. Dh. I. 73, 60.

ब्रह्मरूपं परिच्छिन्नः पौरुषो विवस्वतः स्मृतः ।

सप्तवीं च विंशतिं सत्यं सत्वेद् अक्षरं समम् ॥ ६० ॥

of the manes. Their sunrise (takes place) on the eighth (day) of the dark (half of the month); midday on the new moon day; sunset on the eighth of the bright (half of the month); midnight on the full-moon day." Though this passage would agree better with his remark, I do not think that he refers to it, because his remarks on the *Siddhāntas* lead one to infer that he did not know the *Pañcama-Siddhānta* (see Vol. I. 153-154).

¹⁴ Bérnī intentionally omits all the numerous expletive words which the Sanskrit author requires in order to make up the verse.

¹⁵ The beginning and the end of this phrase have been omitted by Bérnī, though it must have stood in his text. For without the words *atā* and *antara* the verse would be incomplete. This omission involves a bad mistake, as it vitiates the calculation. According to Bérnī the

Kalpa consists of $14 \times 71 = 994$ Chaturyugas and 13 Saṁdhis = 12,400 years = 5 Chaturyugas and 2,400 years; while it ought to have 7,000 years more, in order to consist of 1,000 Chaturyugas. Bérnī states correctly that the Kalpa contains this number (Vol. I. 368).

¹⁷ This clause has probably been omitted intentionally, because it teaches nothing new, but merely sums up the preceding statements.

¹⁸ This explanation is not intelligible and probably due to a corruption in the Arabic text. It ought to be "i.e. the sum of the four yugas."

¹⁹ Bérnī omits all this, probably because he considered it to be mere padding.

²⁰ These words are a translation of verse 60, which is given together with a second rendering by Bérnī in the next extract.

(60.) "A day of Purusha is declared to be defined by the life of Brahman, and of equal length is a night of him to whom the whole world (belongs)."

Indica I. 832: "The *Vishnu-Dharma* says: 'The life of Brahman is the day of Purusha, and the night of Purusha has the same length.'"²¹

IX. V. Dh. I. 80, 1-2.

वज्र उवाच । ब्रह्मणोऽस्मिन् समुत्पत्ताचारम्भं क्षुमहायुतेः ।
कालस्त्रयं गतिमिच्छामि श्रोतुं भृगुकुलोद्भवे ॥ १ ॥
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । स्वेनाहोरात्रमनेन ब्रह्मणोऽस्मिन् अगस्त्ये ।
सनाह[र]कं गतं राजन्यस्य मासास्त्रयेव च ॥ २ ॥
महोरात्रचतुष्कं च वर्तमानमिनामृतम् ।
अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तस्मै निगद्यतः शृणु ॥ ३ ॥
मय्यः ब्रह्मताः सप्त संवत्सराः तया गताः ।
सप्तविंशत्यवतीताश्च तथैव च चतुर्बुधाः ॥ ४ ॥
त्रयमवर्षं तया तीर्तं वर्तमानचतुर्बुधात् ।
संवत्सराणां द्वादशं तया कलियुगाग्रतम् ॥ ५ ॥
कात्या[यन]श्चमेघकालेस्मिन्सह पक्षेण जायते ।
मयिष्वाणामतीतामां ब्रह्मणां पुरिहसिप ॥ ६ ॥
अमादिमत्स्यकालस्त्रयं संस्तुवा बभूव न शक्यते ।
येयावाः सिकता धारा यया वर्षसि वासवः ॥ ७ ॥
सप्तवा सप्तविंशं राजस्य ध्वसीताः पितामहाः ।
अमृतवर्तां बुधां बुधा सर्वस्व अगतीपतेः ॥ ८ ॥
तन्मार्गं परिमार्यन्ते बहिष्णोः परतं परम् ।

Vajra said : —

(1.) "I wish to hear, O Scion of Bhṛigu's race, the length of time elapsed since the birth of this (present) most resplendent Brahman."

Mārkaṇḍeya answered : —

(2.) "Eight years, O King, of this Brahman (who is) lord of the world, have passed, and five months, measured by the measure of his nycthemera ;"

(3.) "Further, four nycthemera have elapsed (reckoning) from the present day. (Listen to that what I shall tell thee now!)"²²

(4.) "Six Manus have also passed and seven Sakhis, — likewise twenty-seven Chaturyugas have gone ;"

(5.) "And three Yugas have passed, since (the beginning of) the present Chaturyuga, and ten years out of the present Kaliguga,"

(6-9.) "At the time of thy Advamēdha, together with a fortnight, O Scion of Yājñ. The number of (the years contained in) the time of the

Indica II. 2 : — The book *Vishnu-Dharma* says : "Vajra asked Mārkaṇḍeya how much of the life of Brahman had elapsed?" Whereupon the sage answered : That which has elapsed is 8 years, 5 months, 4 days, 6 Manvantaras, 7 Sakhis, 27 Chaturyugas, and 3 Yugas of the twenty-eighth Chaturyuga, and 10 *divya*²³ years, up to the time of the Advamēdha which thou hast offered."

He who knows the details of this statement and comprehends them duly is a sage man, and the sage is he who serves the only Lord and strives

²¹ For another translation of this passage see the preceding extract.

²² This is probably an interpolation, as it needlessly interrupts the enumeration and disturbs the order of the verses.

²³ This word is not in the text.

²⁴ Bérthel's statement is wrong, as he has left out the additional fortnight, i. e. *divya* fortnight mentioned in verse 6a. Without *apara pataṅga* the verse would be incomplete.

past and of the future Brahmins cannot be (accurately) expressed, O thou who givest large sacrificial fees, because it has no beginning. The sand of the Gaṅgā and the rain-drops, as Vāsava sends them, can be counted, (but) not, O King, the past Brahmins. The sages who know that each lord of the world (Brahman) has an end, seek the path to that (place) which is the highest step (paramapada) of Vishnu."

to reach the neighbourhood of that place which is called Paramapada."²⁰

X. V. Dh. I. 81, 1-2.

वज्र उवाच । त्वदीदितानां धर्मज्ञ सनासेन पृथक् पृथक् ।
कालस्त्वावब्रूवामां च श्रोतुमिच्छामि देवताः ॥ १ ॥
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । पौरुषं ब्रह्मोपायं श्रुतवानसि ब्राह्म ।
कालात्मा पुरुषस्तस्व सर्वभूषपतिः प्रभुः ॥ २ ॥

Vajra spoke:—

(1.) "O thou who knowest the law, I wish to hear the deities of time and of its sub-divisions which thou hast briefly and severally explained."

Mārkaṇḍeya spoke:—

(2.) "Of which day and night of Puruṣa, thou hast heard, O Scion of Yadu, the lord of that is Puruṣa who is time, and who is the ruler of all creatures."

Indica I. 321.—

In the book *Vishnu-Dharma*, Vajra speaks to Mārkaṇḍeya: "Explain to me the times;"²¹

Whereupon the latter answers:

"Duration is *divyapurusha*, i. e. a breath, and *purusha* which means the lord of the universe."²²

XI. V. Dh. I. 81, 3-6.

कल्पस्तत्रैवर्षं ब्रह्मा सत्त्वेर्षं सकलं जगत् ।
ब्रह्मान्मन्वन्तराणां तु मनवस्तु चतुर्विधः ॥ ३ ॥
स्वर्वाभुवस्तु प्रथमो मनुः स्वरोचिषस्तथा ।
..... ॥ ४ ॥
..... ।
वैवस्वतोय सावर्णो ब्रह्मपुत्रस्तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥
धर्मपुत्रो रुद्रपुत्रो इक्ष्वाकुश्च ब्राह्म ।
राक्षसो [रीच्यो] भौतिश्च [स्वय] धर्मात्मा मनवस्तु चतुर्विधः ॥ ६ ॥

(3.) "The deity of the Kalpa is Brahman, to whom this whole world belongs; but (the lords) of the Manvantaras are the fourteen Manus according to their order:—

(4.) "Svāyambhuva, the first Manu, next Svārōchisha then Vaivasvata, Sāvarna, like-

Indica I. 336-7.—In the book *Vishnu-Dharma*, Mārkaṇḍeya gives to Vajra the following answer: "Puruṣa is the lord of the universe;"²³ the lord of the kalpa is Brahman, the lord of the world: but the lord of the Manvantara is Manu.

There are fourteen Manus, from whom the kings of the earth ruling at the beginning of each Manvan-

²⁰ Bérnini has left out verses 66-8a probably because he considered them to be irrelevant. His attempt to translate verses 8b-9a is a failure. He has not understood the first line, and makes simply nonsense of it.

²¹ Bérnini seems to have left out the 'deities' and the 'subdivisions,' because his immediate purpose was to prove that 'Time is considered by some Hindus to be the primal thing.'

²² Bérnini's translation shows some very bad mistakes. First it leaves verse 2a out. Secondly it disregards the word *tasya* in verse 2b. Thirdly it assumes the possibility of construing *kālaḥ divyapurushaḥ* (ast), while *kālātman* (i. e. *kālaḥ ātman yasya*) is an adjective qualifying *purushaḥ*.

Fourthly it erroneously supplies the words 'which means,' instead of 'and who is.' The result is complete nonsense, such as no Sanskrit author ever wrote.

²³ It is evident that the text is here incomplete. Two lines have probably been lost. The missing names of the Manus are, according to chapters V. Dh. I. 178-181, Antata, Tāmasa, Raivata and Chākusha.

²⁴ The first clause is another attempt at translating verse 2, given in the preceding extract. Bérnini seems to have forgotten his previous rendering, and gives here one which is intelligible, but takes into account only two words of the whole verse.

wise Brahmaputra, Dharmaputra, Budraputra, Dakshaputra, *Rāṭya* (*Rauchya*)* and *Bhautya*, the righteous one, are, O Son of Yadu, the fourteen Manus."

tara are descended.²¹ Svāyambhuva, Sudrōchiya, Auttami, Stāmasa, Raivata, Ohakshusha, Vaivasvata, Sāvartī, Vishnu-Dharma, Dharmaputra, Budraputra, Dakshaputra, Raibhya (?), Bhautya."²²

XII. V. Dh. I. 81, 23b-28.

वज्र उवाच । कल्पानां सति सादृश्ये बह्वेवं भृगुमन्त्रम् ॥ २२ ॥
तदहं श्रोतुमिच्छामि तच्च मे कौतुकं महत् ।
मार्कण्डेय उवाच । कल्पानामसिद्धादृश्ये येषु मेवं मराधिप ॥ २३ ॥
समसीते यथा कल्पे षटे[ष्टे] मन्वन्तरे गते ।
सप्तमस्य चतुर्विंशे राजस्त्रेवाजुगे तथा ॥ २४ ॥
यदा रामेण समरे सगर्षो रावणो हतः ।
रामेणैव तथा राजन्कुम्भकर्पो निपातितः ॥ २५ ॥
वर्तमाने तु यद्वत् कल्पे बहुकुलोद्भव ।
रामस्य चरितं बह्वं तथा वाल्मीकिना शुभम् ॥ २६ ॥
अतीतकल्पे यद्वत् तं यथा तत्कालम्बो वने ।
बुधिति[ष्ठि]राज कथितं धर्मपुत्राव पार्थिव ॥ २७ ॥

I. 82, 7b-9a.

वर्तमाने तथा [तथा] कल्पे षटे [ष्टे] मन्वन्तरे गते ॥ २५ ॥
तस्यैव च [सप्तमस्य] चतुर्विंशे राजस्त्रेवाजुगे तथा ।
यदा रामेण समरे सगर्षो रावणो हतः ॥ २६ ॥
लक्ष्मणेन तथा [रा] राजन्कुम्भकर्पो निपातितः ।

Vajra said:—

(22, 23a.) Vajra said:— "O son of Bhṛigu, I wish to hear the differences between the Kalpas (which exist) in spite of their similarity. Great is my curiosity with respect to that."

Mārkaṇḍeya answered:—

(23b.) "Listen, O king, to the differences between the Kalpas (which exist) in spite of their very great similarity!"

(Lacuna).

(24.) "As in the past Kalpa, when the sixth Manvantara had gone, in the twenty-fourth Trētāyuga of the seventh, then, O king"—

(25.) "When Rāma had killed Rāvaṇa together with his host in battle, then that same Rāma slew Kuṁbhakarṇa, O king;"

Indica II 3:— Further the Vishnu-Dharma says:— "Mārkaṇḍeya says in answer to a question of Vajra.

I have already lived as long as 6 Kalpas and 6 Manvantaras of the seventh Kalpa, 23 Trētāyugas of the seventh Manvantara.

(Lacuna).

.
.
.
.

* The correction of the name, which is corrupt in the text, has been made according to chapter 183, where we have *Rauchya* as in other Purāṇas.

²¹ The relative clause is an interpolation. The information which it conveys has been taken from *Vishnu-dharmottara*, I. ch. 176-180, where the fourteen Manvantaras are described in detail and the kings, sprung from each Manu, are named.

²² This list has been taken from the table on p. 387. The form *Sudrōchiya* is due to a fault of the Arabic copyists who put *ya* for *sha*. *Auttami* is better than *Auttama* which occurs in V. Dh. chapter 176. But, as the text has, below and in chapter 183, also *Sāvartī* instead of *Sāvartī*, it is probable that *Auttama* was everywhere the form of the

V. Dh., which Bérault altered according to his other sources. *Stāmasa* is a monstrous form for *Tāmasa*, which occurs twice in Bérault's table. It has been caused by his taking the final *s* of the preceding name (*Auttama*-*Tāmasa* *taishā*) with this. Bérault's division of *akaryā* into *da* + *aryā* (Indica I. 368) and of *parāda* into *parā* + *da* are exactly similar, and show that his knowledge of the Sanskrit language was very imperfect. *Ohakshusha* with a short vowel in the first syllable is probably due to a slip of the pen. The substitution of *Vishnu-Dharma* for *Brahmaputra* is another clerical mistake. By some accident the title of the book from which the table has been taken has been put for the name of the Manu. The doubtful *Raibhya* is probably a misreading of the Arabic text *Bhautya* is the correct form according to V. Dh. I. 180.

(26) (82. 7b-8a.) "Thus in the present Kalpa, when the sixth Manvantara had gone, in the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga, of the seventh, then, O king!" —

(27) (82. 8b-9a.) "When Râma had killed Râvâya together with his host in battle, then Lakshmana slew Kumbhakarna, O king."

(28) (26.) "But that holy life of Râma which happened in the present Kalpa, O Son of Yadu's race, was composed in verse by Vâlmiki."

(89 a-b.) (27.) "That which happened in the past Kalpa, was narrated, O king, by me to Yudhishthira, the son of Dharma, in the Kâmyaka forest."²³

In the twenty-fourth Trêtâyuga Râma killed Râvâya, and Lakshmana, the brother of Râma killed Kumbhakarna. The two subjugated all the Râkshasas.

At that time Vâlmiki, the Rishi, composed the story of Râma and Râmâyana and eternalised it in his books.

It was I who told it to Yudhishthira, the son of Pându in the forest of Kâmyaka vana.

XIII. V. Dh. I. 82. 1.

भगवान्वासुदेवश्च तथा संकर्षणः प्रभुः ।

प्रद्युम्नश्चानिरुद्धश्च कृताशीनां च देवतः ॥ १ ॥

(1) "Worshipful Vâsudeva, further the lord Samkarahana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, are the deities of the Krita and the other (three ages)."

Indica I. 898, the book *Vishnu-Dharma* says: "The names of Hari, i. e. Nârâyana differ in the yugas. They are the following, Vâsudeva, Samkarahana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha."

XIV. V. Dh. I. 83. 3-9.

स्वाध्वैश्वर्यं वैशाखी मासश्चेवामिदेवतः ।

ज्येष्ठः [ज्येष्ठः] शाकः स्मृतौ मास आपादो वैश्वदेवतः ॥ ३ ॥

आषाढी विष्णुदेवतश्च जु[आ]शो भाद्रपदस्तथा ।

अश्विजुषस्त्वामिनी मास आश्विनः कार्तिकः स्मृतः ॥ ४ ॥

मार्गशीर्षस्तथा सौम्यः पौषः स्वाङ्गीचरैवतः ।

पिम्बो मासः स्मृतो माघः फाल्गुनी भगदैवतः ॥ ५ ॥

मासेषु मासदैवतश्चः शुक्लपक्षः प्रकीर्तितः ।

वक्ष्यामि कृष्णपक्षाणां देवतानि तवामघ ॥ ६ ॥

²³ The Sanakpi text of this piece is evidently mutilated. As Mârkandêya promises to show the differences between the Kalpas, he ought to tell two stories regarding Râma, while our text contains only one referring to the past Kalpa. And the existence of a lacuna is also indicated by the word *yathâ* in verse 24 for which no correlative occurs in the sequel. Now, two more verses, referring to the history of Râma in the present Kalpa are found in the next chapter after verse 7a, where they stand in no connection whatsoever with the preceding and following sentences. It is, therefore, most probable that these two verses have to be inserted after 81, 82, as has been done in the translation, and that the unintelligible word *tadâ*, which the first contains, has to be altered to *tathâ* in order to obtain the requisite correlative for *yathâ* in verse 24. The correctness of this view is also confirmed by Bérnî's translation. The latter gives also only one story regarding Râma. But that which it gives, i. e. a loose rendering of the two verses from chapter 82. It would seem that Bérnî's text was likewise mutilated and had preserved only the second story. From Bérnî's translation it further appears, that there is a second lacuna in our text before verse 24, as it shows nothing that corresponds to Mârkandêya's statement regarding the length of his life. As the assertion that Mârkandêya revealed the

Purâṇa 'during the seventh day of Brahman or Kalpa which had elapsed since his birth' occurs also V. Dh. I. 78, 1 (सप्तमस्तौ महाभाग तस्य दिवसस्त्वयम् । वर्तते ब्रह्मणो ब्रह्मस्त-
न - - -) it is very probable that one or two verses, giving accurate details regarding the period, have been lost. In this case Bérnî's extract is important for the restoration of the text, in spite of the fact that his text was likewise imperfect. As regards the details of his translation, they show his usual carelessness, important words being omitted, both permissible and improper substitutions being made, and a few absurdities, viz. 'the story of Râma and the Râmâyana,' in the forest of Kâmyaka vana, not being wanting.

²⁴ These words have been inserted in accordance with the last verse of the preceding chapter —

साध्व्यमेवाहिं मृगिपाल कल्पस्य कल्पस्य मयोदितौ ते ।

युगादिभिन्नस्य च देवतानि वक्ष्याम्यतस्तानि निबोध राजन् ।

"I have declared to thee, O King, the resemblances and the differences of each Kalpa, I will now recite the deities of that (Kalpa) which is divided into yugas and so forth, listen to them, O Prince!"

चैत्रे याम्यः स्मृतो राक्षसासिध्यान्वयन्तरे ।
 क्वेदो [उद्ये] रौद्रः स्मृतः पक्षस्वापाहः [हे] सार्प उच्यते ॥ ७ ॥
 पित्र्यश्च आवेने मासि सावित्र्यान्वयन्तरे ।
 मैत्र्यान्वयुजे मासि साक्र्यान्वयमिवेवते ॥ ८ ॥
 त्रया च मेघस्तः सौम्ये पौषे स्वाहिष्युदेवतः ।
 वारुणश्च तथा पित्र्ये काश्युने पौष्प उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

Tabular abstract of the deities of the Pakshas :—

Month.	MS.		Bérûni's Indica, I. 353.	
	Bright-half.	Dark-half.	Bright-half.	Dark-half.
Chaitra	Tvashtṛi	Yama	Tvashtṛi	Yāmya
Vaiśākha	Agni ²⁵	Agni	Indrdgni	Agnya
Jyāishtha	Sakra	Rudra	Sakra	Raudra
Āshāḍha	Viśvêdêvâḥ	Sarpâḥ	Viśvêdêvâḥ	Sârpa
Śrāvana	Vishṇu	Pitarâḥ	Vishṇu	Pitrya
Bhādrapada	Aja	Savitṛi	Aja	Sānta
Āsvayuja	Āvinaw	Mitra	Āsana	Maitra
Kārtika	Agni	Sakra	Agni	Sakra
Mārgaśīrsha	Sōma	Nirṛiti	Sōma	Nirṛiti
Pauṣa	Jiva	Vishnu	Jiva	Vishnu
Māgha	Pitarâḥ	Varuṇa	Pitrya	Varuṇa
Phālguna	Bhaga	Pūshan	Bhaga	Pūshan. ²⁶

XV. V. Dh. I. 83. 10-12.

भतः परं प्रयक्ष्यामि बह्वैवस्यो महः स्मृतः ।
 अमिरर्कः स्मृतः सौमो वरुणः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १० ॥
 अङ्गारकः कुमारश्च बुधश्च भगवान्हरिः ।
 बृहस्पतिः स्मृतः शक्रः शुक्रो देवी च पार्वती ॥ ११ ॥
 प्रजापतिः शमैश्चरो राहर्क्षे चो गणाधिपः ।
 विश्वकर्मा स्मृतः केतुर्जे महास्ते पुरा स्मृताः ॥ १२ ॥

The planets.	Deities according to MS.	According to Indica, II. 121.
Sun	Agni	Agni
Moon	Varuṇa	Vyāna (P)
Mars	Kumāra	Kalmāsha (P)
Mercury	Worahiptul Hari	Vishnu
Jupiter	Sakra	Sakra
Venus	Pārvati	Gauri
Saturn	Prajāpati	Prajāpati
Rāhu (the Head)	Gandāhipa	Ganapati (?)
Kētu (the Tail)	Viśvakarman	Viśvakarman ²⁷

²⁵ The reading of the text मास्येवासिदेवतः is a mistake for मैत्र्यासिदेवतः and Bérûni has the correct form.

²⁶ Bérûni's deities Yāmya, Agnya, Raudra, Sârpa, Pitrya, and Maitra are due to his having taken the adjectives, which mean 'he whose deity is Yama' etc., for names of the gods. The form Sānta is due to a clerical mistake, and stands for Sāvitṛa; the form Āsana is due to the Prākṛitic pronunciation of Āvinaw. In both cases the adjectives have likewise been put instead of the simple names of the gods. His Sakra instead of Sakra

is probably due to the Arabic copyist, who mistook the damma over k for an a and placed it wrongly, see also Professor Sachau's remarks on other errors of the kind, in his Preface to the Arabic text, p. xxxi.

²⁷ Bérûni's Vyāna, Kalmāsha and Sakra are due to mistakes of the copyist. Vishnu, Gauri and Ganapati have been substituted by Bérûni for the synonymous terms, standing opposite. They cannot have stood in his text, because they do not fit the metre. Thus the insertion of Vishnu instead of Hari would make the Anushtubh end with a spondee instead of a pyrrichius.

XVI. V Dh. I. 83. 13-21.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तव नक्षत्रदेवताः ।
 कृत्तिका अभिदेवत्या रोहिण्यां क्षेत्रः स्मृतः ॥ ११ ॥
 इन्वकः सोमदेवत्यो रौद्र आर्द्रात[स्त]या स्मृतः ।
 पुनर्वसुस्तयादित्वः पुष्यश्च गुरुदेवतः ॥ १४ ॥
 आश्लेषा सर्पदेवत्या मघाश्च पिशुनदेवताः ।
 आश्विनश्च पूर्वफाल्गुन्यामर्षमा च तथोत्तराः ॥ १५ ॥
 सावित्रश्च तथा हस्तश्चित्रा स्वाहा प्रकीर्तिता ।
 स्वातिश्च वारुणदेवत्यो नक्षत्रः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १६ ॥
 हनूनामीदेवता प्रोक्ता विद्याला भृगुमन्दन ।
 मैत्रमुक्षममूराधा धाकं ज्येष्ठा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १७ ॥
 तथा निर्वृतिदेवत्वं मूलं तज्ज्येष्ठवाहृतम् ।
 आप्तास्त्वा[स्व]पादपूर्वास्तु चोत्तरा वैश्वदेवताः ॥ १८ ॥
 मृगशिरा चैवाभिजिज्योक्तः श्रवणो वैष्णवः स्मृतः ।
 वासवं च तथा ऋक्षं धनिष्ठा[ष्टा] प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥ १९ ॥
 तथा शतभिषक् प्रोक्तो नक्षत्रं वारुणं नृप ।
 आर्जुन आ[म्र]परा पूर्वा अहिर्बुध्न्यस्तथोत्तरा ॥ २० ॥
 पौष्णं च देवती चर्षमन्विन्वाश्विनदेवतम् ।
 मरणश्च तथा ज्येष्ठा प्रोक्तास्ते[स्त] ऋक्षदे[हि]वताः ॥ २१ ॥

Nakshatras.	Deities according to MS.	According to Indica II. 121.
Kṛittikā	Agni	Agni
Rōhipi	Kṛṣṇa (the lord Ka)	Kṛṣṇa
Invaka (Mṛigaśiraha)	Sōma (the moon)	Indu (the moon) ²⁵
Ādrā	Rudra	Rudra
Punarvasu	Aditi	Aditi
Pushya	Guru (Bṛihaspati)	Guru (Jupiter)
Āślṣhā	Sarpāḥ	Sarpās
Maghāḥ	Pitarāḥ	Pitaras
Pūrva-Phālgunī	Bhaga	Bhaga
Uttara-Phālgunī	Aryaman	Aryaman
Hasta	Savitṛi	Savitṛi
Chitrā	Tvaṣṭṛi	Tvaṣṭṛi
Svātī	Vāyu	Vāyu
Viśākhā	Indrāgni	Indrāgni
Anūrādhā	Mitra	Mitra
Jyēṣṭhā	Sakra	Sakra
Mūla	Nirṛiti	Nirṛiti
Pūrva-Aśāḍhāḥ	Āpaḥ	Āpas
Uttara-Aśāḍhāḥ	Viśvêdêvāḥ	Viśvê[dêvas]
Abhijit	Brahman	Brahman
Śravaṇa	Vishnu	Vishnu
Dhanishṭhā	Vasavaḥ	Vasavas
Śatabhishaj	Varuṇa	Varuṇa
Pūrva-Bhādrapadā	Aja	[Aja Ekapād] ²⁶
Uttara-Bhādrapadā	Ahi Budhnya	Ahībudhnya
Révatī	Pūshan	Pūshan
Āśvini	Āśvina	Āśvina (P) ²⁶
Bharanī	Yama	Yama

²⁵ The substitution of *Indu* for *Sōma* has probably been made by Bérnū, though the metre would permit his form.

²⁶ This name is omitted in Bérnū's text, as Professor

Sechan states in his note on this table.

²⁶ This form is due to Bérnū's constant disregard of the terminations.

XVII. V. Dh. I. 83. 486-61a.

सर्वासां च तथा कालं राक्षसं महाभयः ॥ ४८ ॥
 कुलिशश्च तथा नागो बभूव पश्येति विभुसः ।
 मङ्गारपर्वश्च तथा गन्धर्वानिधीयते ॥ ४९ ॥
 कुलिशस्य तु वा वेत्स सा वज्रा सर्वकर्मसु ।
 तस्यां जुहो मवेद्याधिर्विषं जुहो न जीवते ॥ ५० ॥
 प्रत्यक्षमपि तावत्स्य तस्यां दृष्टी न जीवति ।
 अस्मिन् तस्यां तु नैवजम् न तु कर्मकरं भवेत् ॥ ५१ ॥
 सा तु कालविषं शिवा मन्त्रिणां निषङ्गा तथा ।
 अविद्याय तु तं वेत्तं ब्रह्मते राक्षसं यव ॥ ५२ ॥
 वैष्णव्यात्कल्पात्पाम्प्याः प्रादुर्भवन्मयो मयः ।
 प्रत्येव[क]स्त्वैव वेलायां राहोर्नीयं मित्रोप मे ॥ ५३ ॥
 एकैकम् तु मनेहा[जी]रा सार्वं विषयिकायतम् ।
 विनायिकासप्तपद्या रवेः पण्डितं कीर्तिता (ः) ॥ ५४ ॥
 शिरा कुलिशवेला तु शेषं कालं रवेः सुतम् ।
 स्वा शिराश्वे[न्ते]सया वेलायां च[तु]स्तु विनायिकाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 राक्षः शुक्र[क]स्व कथिताः शेषं कालं सितस्य च ।
 सौम्यशिरासमरम्भे चचकौ द्वौ प्रकीर्तितौ ॥ ५६ ॥
 शिरा कुलिशवेला तु शेषं कालं कुचस्य तु ।
 वृक्षसप्तत्यविक्रम्य शिरायां तु निष्ठाभूतः ॥ ५७ ॥
 मष्टौ तु कुलिशस्त्रीकाः शेषं कालं निष्ठाभूतः ।
 वडशीतिर[म]तिक्रम्य चपकापविषस्य तु ॥ ५८ ॥
 बन्धेपं तद्विनिर्दिष्टं कालं च कुलिशस्य तु ।
 सप्तसप्तत्यविक्रम्य सार्धंस्तु चपकान्मुरोः ॥ ५९ ॥
 राक्षेस्तु चचकौ शिरा शेषं कालं सुरीर्यस्य ।
 नीमशिरासमरम्भे कालिससु विनायिकाः ॥ ६० ॥
 वेला तु कुलिशस्त्रीका शेषं कालं कुचस्य तु ।

48b. And the great planet Rāhu enjoys (some) time of all (the planetary hours).

49. He is called the Serpent Kulika, the Yaksas Padma and the Gandharvas Anagarāparjā.⁴¹

50. But the time which belongs to Kulika must be avoided in all actions. (If one) eats during that (time), illness will follow; (if one) eats poison, (the food) is not digested.

51. He who is bitten (by a snake) during that (time) lives not; even (if he were) in the presence of Tārakhiya (Garuda). But medicine, taken during that (time) has no effect.

Indica I. 841-45: — The book *Viśṇu-Dharma* mentions among the nāgas or serpents, a serpent called Nāga Kulika. Certain portions of the hours of the planets stand under its influence. They are unlucky, and everything which is eaten during them hurts, and is no use for anything. Sick people who treat themselves with poisonous medicines do not recover, but die and perish.⁴² During these times no incantation is of any avail against the bite of a snake, for the incantation consists in the mention of the Garuḍa, and] in those inauspicious times the *stork* himself cannot help in any way, much less the mention of his name.⁴³

⁴¹ Bérnini probably omitted to give in full the contents of this statement, because the unlucky times to which he refers, are usually called in India 'the time of Kulika.' But in doing this he has made it difficult to understand how a serpent can have any connection with the planetary hours. A mention of the fact that the serpent Kulika is another name for the planet Rāhu, would have made the points intelligible. In the text (below, verses 56, 60) Rāhu is mentioned instead of Kulika as dominant of the unlucky periods. Hence the preamble in verses 48b-49 cannot be an interpolation.

⁴² This passage has been transposed. The transposition and the insertion of the word *poisonous*, which does not occur in the text, are possibly owing to a mistake with respect to the meaning of the last clause of verse 50. Bérnini may have taken it to mean, 'If one eats poison, it is not digested.'

⁴³ This is a loose but on the whole correct paraphrase of the first half of verse 51. It is only curious that Bérnini believed the *man-bird* or *eagle* Garuḍa to be a *stork*, which idea must strike every Hindu as simply absurd.

52-53. *But that time must be known by astronomers, royal counsellors and physicians; if they do not know it, those three foolish ones, O best of kings, suffer great ignominy, the fruitlessness (of their advice) being the cause. Listen to the portion belonging to Rāhu in the periods assigned to each planet.*⁴⁴

54-55. Let each planetary hour (hōra) consist of 150 seconds. After 67 seconds (of the hour) of the Sun, 16 are declared to be the dread period of Kulika; the remainder is stated to belong to the Sun. But 4 seconds at the end of the hour of *Subra* (Venus)⁴⁵ —

56. Are stated to be Rāhu's own time, the remaining period belongs to Sita (Venus). At the beginning of the hour of *Saunhya* (Mercury) 2 seconds are declared —

57. To be the dread time of Kulika; the remaining period belongs to Budha (Mercury). But in the hour of the Moon, after the lapse of 71 (seconds), —

58. Eight are declared to belong to Kulika; the remaining time belongs to the Moon. After the lapse of 86 seconds (of the hour) of the child of the Sun (Saturn), —

59. The remaining time is assigned to Kulika. After the lapse of 77½ seconds (of the hour) of *Guru* (Jupiter), —

60. One second is the time of Rāhu; the remaining period is considered to belong to *Guru*.⁴⁶ But 32 seconds at the beginning of the hour of *Shauṃya* (Mars) —

61. Are declared to be the period of Kulika; the remaining time belongs to *Kuja* (Mars).⁴⁷

XVIII. V. Dh. I. 106. 1-13.

वज्र उवाच । भुवस्त्वाहं द्विजमेव ब्राह्मणानां पृथक् पृथक्⁴⁸ ।

सेनयं ओतुमिच्छामि नक्षत्राणां च मानम् ॥ १ ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच । ब्राह्मण सृष्टिकामेन पूर्वमेव नराधिप ।

आदिस्वस्तमसां हर्ता तेजसां गोलकः कृतः ॥ २ ॥

तनीमयो गोलकश्च राष्ट्रस्तेन तथा कृतः ।

भस्मयामि तथान्त्र्यानि गोलकानि नराधिप ॥ ३ ॥

कृतानि तेन धर्मज्ञ ग्रहर्क्षाणां पृथक् पृथक् ।

भुवस्त्याननिविष्टाश्च तारकाश्च चतुर्दश ॥ ४ ॥

These times are represented in the following table where the planetary hour is reckoned as consisting of 150 parts.

Dominants of the hours.	Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Mercury.	Jupiter.	Venus.	Saturn.
Number of 150 parts of the hour before the beginning of the time of Kulika.	67	71	...	...	17	144	86
Number of the parts during which Kulika's influence lasts.	16	8	37	2	2 1 2	6	64

⁴⁴ These two verses have not been noticed in the abstract. Bérûnî probably considered them irrelevant to his purpose.

⁴⁵ Here Bérûnî's table has a mistake, as *śat*, 'six,' instead of *catasras* *tu*, 'but four' does not suit the metre.

⁴⁶ Here Bérûnî's table has three bad mistakes. For the

readings, which his figures would make necessary, do not suit the metre.

⁴⁷ Here Bérûnî again differs, and it is not possible to make out which of the two versions is the right one, the reading *śaptatrinīśat* instead of *śat* is possible. Presumably the error is, however, on Bérûnî's side.

⁴⁸ For ब्राह्मणानां we have probably to write *भ्राह्मणा* *च*.

तेषां नामविभागं मे गवतः शृणु पार्थिव ।
 उत्तानपादस्तस्मात् विशेखः सो[स्त्रो]त्तरो ह्युः ॥ ५ ॥
 ब्रह्मोभरस्तु विशेखो धर्मो मूर्धानमाश्रितः ।
 [हृदि नारायणस्यास्ते अश्विनौ पूर्वपादयोः ॥ ६ ॥
 वरुणश्चाबंभा चैव पश्चिमे तस्व सक्थिनी ।
 शिशुः संवत्सरस्तस्व मित्रोपानं समाश्रितः ॥ ७ ॥⁴⁰
 पुच्छेभिश्च महेन्द्रश्च मारीचः कर्कषपी ध्रुवः ।
 ध्रुवस्याः स्वर्ग[स्वर्ग] हर्षोपायेकीभूताः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ८ ॥
 ध्रुवेण भ्राम्यते सर्वनाभु[ब]त्तं सिद्धिं ध्रुवे ।
 ध्रुवो हि भगवान्विष्णुः कालो लोकप्रकालमः ॥ ९ ॥
 शिशुमारनिबद्धानां तारकाणां प्रयक् प्रयक् ।
 नामधेयानि विज्ञातु इदं च विमलम्बरे ॥ १० ॥
 आश्विन्यधिके जीवेदृष्याणि तु चतुर्विध ।
 अहोरात्रकृतात्पापास्तत्तनादिप्रमुच्यते ॥ ११ ॥
 अम्मबानां प्रहर्षाणां मूर्छिताः सूर्यरश्मयः ।
 जमवन्ति प्रकाशस्वं मातृ कार्या विचारणा ॥ १२ ॥
 स्फाटिकानि विमानानि तथा सुकृतिनां हृय ।
 नाके तारकवद्भान्ति अम्मबासीव यावत् ॥ १३ ॥

Vajra said:—1. *O best of twice-born men, I wish to hear in detail the origin of the pole, of the planets and of the lunar mansions, O lord.*⁴¹

Mārkaṇḍēya answered:—

2. Brahman, desirous to create, made formerly, *O king*, the sun, the destroyer of darkness, a globe of light.

3-4a. *And he made Bṛhū a globe consisting of darkness; and, O king, O thou who knowest the law, he made the other globes of the planets and stars consisting of water;*

4b. *And (he created) fourteen stars, placed near the pole.*

5. *O king, hear me recite their names and distribution: know that Uttānapāda is (in) its upper jaw;*

Indica I. 240:—Vajra, one of the children of Balabhadra, the brother of Nārāyaṇa,⁴² asked the Rishi Mārkaṇḍēya as to the pole, upon which he answered:—

When God created the world, it was dark and desert.⁴³ Thereupon he made the globe of the sun shining and the globes of the stars watery, receiving the light of the sun from that side of his which he turns towards them.⁴⁴

Fourteen of these stars he placed around the pole in the shape of a Situmdra which drice the other stars round the pole.⁴⁵ One of them, north of the pole, on the uppermost chin,⁴⁶ is Uttānapāda, on the lowest chin Yajña, on the head Dharma, on the breast Nārāyaṇa, on the two hands towards the

⁴⁰ These three lines are omitted in the MS. I have taken them from the Vishnu-Purāṇa, II. 12, 33 f. They occur also in the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas with very small variations.

⁴¹ This is evidently an explanatory interpolation, made by Bṛhmi, as the introductions to speeches never contain more than 'N.N. said.' The statement that Vajra was a son of Balabhadra is wrong. His father was, according to V. Dh. I. 78, 8 and all other sources, Aniruddha.

⁴² These words have been omitted by Bṛhmi either for brevity's sake or through carelessness. Without them the verse must remain incomplete.

⁴³ This biblical sentiment is entirely foreign to the Fishpudharmittara and all other Purāṇas. It has been

imported, because Bṛhmi did not understand the second half of verse 2. He seems to have mistaken gṛakāḥ, 'a globe' for gṛakāḥ or something like it and to have omitted the words which did not agree with this interpretation. The mistake further induced him to change the position of the words.

⁴⁴ This is an explanatory interpolation taken from verse 12.

⁴⁵ It is not improbable that these words render a half verse omitted in the MS. For there is no word, to which tasya, 'its (upper jaw),' in verse 5, can be referred.

⁴⁶ Bṛhmi is not responsible for the substitution of the chin for the jaw. The words 'north of the pole' are a second altogether improper rendering of uttaraḥ, which means both 'north' and 'upper.'

6 Know that Yajña is (in) its lower (*jaw*); that Dharma occupies its head; [Nārāyaṇa sits in the heart, the two Aśvins in the fore-feet,

7 Varuṇa and Aryamaṇa are its two hind-most haunches, Saṁvatsara its penis, and Mitra occupies its anus,]

8 In the tail are Agni, Mahāndra, Mārīcha and Kaśyapa. Those among the stars and planets which stand near the pole are collectively called *Star* (I).

9 The pole causes the universe to turn round, the three worlds are dependent on the pole.⁶⁰ For worshipful Viṣṇu is the pole, he the time which drives the worlds onwards.

10. He who knows severally the names of the star, contained in the *Śiśumāra* and has seen them in the pure sky,

11. Will live fourteen years beyond his (allotted period of) life, and is forthwith liberated from sins committed during the day or night.

12. The powerful rays of the sun make that the watery planets and stars shine; do not doubt about that!

13. And the crystal chariots of the pious, O king, shine in the sky like the aqueous (globes of the stars), O son of Yadu!

east the two stars Aśvini the physicians,⁶¹ on the feet Varuṇa and Aryamaṇa towards the west,⁶² on the penis Saṁvatsara, on the back⁶³ Mitra,

on the tail Agni, Mahāndra, Mārīchi and Kaśyapa.

The pole itself is Viṣṇu, the ruler of the inhabitants of paradise,⁶⁴ he is further the time, rising, growing, getting old and vanishing.⁶⁵

If a man read this⁶⁶ and knows it accurately God pardons him the sins of that day,

and fourteen years will be added to his life, the length of which has been fixed before hand."

Indica II. 64:—The *Viṣṇu-Dharma* says:—
"The stars are watery and the rays of the sun illuminate them in the night.

Those who by their pious deeds have obtained a place in the height, sit there on thrones, and when shining are reckoned among the stars."⁶⁷

XIX. V. Dh. I. 108, 20b-27a.

उत्तानपादपुत्रस्तु ध्रुवो विष्णुः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ २० ॥

निषस्यं ब्रह्मण्यते ब्रह्म मरुतां उज्जोतिषां गणम् ।

सप्तभिर्मण्डलं निखं तत्स्वाधस्तात्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ २१ ॥

तत्स्वाधस्तादृशचक्रं तत्स्वाधस्ताच्छनैश्वरः ॥ २२ ॥⁶⁸

तत्स्वाधस्तात्सया जीवस्तत्स्वाधस्तात्कुञ्जः स्वतः ।

तत्स्वाधस्तादिनेसश्च तत्स्वाधस्ताच्च आर्यवः ॥ २३ ॥

तत्स्वाधस्तादुचस्तत्स्वाधस्ताच्च चन्द्रमाः ।

⁶⁰ In translating *pāda* *pādayāḥ*, 'on the two fore-feet,' by 'on the two hands to the east,' Bérnini committed a serious mistake. For, though *pāda* means both 'east' and 'foremost,' *pāda* never means 'hand.' Moreover the *Śiśumāra*, which here means 'an alligator,' not, as most translators assume, 'a porpoise,' has four feet, not two hands and two feet. 'The physicians' is an explanatory addition made by Bérnini, for which there is no room in the text.

⁶¹ The translation of *pādayāḥ* by 'towards the west' is due to an unlucky choice between the two meanings of the word.

⁶² The substitution of the 'back' for the 'anus' is a serious mistake. Mitra is always connected with the organ of excretion.

⁶³ Bérnini has left out this passage, probably because he had already inserted above the note according to which the *Śiśumāra* drives the other stars forward.

⁶⁴ This phrase seems to be intended as an explanation of the term *bhāgavata*, 'worshipful, divine,' but somewhat misrepresents the position of Viṣṇu.

⁶⁵ The four participles give not a translation, but

correct paraphrase of the epithet *bhāgavata*, 'which drive the world onwards' (from its creation to its destruction).

⁶⁶ 'If a man reads this' is a curiously mistaken rendering of *drishya*, literally 'having seen.' As the last two words *vimalā mātā* did not fit in with this interpretation Bérnini omits them. His mistaken rendering made it of course necessary to change the order of the two accessory sentences. I may note that the *Matya*, *Vāyu*, and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* have an identical corresponding verse which ascribes the blessings, mentioned in verse 11, to 'seeing him' i. e. the *Śiśumāra*.

⁶⁷ The rendering of verses 12-13 is very loose, but does not distort the sense except in one point. According to Hindu ideas the pious do not sit 'on thrones,' but ride in 'crystal, palatial, self-moving cars' (*vimāna*). The idea of 'the thrones' is Semitic. The word 'crystal' which the translation omits did occur in Bérnini's text of the *V. Dh.* For, before giving the quotation, he remarks that the pious men who have been metamorphosed 'reside in the height of heaven on thrones of crystal.'

⁶⁸ Verses 22-23a contain an enumeration of the names of the Seven Rishis.

प्राग्दक्षिणगतयेव (१) उज्जोतिषां चक्रमुच्यते ॥ २५ ॥

सर्वे भूतः प्राग्गतस्तुल्यवेगाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

तेषां ते संबर्ध वक्ष्ये प्राप्ते वैवस्वतेन्द्रे ॥ २६ ॥

तेषां जननसाहसैरतीतैः किं प्रबोधनम् ।

20b. But the pole, the son of Uttanapāda, is stated to be Vishnu,

21. Attached to which the crowd of the (heavenly) lights is made to turn round by the winds.⁶⁶ The orbit of the Seven Rishis (the Great Bear) is stated to be always below that.

23. Below that is the circle of the fixed stars;⁶⁷ below that is declared to be Saturn,

24. Below him Jupiter, below him Mars, below him the Sun, below him Venus,

25. Below her Mercury, below him the Moon. And the motion of the (heavenly) lights towards the south-east is stated (to be like that of) a wheel.

26. All the planets are stated to move towards the east (and) to possess an uniform motion. I will declare to thee their origin (as it happened), when the Vaisnavite Manusmṛiti had come,

27a. And what was their purpose in the past thousands of births.

Indica I. 287:—The *Vishnu-Dharma* says:—

"The orbit of the Great Bear is under the pole;⁶⁸

under it the orbit of Saturn,

then that of Jupiter, next Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon.

They rotate towards the east like a mill, in an uniform kind of motion,⁶⁹ which is peculiar to each star, some of them moving rapidly, others slowly. Death and life repeat themselves on them from eternity a thousand times."⁷⁰

XX. V. Dh. I. 106, 27b-28.

अनादिनिधनः श्रीमान्विष्णुर्नाशयः प्रभुः ॥ २७ ॥

स एव देवकार्ज्ये भूत्वा द्वादशधा पुरा ।

अदितैर्जन्मानास आत्मानं कश्चिदात्मजः ॥ २८ ॥

27. The glorious Lord Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa who is without beginning and end,

28. Formerly became twelve-fold in order to accomplish the objects of the gods, and the lord caused himself to be born from Aditi and Kāśyapa.

Indica I. p. 216:—The book *Vishnu-Dharma* says:—"Vishnu, i. e. Nārāyaṇa who is without beginning and without end, divided himself for the angels into twelve parts, which became sons of Kāśyapa. These are the sons rising in the single months."⁷¹

⁶⁶ I have inserted these two lines in order to shew how Bérnī gets 'the pole' into his first sentence. Bérnī omits them, because they have nothing to do with his immediate purpose.

⁶⁷ Bérnī has neglected to indicate that he has left out the names of the Seven Rishis.

⁶⁸ This sentence, which Bérnī did require, has been left out through carelessness. Bérnī shews that he knew it by stating (p. 286, l. 17) that the author of the *Vishnu-Dharma* is right in placing the fixed stars higher than the planets.

⁶⁹ This sentence, is a condensed rendering of verses 25b and 26a, the identical portions of the two lines being left out. Besides Bérnī does not notice the word *daśāṁ* in *prāgdaśāṁ* and translates *chakram*, 'wheel' or 'circle,' inaccurately by 'a mill.' His reason probably is that in some Purāṇas the motion of the stars and planets round the pole is compared to that of an oil-mill. The metre forbids the supposition

that a word like *tailayontram* can have stood in the text. The V. Dh. probably means by the wheel, the 'potter's wheel,' see *Mataya-Purāṇa*, I. 123, 68 ff. The relative clause 'which is peculiar, &c.' is an explanatory note made by Bérnī in order to obviate an erroneous explanation of the compound *tailayontrāḥ*, literally 'of equal impetus' or 'velocity.'

⁷⁰ This is a very loose paraphrase of the last words of verse 27c.

⁷¹ Bérnī has inadvertently left out Aditi, which deity must have been mentioned also in his text. The last words of his passage, as well the table of the sons of the twelve months on p. 217, shew that a number of verses have been lost in our MS. after verse 26. This is also indicated by the line which immediately follows in the latter:—*तेषां तु मया सविता आदित्यस्य तु देवता*; "but among them Savitṛ is the dominant of the Sun." The word *teṣāṁ*, 'among them,' shews that an enumeration must have preceded.

XXI. V. Dh. I. 106, 80.

दशभिर्देवैर्दिग्भिश्च तथाऽपि सुमहात्मनः ।

विष्णुर्वाभवाद्वाजस्यैव दुर्गात्मकः ॥ १० ॥

80. And, O king, Vishnu became the Moon, as the son of the ten directions and of very high-minded Atri.

Bérunt's Indica I. 291:—The *Vishnu-Dharma* relates that Atri, the star who rules the Great Bear, married the directions, represented as one person, though they are eight¹ in number, and that from her the moon was born.

XXII. V. Dh. I. 106, 31-37.

अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि तव भोमस्व संभवम् ।

भासीदैवो हिरण्वाक्षो महाबलपराक्रमः ॥ ३१ ॥

स वै कम्बामञ्जुवह्निकेर्षी नाम नामतः ।

सा लेभे तपसा केषांस्तां वै स्यात्पूरकामयत् ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मां मैथुनसङ्गत्स्व देवेभ्यस्व पिनाकिनः ।

वह्निर्भवन्भीतिं विभ्रं कृतमयामिना ॥ ३३ ॥

प्रविष्ट्वा मैथुनागारं वह्निं दृष्टवत्तदा ।

क्रोधात्क्रोधात्स्वेयी हरस्व समपद्यत ॥ ३४ ॥

भाननस्वेष्टो विष्णुर्वैवस्वामिन्नातिनः ।

तत्प्रोपतापी [तस्याः पपात] वसे सा पयौ तत्प्रवदतः ॥ ३५ ॥

अन्तर्वस्म्यथ तेमासीन सप्ताक च तैजसा ।

मोहिता तस्व बालस्व गर्भे भारयितुं तदा ॥ ३६ ॥

वत्ससर्जं तस्यै गर्भे शीघ्रानलसमद्युतिम् ।

तं ह्यार महीपाल परा देवी स्व[स्व]रूपिणी ॥ ३७ ॥

31. Hereafter I will narrate the origin of *Bhavana* (the planet Mars)¹² There was a Daitya *Hiranyāksha*, of great power and bravery.

32. He, indeed, begat a daughter, called *Vikṣī* (hairless) by name. In consequence of her austerities she obtained hair; her, *Siddha* (Siva) loved.

33. When *Pindkin*, the god of gods, was cohabiting with her, Agni (the god of fire), afraid of the production of an (other deity of) fire, created an obstacle.

34. When *Hara* saw Agni entering the nuptial chamber, sweat arose on his face in consequence of his anger.

35. A drop of the sweat, produced from the face of the god who destroys his enemies, fell into her (*Vikṣī's*) mouth; she drank it eagerly.

Bérunt, Indica II. 140:—The *Vishnu-Dharma* mentions the following tradition:—

"Once upon a time there was a man of the class of the Daityas, powerful and brave, the ruler of a wide realm¹³ called *Hiranyāksha*. He had a daughter of the name of *Dhīsh*¹⁴ (P), who was always bent upon worship, and trying herself by fasting and abstinence. Thereby she had earned as reward a place in heaven.¹⁵ She was married to *Mahādēva*. When he was alone with her and did with her according to the manner of the *Dēvas*, i. e. cohabiting very long and transferring the semen very slowly, the fire became aware of it and became jealous, fearing lest the two might procreate a fire similar to themselves. Therefore it determined to defile and to ruin them. When *Mahādēva* saw the fire, his forehead became covered with sweat from the violence of his wrath, so that some of it

¹² Bérunt seems to have put in this number because the Hindus more commonly speak of eight than of ten direct ones. The metre would, however, allow the reading *अष्टभिर्देवैर्* instead of *दशभिर्देवैर्*.

¹³ Bérunt has given the substance of this preamble at the end of this extract.

¹⁴ This is an addition made by Bérunt for which there is no room in the text. The statement that *Hiranyāksha* was a king, occurs V. Dh. I. 82, 7.

¹⁵ This monstrous form is no doubt due to the copyist of the Arabic MS. *Vikṣī* is mentioned also in other Purāṇas as the wife of *Rudra-Siva* and the mother of the planet Mars or *Lohitāṅga*. But the story of Mars' origin, another version of that of *Śrāṇḍī* with whom the planet is identified, is not given in detail in the texts accessible to me.

¹⁶ The way in which Bérunt obtained the meaning 'a place in heaven' instead of *lōka*, 'Azira,' seems to be that he read *tapasādāśan*.

36. Then she becomes pregnant through that; and she was not able to carry the embryo of that child, being deprived of consciousness by its lustre.

37. Then she let fall the embryo, which was resplendent like a blazing fire; the earth, the beautiful goddess, bore it, O king.

Besides the twenty-two passages, quoted above in detail, there is one more reference to the *Vishnu-Dharma*, which can be easily identified. This is the passage (Indica I. 379-380, 381-83) which contains the description of the four Yugas. It is perfectly plain that Bérnini had before him our text of *Vishnudharmottara* I. 73, 20-39 and chapter 74. The contents of the two chapters, which contain respectively the account of Varuna and that of Mārkaṇḍeya, have been treated with so much freedom that it would not be particularly

dropped to the earth. The earth drank it, and became in consequence pregnant with Mars,¹⁶ i. e. Skanda, the commander of the army of the Devas.

instructive to confront Bérnini's abstract with the entire actual text. Some portions, however, deserve to be discussed. First Bérnini declares that the *Vishnu-Dharma* allots to those men who lived during the *Trētāyuga* as long a life as to those born in the *Kṛitayuga*, and he correctly adds that analogy requires life to be shorter in proportion to the decrease of bliss. It is interesting to find that our text of the *Vishnudharmottara* does not contain the absurdity laid to its charge by Bérnini. It says:—

विपादविमर्शो धर्मो राम विवाहुर्ये वरा ॥ २२ ॥

केसवे रक्ततां वासे नरा वराससताम्रवः ।

वसे ह्यने प्रवर्तन्ते नित्यं हिंसात्मकेषु च ॥ २३ ॥

अगस्त्योत्तरं चैव वरा भवति मार्गव ।

22b. Then, O Rāma, in the *Trētāyuga* Dharma will have a body with three feet.

23. When Kṛtāva has become red, men, living one thousand years, will always be occupied with holy sacrifices and with (deeds) causing the destruction (of living beings).

24a. Moreover, O Bhārgava, the world is then under the *Kṛtātriyas*.

Bérnini's precise statement that the *Vishnu-Dharma* gave the same length of life for the men of the first two ages, makes it probable that he found in his MS. a bad reading; and it is not impossible that he may have read:—

¹⁶ The end of this legend is very much shortened and distorted. Probably Bérnini had before him the text which is given above. But he mistook the bearing of *teṣāṃ* in verse 35b and erroneously referred it to the Earth named further on. This mistake led him to disregard the last three lines which did not suit his interpretation. I must add that seemingly Bérnini's extract from the *Vishnu-Dharma* goes much further than the portion given above, and narrates a story how Agni became leprous in punishment of the offence committed against Siva and went into hiding. It is, however, quite certain that this further legend cannot have stood in the chapter from which that regarding the origin of Mars has been

Indica I. p. 379, l. 29 ff.:—"Thereupon things began to decrease and to be mixed with opposite elements to such a degree that at the beginning of *Trētāyuga* the good was thrice as much as the invading bad, and that bliss was three quarters of the whole. There were a greater number of *Kṛtātriyas* than of Brahmins and life had the same length as in the preceding age. So it is represented by the *Vishnu-Dharma*, whilst analogy requires that it should be shorter by the same amount than [read that] bliss is smaller, i. e. by one-fourth. In this age, when offering to the fire, they begin to kill animals and to tear off plants, practices which before were unknown."

केसवे रक्ततां वासे चतुर्वेदससताम्रवः । The first three words certainly stood in his copy exactly as we have them. For he gives their contents correctly in the extract (Indica I. 398-99) where he speaks of the colours of *Vāśudēva* in the four ages

taken. For the stories regarding the origin of the nine planets which fill the latter part of chapter 106, are very concisely told. In this particular case it is evident that the text never contained the story which Bérnini adds, because there is one more verse which narrates how Kāśyapa performed the sacramental rites for young Mars and in doing so offered coals (*akṣāra*) in the fire, whence the planet obtained its name *Akṣāra*. This verse forms an appropriate conclusion, and leaves no opportunity for any further addition regarding the punishment of Agni. The latter is not mentioned at all in the *Vishnudharmottara*, and I believe that Bérnini took it from some other work, or from oral tradition.

He says there that according to the *Vishnu-dharma*⁷⁷ the god is white in the Kṛitayuga (V. Dh. I. 72 26a), red in the Trētāyuga (our verse 23a), yellow in the Dvāparayuga (V. Dh. I. 73. 24b) when he first became incarnate in human shape and black in the Kali age (V. Dh. I. 73. 26b). The substitution of चतुर्वर्ण for मरु रण⁷⁸ is not impossible, especially if the MS. was written in Śāradā

characters, as probably was the case. But the reading of our MS. is, of course, the original one. A second point, which deserves to be noted, is the description of the end of the Kaliyuga (Indica I. p. 382, l. 17 ff.), where the names of the future saviour of the world are much disfigured and Bérūnī has made a sad mess of a simple story. The passage stands at the end of Chapter 74, where we read :—

वर्तमाने कलियुगे (परि) क्षीये मृपतिसत्तम ॥ ३१ ॥
कर्का विष्णुवर्णोनाम[मा] भविष्यति जगत्पतिः ।
जातविष्यति सर्वान्स स्लेष्ठात्परबलार्धमः ॥ ३० ॥
स्लेष्ठाक्रान्ता वसुमती कृत्वा स्लेष्ठविजयिताम् ।
धर्मसंस्थापनं कृत्वा स्वं स्थानमुपजास्यति ॥ ४१ ॥
प्रजासु धर्मवृत्तासु ततः संपरस्वते कृतम् ।
इत्येव भगवान्विष्णुर्जुगे क्षीयेमिजावते ॥ ४२ ॥
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थं निरुद्धमेव बहुह ।

32b. When the existing Kaliyuga has come to an end, *O best of kings*,

40. *Karkin*, called *Vishṇuyāsa*, will become king of the world, he, who destroys the armies of his foes, will slay all *Mlāchhas*.

41. When he has cleared of *Mlāchhas* the earth that had been conquered by the *Mlāchhas*, and has established the sacred law, he will go to his own place.

42. When the creatures diligently fulfil the sacred law, the Kṛita (age) will then fully appear; thus worshipful *Vishṇu* is born at the end of the yugc,

43. Always in order to establish the sacred law, *O scion of Yadu*.

The story, given in our text, contains the common account of the incarnation of *Vishṇu-Vāsudēva* as *Karkin*, in all other works called *Kalkin*, which, according to most Purāṇas, takes place at the end of the Kaliyuga. Bérūnī's *Garga* is of course a distortion of the nominative *Karki*, due to the copyist, and the *J-Ś-V.* are the reversed remnants of *Vishṇuyāsa* for which Bérūnī may have used the Prākṛitic form *Vishṇujasa*. His story is a mixture of statements taken partly from the *Vishṇudharmottara*, partly from other sources, and possibly of fancies of his own, and it is only in part intelligible. His assertion that *Karkin* was the son of a Brahman *Vishṇuyāsa* does not occur in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, which agrees with the *Mahābhārata* and the more ancient Purāṇas in considering *Vishṇuyāsa* as another name of the great saviour

"But finally at the end of the Yuga, when the evil will have reached its highest pitch, there will come forward *Garga*, the son of *J-Ś-V.* (P), the *Brahman*, i. e. *Kali*, after whom this Yuga is called, gifted with an irresistible force and more skilled in the use of any weapon than any other. Then he draws his sword to make good all that has become bad; he cleans the surface of the earth of the impurity of the people and cleans the earth of them. He collects the pure and pious ones for the purpose of procreation. Then the *Kṛitayuga* lies far behind them, and the time and the world return to purity, and to absolute good and bliss."

and restorer of purity. Bérūnī probably got this detail from the *Brahmavaivarta* or the *Kalki-Purāṇa*, in which latter it is told (chapter II. 4 ff.), or from oral tradition. His identification of *Kalkin*'s father with *Kali* must either be due to a very bad lapse or to a serious corruption of the text of the Indica. The idea is about as appropriate as if a Hindu asserted that the *Mehdi* was declared in the Mahommadan sacred books to be a son of *Shaitan*. The next sentences are awkward paraphrases of our text, which in part are hardly intelligible. The translation of *mlāchchān*, 'the barbarians' or 'the impure people,' by 'the impurity of the people,' is very curious, and still more curious the assertion that *Kalkin* 'cleans the earth of them.' It looks as if there was something wrong in the Arabic text. The next sentence according to which *Kalkin* 'collects the good and

⁷⁷ Bérūnī makes it appear that there are consecutive verses treating of this question. That is not the case,

the quotation is made up of parts of the five verses mentioned.

the pious for the purpose of procreation' contains again a remarkable *quid pro quo*. It is possible to understand how Bêrûnî got the notion 'of procreation.' The latter word seems to be the result of a mistaken rendering of *prajâ*, which means also 'offspring.' But I am unable to suggest whence he may have got the idea that 'the good and pious were collected.' Equally inexplicable is the further statement that 'then the *Kritayuga* lies far behind them,' instead of which the Sanskrit text and the concluding sentence of Bêrûnî's rendering require 'then the *Kritayuga* returns.' The number of self-contradictions and absurdities in this passage is so great, that one cannot help assuming the Arabic text to be seriously corrupt. But making all due allowance for such possibilities, there still remain some cases, where Bêrûnî has made bad mistakes in translation or has falsified the text by interpolating information from other sources.

With respect to two other quotations I am not certain whether I have found the passages to which Bêrûnî refers. According to Indica I. 54, Mārkaṇḍeya asserts in the *Vishṇu-Dharma* that Brahman, Kārttikēya, Lakṣmī, Dakṣha and Umādevī have each of them existed in the middle of this Kalpa, and that they have existed already many times. Similar utterances are, of course, not rare in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. One such passage occurs at the beginning of Chapter 171, where it is said that the Fish, the Tortoise, the Man-lion, the Dwarf, Brahman, Siva, the Sun, the Moon, Indra and other celestial beings, appear, in order to fulfil the objects of creation; if they are united with the lustre of Vishnu, and that they disappear when Vishnu withdraws his light from them. Again in Chapter 190 a much longer list of deities is given, which are stated to have appeared and disappeared many times. As Bêrûnî is not very particular about the names of the deities and often leaves out a great deal, it is not absolutely impossible that his quotation may refer to one of these passages. Again, according to Indica II. 64, the *Vishṇu-Dharma* asserts that 'the sun nourishes the moon and the stars, and that 'if the sun did not exist, there would not be a star nor angel nor man.' I cannot find a passage which actually contains these words. But in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, I. 30, it is repeatedly stated that everything exists through the sun, and in the hymn, which Śivara-Siva addresses there to the Sun, it is said: "Thou nourishest (*pushasi*) all the worlds, hence thou art called *Pūshan*." I believe it quite possible that Bêrûnî may have made up his 'quotation' out of these utterances. But it is impos-

sible to be positive. For there are some more quotations which I am unable to trace, viz. one short one (Indica II. 64), two longer ones (*ibid.* II. 64-65 and 65-66). These must have been taken from the tripartite *Vishṇudharmottara*, as in two of them Mārkaṇḍeya is named as the narrator and Vajra as the person instructed. I do not think that I can have overlooked them, as I have gone repeatedly over the astronomical chapters, and I believe it more probable that they have been accidentally omitted in the MS. used, which is only a modern Nāgarī transcript. An examination of the older Śāradā copies of the Deccan College collection may perhaps shew that they actually are contained in the *Vishṇudharmottara*. In conclusion, I may add that Bêrûnî seems to have taken a good deal more from the *Vishṇudharmottara* without saying so.

One instance certainly occurs (Indica II. 191) where Bêrûnî has awkwardly rendered some statements from *V. Dh. I. 60*, and has succeeded in making them look like utter nonsense. He says there that one civil day which includes portions of three lunar days, is called *trihaspaka* or *triharkasha*,⁷³ and adds: "It is an *unlucky* day, *boding evil*, and it is counted among the *punya* *days* [*i. e. the holy days*]." In the *Vishṇudharmottara*, loc. cit., Śaṅkara informs Paraśurāma that a civil day including portions of three *tithis* is called *tryahasprik*, which form is of course the original of Bêrûnî's corrupt *trihaspaka*. He further states that fasts, the worship of Kṛṣṇa, muttered prayers, oblations in the fire and gifts, offered on such days, are most effectual for securing specially desired rewards, but that such days, though most holy and sanctifying, are unsuited for all other business:—

ब्रह्मसूक्तं स विनिर्दिष्टः पुण्यः परमपावनः ।

तत्प्रोषीष्य शिरःशानैः कर्तव्यं केशधारणम् ॥

अपो होमस्तया शानं कामवर्जिर्महत्फलम् ।

कर्मणां परिशेषाजामकार्मण्यं हि तद्दिनम् ॥

This is intelligible, while Bêrûnî's version involves an apparent contradiction.

The remaining three passages, in which Bêrûnî quotes the *Vishṇu-Dharma*, have been taken from a work, which, though likewise a production of the Bhāgavata sect and though likewise called both *Vishṇu-Dharma* and *Vishṇudharmottara*, has nothing to do with the tripartite *Vishṇudharmottara*. Professor A. Weber has given a description of the Berlin MS. in his Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. of the Berlin library, Vol II. part 1, p. 338 ff. This

⁷³ This is in Sanskrit *tryahashikasha*.

book consists only of 102 chapters, and is said to have been communicated by Sannaka and other Rishis to Satānka, son of Janamājaya and grandson of Parikshit. The text of one of Bérnī's three quotations has been given by Professor

Weber (*loc. cit.* p. 389, note 2). A comparison of the exact words with Bérnī's translation shows that he has treated the original in his usual manner, leaving out and adding words, as seemed good to him.

V. Dh. X. 1-4.

पुलस्त्य उवाच । रोहिण्यां च वस कृष्णपक्षेहस्तां द्वितीयेन ।

अवन्ती नाम सा प्रोक्ता सर्वपापहृत् तिथिः ॥ १ ॥

ब्रह्म[ह]स्त्रे च कौमारे जीवने वारि[ध]िके च वत् ।

सप्तजन्मकृतं पापं स्वल्पं वा बहि वा व[त्] ॥ २ ॥

तत्कालवति गोविन्दं तस्मान्मन्त्रं भक्तिवत् ।

हीनमन्त्रादिनामां फलं च सप्तसमितम् ॥ ३ ॥

संप्राप्तोपि न संशयो ब्रह्मन्मन्त्रसंस्कृतिः ।

उपवासश्च तत्रोक्तो महापातकनाशनः ॥ ४ ॥

Pulastya said:—(1) And when (the moon is) in (the constellation) Rōhiṇī, in the dark half (of the month) on the eighth, *O best of twice-born men, that lunar day* which destroys all sins is called Jayantī.

Indica II. 175:—The book *Viṣṇu-Dharma* says:—“When the moon is in Rōhiṇī, the fourth of her stations, on the eighth day of the black half, it is a fast day, called Jayantī.

(2) Whatever sins, whether great or small, may have been committed during seven births, in childhood, youth or old age,

Giving alms on this day is an expiation for all sins.

(3) Those one washes off by devoutly worshipping Govinda on that (lunar day); and the reward of burnt oblations, muttered prayers and the like and of gifts is hundred-fold.

(4) One obtains, no doubt, whatever else one desires in one's heart; and fasting on that (day) is declared to efface mortal sins.

It is plain that Bérnī's pretended translation is nothing more than a very loose abstract of the contents of the Sanskrit verses, and only just allows us to recognise the identity of the two passages. The same remarks apply to the second quotation (Indica Vol. II. p. 174). It has been taken from Adhyāya XIII., which, as well as the Chapters XIV.-XVI., contains a conversation between Yājñavalkya and Maitrāyī. The extracts, which Dr. J. Klatt has kindly furnished to me, agree more or less closely with Bérnī in the following points:—(1) the vow is to be begun on the second day of the bright half of Pausa and to last for four days; (2) the performer is to wash on the first with (the oil of) white mustard (*siddhadrithaka*), not, as Bérnī says, with water,¹⁹ on the second with (the oil of) black sesamum, on the third with (the juice of) myrobalans (*pard*),²⁰ and on the fourth with (a mixture of) various herbs (*sarṣapaśādhā*); (3) at the end it is stated that

Dillipa, Dushkanta (read, Dushyanta) Yayāti and other kings performed it according to the rule given for fasts (*upavāsavidhānataḥ*). But there is nothing in the *Viṣṇu-Dharma* to shew that this vow saves the children of the performer from ‘calamities and bodily defects.’ It is said to remove evils, to procure an increase of spiritual merit, and to grant all wishes. Nor is it clear that the observances are to be repeated during a whole year. But the text is, apparently, not quite in order, and statements to this effect may have occurred in it. The section on the same vow in the second Kāṇḍa of the tripartite Kāmīrian *Viṣṇudharmottara*, which is quoted also by Hamaḍri, *Vratakāṇḍa*, p. 389 ff., gives it the name *drōgyadvitīya*, ‘second lunar day rite granting freedom from disease.’

The third passage (Indica I. 77 f.) is made up of loose very inaccurate paraphrases and abstracts of a number of verses from the first chapter. Even

¹⁹ Bérnī's text seems to have had the *varia lectio* *siddhadrithakā*.

²⁰ This may possibly be the same as Bérnī's *selangala*.

the statements in the preamble regarding the interlocutors and the purpose of the conversation, are for the greater part incorrect. Bérnî asserts that king *Parikṣā* of the family of *Bhrigu* asked *Satānka*, the head of an assembly of sages, for the explanation of some notion regarding the deity, and that the sage communicated to him what he had heard from *Saunaka*, *Saunaka* from *Uśanas*, and *Uśanas* from *Brahman*. The absurdity of the first portion of these statements will be evident to every Sanskritist. For it is well known that *Parikṣa* or more correctly *Parikṣhit* did not belong to the family of *Bhrigu*, as well as that *Satānka* was not a sage, but a king and *Parikṣhit*'s grandson. The *Viṣṇu-Dharma* has, of course, no such nonsense. But it says quite correctly (I. 6 f.; see Weber, *loc. cit.*), that certain sages whose leader was *Saunaka*, came to visit *Satānka*, the son of *Parikṣhit*'s son, and that the latter asked the Rishis regarding the worship (*drādhana*) of *Nārāyaṇa*.

They commissioned *Saunaka*, who belonged to the family of *Bhrigu* and is called, in verse 30, *Bhrigu-nandana*, to fulfil the king's desire. *Saunaka* complied, and first gave some information regarding the relation of the Trimūrti to the highest Brahman (neuter), which Bérnî has rendered *more ouc* (p. 177, lines 13-17). Next follows *Saunaka*'s statement regarding the source of his information. He says (V. Dh. I. 40-41) that he received it from his father, the latter from his father, the grandfather from *Uśanas*, *Uśanas* from *Bhrigu*, and *Bhrigu* from *Brahman*. He further adds (verse 42) that *Marichi* and other great sages formerly obtained the same instruction from *Brahman*, and then follow the verses from which the remainder of 'the quotation' has been made up. In order to further prove the justice of my remarks against Bérnî, I add the text of *Saunaka*'s speech, which I likewise owe to the kindness of Dr. Klett, together with a translation:—

श्रीमक उवाच । अष्टवृत्तसि महीपाल कृष्णस्वाराधनं प्रति ।
 प्रतीपवासज्ज्वालि तसिहैकनमाः शृणु ॥ ३३ ॥
 अनादिमत्परं ब्रह्म सर्वदेवविर्जितम् ।
 ज्वापि अस्वर्गभूतेषु स्थितं तद्वत्तः परम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 प्रधानपुंसोरजोयतः शोभः प्रवर्तते ।
 विस्वज्योतिर्गोपिभ्योऽथ जगत्प्राप्तो महात्मनीः ॥ ३५ ॥
 तत्कोमकत्वाद्ब्रह्माण्डसृष्टेर्ह्युनिर्जनः ।
 अहेतुरपि सर्वस्या जायते परमेश्वरः ॥ ३६ ॥
 प्रधानपुरुषस्य च तयैवेष्टरलीलया ।
 समुपैति ततश्चैव ब्रह्मत्वं छन्दतः प्रभुः ॥ ३७ ॥
 ततः स्थितौ पालयिता विष्णुत्वं जगतः क्षये ।
 रुद्रत्वं च जगत्प्रायः स्वेच्छन्ना कुरुते स्वयः [बम्] ॥ ३८ ॥
 तदैकमक्षरं धाम परं स्वस्त्यो महत् ।
 भिषाभेवस्वरूपस्य प्रणिपत्य परं परम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 प्रवक्ष्यामि जया पूर्वं मत्पिशा कथितं मम ।
 तस्यापि किल तस्यैवा तस्मै प्राह किलौ[लो]काः ॥ ४० ॥
 तेनापि भृशुमाराधनं प्राप्तमाराधनं हरेः ।
 सक्ताद्याद्ब्रह्मणः प्राप्तं भृशुपापि महात्मना ॥ ४१ ॥
 मरीचिमिश्रैश्च पुरा परमेतन्महर्षिभिः ।
 प्राप्तं सक्ताद्यादेयस्य ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तजन्मनः ॥ ४२ ॥
 योगं ब्रह्मा परं प्राह महर्षीणां जया प्रभुः ।
 समस्तवृत्तिसंरीधात्कैवल्यप्रतिपादकम् ॥ ४३ ॥
 तया जगत्पतिर्ब्रह्मा प्रणिपत्य महर्षिभिः ।
 सर्वैः किलोक्तो भगवानात्मजोऽभिः प्रजाहितः ॥ ४४ ॥
 यो योगी भवता प्रोक्तो मनोवृत्तिमिरीधजः ।
 प्राप्तुं शक्यमनेकैस्तज्जन्मभिर्जगतः पते ॥ ४५ ॥
 विषया दुर्जया भृशामिन्द्रिबाकपुलाः [धैकाः] प्रभो ।
 वृत्तबन्धेतस्यापि चपला अतिदुर्जयाः ॥ ४६ ॥
 रागादयः कथं जेतुं सक्ता सर्वशरीरपि ।
 न योगयोग्यं हि मर्मा भवत्येभिरभिहितैः ॥ ४७ ॥
 अम्यानुपय पुरुषा ब्रह्मकृतजुगोप्यमी ।
 वेताबां हापरे चैव किमु प्राप्नो कसौ जुगो ॥ ४८ ॥

भगवंस्त्वमुपाजं तं प्रसन्नो वक्तुमर्हसि ।
 अमायासेन जनेममुत्तरेयं भवार्णवम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 दुःखान्मुममाः पुरुषाः प्राप्य ब्रह्मन्महाद्वयम् ।
 उत्तरेयुर्भवाम्भीषि सया स्वमनुचिन्तय ॥ ५० ॥
 एवमुक्तस्वरा ब्रह्मा क्रियाबोर्ग महात्मनाम् ।
 तेषामुपीयामाचष्ट नराणां हितकाम्यया ॥ ५१ ॥
 आराधयसि[त] विन्देद्यं नारायणमसन्निताः ।
 बाह्यालम्बनसापेक्षास्तमजं जगतः पतिम् ॥ ५२ ॥
 इज्यापूजामस्कारशुभ्रूषाभिरहर्निशम् ।
 अतोपवासेर्विधैर्माहात्म्यानां च तर्पणैः ॥ ५३ ॥
 तैस्तैश्चामितैः कामैर्न च चेतसि मुष्टिषाः ।
 अपरिच्छेद्यमाहात्म्यमाराधयत केचनम् ॥ ५४ ॥
 तन्निष्ठास्तद्गतधिबस्तत्कर्माणिस्तथाश्रयाः ।
 तद्गुह्यबस्तस्मनसः सर्वस्मिन्स इति स्थिताः ॥ ५५ ॥
 समस्तान्त्रय कर्माणि तन्न सर्वात्मनात्मनि ।
 स[सं]न्वसध्वं स वः कर्तो समस्तावरणक्षयम् ॥ ५६ ॥
 एतत्तत्क्षरं ब्रह्म प्रधानपुरुषादुभौ ।
 जतो बस्मिन्त्रया चोभौ सर्वेष्वपिन्ववस्थितौ[तौ] ॥ ५७ ॥
 परः पराणां परमः स एकः पुरुषोत्तम[ः] ।
 जन्मामिन्ममिदं सर्वं यत्स्येवं जगन्न[जगती] गति[ः] ॥ ५८ ॥
 मोक्षकारणमध्यक्तमपिन्वजमपरिमहम् ।
 तमाराध्य जगन्नायं क्रियाबोर्गेन मुच्यते ॥ ५९ ॥

Vishṇudharma I. 88-59 :—

Bérnt, Indica I. 77 :—

Seunata spoke :—

(33) "Listen, O prince, attentively to (the description of) the vows, fasts, prayers and so forth for worshipping Krishna, regarding which thou askest.

(34) "The highest Brahma," which (all)-pervading, exists in all created beings, is without beginning, without any body, beyond entity and non-entity ;"

(35-36) That Brahma, from which at the beginning of the world the motion in the eternal (all)-pervading mighty Matter and Spirit proceeds, is, because it is the mover, the passionless cause of the creation of the (mundane) egg. (Then) the supreme lord, the soul of the universe, is born (there), though he is without cause.

(37) Moreover, in his sport as lord, the lord becomes Matter and Spirit, and then according to his pleasure Brahma.

(38) Next, being the protector during the existence (of the world) he becomes Vishnu ; at the destruction of the world Jagannātha, of his own will, himself becomes Rudra.

'God is without first and without last ; he has not been born from anything, and he has not borne anything save that of which it is impossible to say that it is He and just as impossible to say that it is Not-he.'

* I put the word 'Brahman' always in the nominative case, in order to distinguish between the impersonal Brahman a neuter, and the god a masculine.

† 'Without last' may be an attempt to render *parame*, 'the highest.' The next words 'he has not

borne anything' seem to represent *sarvadharmavijitām*, 'without any body.' 'He and Not-he' correspond to *sat-ast* 'entity and non-entity,' but Bérnt has missed the connexion of the words.

(39) *Prostrating myself before that one imperishable highest light, which is greater than entity and non-entity, which has the form of duality and of non-duality, which is the highest sphere (parah padam),*

(40) *I will proclaim (the worship of Hari), as it was formerly told to me by my father. To him (it was told) by his father; to him, Ushanas, indeed, proclaimed it.*

(41) *But he obtained (the knowledge of) the worship of Hari by worshipping Bhṛigu; high-minded Bhṛigu received it from Brahma.²²*

(42) *Moreover, Marichi and other great sages obtained this (knowledge) formerly from god Brahmā, who was born from the undecrease.*

(43) *When the lord Brahmā had revealed to the great sages the highest Yōga, which produces liberation (kaivalya) through the stoppage of all functions (of the Manas),*

(44) *Then the worshipful lord of the world, Brahmā, whose womb is the Self (and) who is benevolent towards the creatures, was, indeed, (thus) addressed by all the great sages:—*

(45) *The Yōga, arising from the stoppage of the functions of the internal organ (manas,) which thou hast proclaimed, O lord of the world, may be attained in (the course of) several births.*

(46) *The (desire for the) objects of enjoyment, O lord, (is) difficult to conquer, (since) they attract the senses of men; and also the swift (by changing) functions of the internal organ (chētas = manas) are very difficult to conquer.*

(47) *How can passion and the other (enemies of) quietness be overcome even in hundreds of years? For the Mind (manas) does not become fit for Yōga without the conquest of these.*

(48) *Short-lived are men here, O Brahmā, in the Kṛita ages, likewise in the Trētā and the Dvāpara; how much more in the Kali age, when it has come?*

How should I be able to ponder on the absolute good which is an outflow of his benevolence and of (read, on) the absolute bad which is a product of his wrath; and how could I know him so as to worship him as is his due, save by turning away from the world in general and by occupying myself exclusively with him, by perpetually cogitating on him?²³

"It was objected to him;—

"Man is weak and his life is a trifling matter."

He can hardly bring himself to abstain from the necessities of life,²⁴

and this prevents him from walking on the path of liberation.

If we were living in the first age of mankind when life extended to thousands of years, and when the world was good, because of the non-existence of evil, we might hope that that which is necessary on this path, should be done. But, since we live in the last age,

²² Regarding Bérnini's mangled analysis of verses 40-41, see above.

²³ The real text furnishes no clue, whence Bérnini got the form of his two sentences, or whence he got the contents of the first 'How should I... of his wrath,' which are rather Semitic than Hindu. The second sentence seems to be connected with verse 42, where the stoppage of the functions of the Manas, and implicitly the turning away from the world and the concentration of the thoughts on the deity, are recommended. From Bérnini's

next sentence it is perfectly evident that he must have had the conversation between Brahmā and the sages, which our text gives. For without that the words 'it was objected to him,' and further 'thereupon Brahmā spoke,' are utterly unintelligible. Is the confusion merely owing to Bérnini's carelessness and his misunderstanding his informant, or is there something 'wrong in the Arabic text?'

²⁴ 'The necessities of life' seems to be a loose rendering of *vishayaḥ*, 'the objects of the senses or of enjoyment.'

(49) Hence, *O worshipful one, graciously proclaim* that means, whereby I can escape without trouble from this ocean of births.

(50) *Meditating (on) such (a means) (whereby) men, who are immersed in a sea of misfortune, may obtain, O Brahmā, a large boat and escape from the ocean of births.*

(51) *Being thus addressed, Brahmā, desiring to benefit men, then revealed to those high-minded sages the Yōga of actions (the practical way to salvation).²¹*

(52) Do you, who require external support, without tiring worship that unborn Nārāyaṇa, the ruler of the universe, the lord of the world,

(53) Day and night, with sacrifices, (acts of) homage, (hymns of) adoration and obedience, with vows and fasts of many kinds and by gladdening the Brāhmanas.

(54) With these (acts) and with approved reward-desiring rites which please your hearts, worship Kṛṣṇa whose greatness is immeasurable,

(55) Devoted to Him, directing your thoughts towards Him, referring your actions to Him, taking refuge with Him, looking on Him, fixing your hearts on Him, firmly convinced that He (resides) in everything,

(56) Then completely throw all your acts on Him, the Self; he will work for you the destruction of all that veils (truth).

(57) He is that imperishable Brahma, from which both Matter and Spirit (are produced), in which and through which, the all-pervading one, both exist.

(58) He is the highest of the highest, the highest of all, He, the One, Puruṣōttama (the best Spirit), from whom the universe differs not, on whom this development of the world (ṛ) depends.

(59) He who worships Jagannātha, the cause of liberation, the undiscernable, the unthinkable, the incomprehensible one, will be liberated through (that) yōga of actions.

The inferences which may be drawn from the facts stated above, are the following:—First, it is evident that in the beginning of the eleventh century two works with the title *Viṣṇu-dharma-*

*what, according to your opinion, is there in this revolving world that might protect him against the floods of the ocean and save him from drowning.*²²

"Thereupon Brahman spoke:—

'Man wants nourishment, shelter, and clothing.²³ Therefore in them there is no harm to him. But happiness is only to be found in abstaining from things besides them, from superfluous, fatiguing actions. Worship god, him alone, and venerate him; approach him in the place of worship with presents like perfumes and flowers; praise him and attach your heart to him, so that it never leaves him. Give alms to Brahmanas and to others, and vow to God vows—special ones like the abstaining from meat; general ones like fasting. Vow to him animals which you must not hold to be something different from yourselves, so as to feel entitled to kill them.'²⁴

Know that he is everything.

Therefore, whatever you do, let it be for his sake, and if you enjoy anything of the vanities of the world, do not forget him in your intentions.

If you aim at the fear of God and the faculty of worshipping him, thereby you will obtain liberation, not by anything else.

Itara or *Viṣṇu-Dharma* existed, and that both were considered to be canonical by Bérnini's Paṇḍitas who, one and all, were Vaiṣṇavas.²⁵ This circumstance possesses a considerable interest, as the

plainer. 'Approach him,' etc., seems to be the rendering of *pīṭā*, 'attach your heart to him,' etc., of *śatruṣaḥ*; 'vow to him animals,' etc., of *tyā*. The prohibition to slay animals at the sacrifices looks like an oral exposition of the text by the Vaiṣṇava Paṇḍit, who gave the passage to Bérnini.

²⁵ Professor Sachau (Indica, Vol. I. p. xiv.) has called attention to this fact, and thinks that it is significant for

²¹ Here the request is again turned into a question.

²² As Bérnini places this whole quotation in the section on *Kriyāyōga* (see p. 176 last line), it is evident that his text must have included the word.

²³ This is a loose reading of *bāhyāmlambanastpīṣṭhāḥ*.

²⁴ More than half of Bérnini's rendering of verses 53-55 consists of interpolations, which are to make the sense

oldest Indian writer who quotes both works extensively, is Hēmadri, the minister of Mahādēva and Rāmadēva of Dēvagiri, who ruled from Śaka-Samvat 1182 to 1231 or from A. D. 1260 to 1309. The *Vṛatakāṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* gives whole chapters from all the three kāṇḍas of the Tripartite Kāśmīrian *Viśṇudharmottara*, as well as from the other shorter work, and the text agrees on the whole with the MSS. which I have used. Though Hēmadri's quotations alone would make it probable that the two *Viśṇudharmottaras* do not belong to a very recent period, Bértni's acquaintance with them is yet important, as it proves that they must be at least a hundred years older than his time. With respect to the Kāśmīrian *Viśṇudharmottara*, it is very likely that the earlier limit of its composition lies much further from the year 1000 A. D. For, as already stated above, some Hindu commentators indicate that Brahmagupta found the *Pañcama-Siddhānta*, the basis for his own work, in the *Viśṇudharmottara*. If this statement is correct, the Kāśmīrian book must have been a canonical work in A. D. 628, and the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A. D. It would be important to know what Brahmagupta's commentator, Pṛithōdaka-svāmin, whom Bértni mentions (*Indica*, Vol. I. p. 158), says on the source of the *Sphuṭa-Bṛāhma-Siddhānta*.

Secondly, Bértni's mistakes, especially those which occur in the extract No. IX., show that he had a MS. of the Kāśmīrian *Viśṇudharmottara* and himself tried to make out its sense. No Paṇḍit, however poor his knowledge of Sanskrit might be, would make such absurd a blunder as that which the rendering of *kāṭhāṇḍa puruṣas tasya sarvabhūtapatiḥ prabhūḥ* involves. As Bértni quotes only from the first Kāṇḍa and did not know of the existence of the *Pañcama-Siddhānta*, his MS. was probably incomplete and did not go beyond Kāṇḍa I. With respect to the shorter *Viśṇudharmottara*, I do not think that he had a MS. His quotations are even more inexact than those from the larger work, and his erroneous statements regarding the interlocutors of the work are such as may be more easily explained by the assumption that he received some oral information from his Paṇḍit and misunder-

stood it, than by the supposition that he himself read the text.

the religious condition of India in Bértni's times. I must differ on this point, because there is abundant historical evidence to prove that Śaivism flourished about the year 1000 A. D. About this time a number of great Śaiva teachers, such as Abhinavagupta and Kṣhēmarāja, showed a considerable activity in Kāśmīr. The inscriptions from Mālwa, Gujrat, the Dekhan and other parts of India, prove clearly that Śaivism was the creed of the

Thirdly the extracts show that Bértni's MS. of the larger *Viśṇudharmottara*, gave a text not much different from that of the Deccan College Collection. In nine passages it certainly was better and either had verses which have been accidentally omitted or readings which have been changed. In four passages these omissions (see extracts Nos. ix., xii., xviii., xix.) are evident without Bértni's translations. In one passage (see extract No. xi.) Bértni has more than our text, but an absolutely necessary portion of the latter seems to have been wanting in his copy. In two other cases (see extract No. v. and page 389,) his MS. evidently had some very bad mistakes which do not occur in ours. A few of Bértni's other translations may be due to similar causes, though it is impossible to be positive on the point.

Fourthly, all the other very numerous discrepancies are due to Bértni's desire to be brief and to give only the real substance without the padding, to his wish to make himself intelligible to Muhammadan readers, to carelessness, to his insufficient knowledge of Sanskrit and of Indian ideas, or finally to corruptions in the Arabic text. His desire to be brief and to the point, induces him to omit all the numerous words and phrases, like, 'O king,' 'O scion of Yadu's race,' etc., which serve to make up the verses. No Purāṇa is or can be without them. Hence it would be a great mistake to infer from their non-occurrence in Bértni's renderings that the texts did not contain them in his times. Other results of his striving after brevity are the omission, in the questions, of all points except that which immediately interests the translator (see extracts Nos. ix. and xviii.) and the elimination of repetitions with which the Purāṇas abound. As the text is metrical, it is not difficult to see that Bértni is not exact. For, if it had contained nothing more than what he gives, the verses must have been incomplete.

Further, Bértni's wish to make himself intelligible to his countrymen has induced him to add a good many interpolations. Some of these are marked by the addition of "i. e.," while the greater number has not been distinguished by such a mark. In these cases, too, the mere

kings of these countries, and that it counted numerous adherents in their territories. If Bértni knows nothing about it, the reason no doubt is that the Śaivas were in the eleventh century just as unwilling to reveal their doctrines to outsiders and foreigners, as they are in the present day. With the Vaiṣṇavas the contrary is mostly the case. They are, as a rule, much more open and ready to speak about their system.

sometimes assists us to recognise the explanatory additions. For, the translations contain more than the verses in the text can have contained, and not enough for additional ones. The same wish seems also to have induced Bérnti to translate loosely or to substitute expressions more familiar to Muhammadans for those in the text. Instances of this kind are found in his rendering (extract No. xviii.) *bhagavān*, 'worshipful, divine,' by 'the ruler of the inhabitants of paradise,' *lākaprabhānāh*, (time) driving the world onwards' by '(time) rising, growing, getting old and vanishing,' and *viśvānā*, 'self-moving palatial chariot,' by 'throne.' The substitutions of one name of a deity for another, such as occur in the extract No. xiv., are probably due to the same cause, and so are perhaps the transpositions of whole sentences, a perfectly certain instance of which is found in extract No. xxii. With respect to the transpositions, I may add that they are extremely common also in the translations from other works, and that they occur even in such passages where Bérnti promises to render the text 'in full and exactly as it is.' The latter note is prefixed to some quotations from Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* (Indica, Vol. II. p. 92). Nevertheless he has taken the liberty to place a paraphrase of a great portion of verse 6 of Chapter XII. in the beginning. The construction of the little *Prabastī*, with which Varāhamihira begins his chapter on the movements of Agastya or Canopus, and its wording, leave no doubt that the order of the verses in our text is correct, and make it impossible to suppose that even a bad M.S. can ever have had such a great confusion as Bérnti's rendering would ask us to assume. The fact that the transposition nevertheless occurs, and the circumstance that Bérnti's translation is in most of the following eighteen verses very imperfect, — the particularly difficult passages being invariably left out, — shew that his ideas of completeness and exactness differed very considerably from the standard applied to translations in our days.

Moreover, it is impossible to deny that Bérnti was sometimes very careless. In several cases he convicts himself. If in extract xix. he omits the mention of the orbit of the fixed stars, or in extract xviii. the word 'crystal,' and afterwards refers to these points, it is evident that the omissions are due to slips of the pen. Equally clear is the case in extract No. vii., where his omission of the words *ddi*, 'in the beginning,' and *extardla*, 'in the intervals,' makes the calculation come out wrong, and in extract xvii., where his neglecting to state that the serpent *Kulika* is another designation of *Rāhu*, obscures the drift of the whole passage.

His carelessness is also evident in some of his explanatory statements, e. g. regarding the parentage of *Vajra* (extract No. xviii.), regarding the parentage of *Rāma* (extract No. vii.), and regarding the deadly power of *Mārkaṇḍēya* (*ibidem*). He had the book before him, and might in the first two cases easily have got from it the correct information.

Finally, the deficiency of Bérnti's knowledge of Sanskrit is only too patent in these extracts, as well as in other quotations (see e. g. Professor Sachau's notes to Vol. I. pp. 851 and 894). Sometimes it happens that a bad blunder is combined, as, e. g., in extract No. xviii., verse 10, with an omission, and it looks as if Bérnti had wilfully discarded the words which do not agree with his rendering. This becomes particularly probable by the fact already pointed out, that also in other quotations difficult words or phrases are simply ignored.

The lesson, which the above analysis of Bérnti's quotations from the *Viśva-Dharma* teaches, is, it seems to me, that, discrepancies between his translations and the Sanskrit texts, which we possess, do not mean much. A careful investigation of each particular case is required in order to determine what the causes of these discrepancies are, and the probability is that in the great majority of cases they will be owing to Bérnti's method of 'translating.' It is, therefore, not advisable to jump at once to the conclusion that his Sanskrit texts must have been very different from those existing in our times or must have been different versions, because his renderings do not agree. The very bad blunders as to facts, which he makes in his remarks, make it further necessary to be very cautious with respect to all startling statements, of which there is a good number in his work. It will not do to give to them implicit credence, without carefully inquiring whether there are not circumstances which render a mistake on his part certain or probable.

In conclusion, I must state that in spite of all their shortcomings Bérnti's Indica remain in my opinion a very important work for the Sanskritist, and that their careful study may be recommended to every student of Indian literature and history. Nothing, I think, would contribute so much to make this study truly fruitful, as a detailed examination of all Bérnti's quotations on the plan adopted above, which no doubt is still open to improvements. Will not one of the Indian Universities set this investigation as a subject for a prize-essay? The materials are more easily accessible in India than anywhere else, and a young Indian Sanskritist would do with such an

investigation much better, for himself and for his science, than by 'bringing up' so and so many Kāvya or Śāstras.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 10th January 1890.

NOTE.

I have to add an additional note to the Review of Dr. Bhāṇḍarkar's Report for 1888-89, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 184 ff.

With respect to the correct title of the *Nṛamaṭa*, I must add to my remarks on p. 188, that Kalhana calls the work twice (*Bḍjataranginī* I. 178, 188) a Purāṇa. It is thus not advisable to change the title, which has existed for more than seven hundred years.

As regards the Iḍar MS. of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Professor Kielhorn has found that the calculation of the week-day clearly shews its date, Śaḥvat 1814, to refer to the Vikrama era. Hence I am obliged to strike it off the list of the cases, where Śaḥvat seems to stand for Śaka-Śaḥvat.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 10th January 1890.

VIER ERZÄHLUNGEN AUS DER SUKASAPTATI. Sanskrit und Deutsch. Von Dr. RICHARD SCHMIDT. Kiel, C. F. Kesseler. 1890. 8vo., pp. 53.

The *Sukasaptati* or 'the seventy tales of a parrot' is a collection of short stories, which has obtained great popularity in India and other eastern countries through the medium of vernacular translations. Of its Sanskrit original, only the first chapter was hitherto known, from Lassen and Gildemeister's *Anthologia Sanscritica*. Dr. R. Schmidt, a pupil of Professor Pischel, is now engaged on a critical edition of the whole work, as a specimen of which he has just published the text of four stories, with various readings, and with a German translation. Most of the MSS. contain a *textus simplicior*, while an apograph from a MS. in the Tanjore Palace Library, which the editor received from Dr. Roost, represents a *textus ornatior*. Dr. Schmidt has printed and translated each of the four tales according to both redactions. An ancient Jaina MS. in the possession of Professor Lanman contains a third version of the text, which stands between the two others, and is probably the most faithful reproduction of the original. Dr. Schmidt's promised edition of the whole work will be gladly welcomed, both by Sanskritists and by students of comparative folklore; though, on account of its

defective language and of its most objectionable contents, the *Sukasaptati* will never become a school-book.

JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. Vol. X. No. 35. 1887. Edited by H. C. P. Bell, C.O.S., Honorary Secretary. Colombo, Govt. Press, 1889.

There is no hurry about science in Ceylon evidently, for this number, dated 1887, was printed in 1889, and has reached us in 1890!

The number opens with a very short account of the excavations of Mr. Boake, Ceylon C. S., at Tirukkōṭṭivaram, a ruined town or temple near the shore of the Gulf of Manaar, which is also known by the names of Mahātīrtha, Mātōḍḍam and Māntōḍḍai. He does not appear to have found anything of historical value, except perhaps two unidentified copper coins, and the inscriptions appear to be all in modern Sinhalese.

This description is followed by an account of the temple by the Hon. P. Rāmanāthan, which connects Tirukkōṭṭivaram with Vijaya, who entered Ceylon in 543 B. C., and shews that in 700 A. D. it was a most flourishing temple. It is one of the two most sacred places of Hindu worship in Ceylon, the other being Tirukkōnamāli (Trincomalee).

The second article gives a translation, without the text, of an inscription of Sri-Parākrama-Bāhu VI., dated in his thirty-eighth year, i. e. 1448 A. D. It was found in the temple at Moḍḍivaram.

This is followed by a short and interesting note on the Hilpenkandura at Kandy by Mr. J. P. Lewis, Ceylon C. S. This is a pillar with a basin at the top, so contrived that three persons can bathe under it at a time, and seems to have been used by the kings of Kandy for bathing purposes, as it was said to contain the best water in the neighbourhood. The supplying stream has now been fouled by *dhābā*, and can no longer be used for bathing purposes.

An interesting contemporary account of the capture of Trincomalee by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1639 is given in a translation from the journal of the Dutch Commander, Antonio Caen. And then follows a translation of Daalman's Notes on Ceylon in 1687-88, accompanied by most valuable notes on the text from the well-known pen of Mr. Donald Ferguson.

The number winds up with the publication of a posthumous paper, dated 1875, by the late

Louis de Soysa, Chief Interpreter to the Ceylon Government, containing Notes on the Jātakas, chiefly in connection with the sculptures at Bharut, to which is attached a correspondence on the subject between the author, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Prof. Max Müller, Mr. R. C. Childers, the Rev. Samuel Beal, and Mr. James Fergusson, all bearing date 1874 and 1875, and a complete list of the Paṇṣiyapana Jātakas.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE, October 1889, No. 182. Copp, Clark & Co., Ltd.; Toronto.

In August 1889, the Canadian Institute issued a "Sociological Circular" with a view to collecting and recording "reliable data respecting the political and social institutions, the customs, ceremonies, beliefs, pursuits, modes of living, habits, exchange, and the devolution of property and office, which obtain among the Indian peoples" of Canada. The circular gave a list of points upon which information was specially required, much in the manner of the Anthropological and Geographical Societies of England. A very early response to this was made by the Rev. Father A. G. Morice of Stuart's Lake, British Columbia, in an admirable paper on the Western Denes, their manners and customs.

We have much pleasure in bringing this article to the notice of Indian readers, as so many of the manners and customs of these denizens of the extreme North-Western America correspond closely in numerous instances with those of the Mongolian tribes across the sea in Northern Asia, and indeed among the Mongoloid races much further south.

The mode of dressing the hair, the method of washing the hands and face, the forms of the huts, some of the articles of food, the proceedings at banquets, the head-dress of the women, some of the amusements, all bear a close analogy to those of the Tatars and Mughals. The rules of marriage and divorce again are practically those of the modern Burmese, except that the children in case of divorce go to the father and not to the mother, as with the Burmese.

The customs relating to menstruation and parturition bear a most interesting resemblance to those of the ancient Hebrews, as detailed in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and the treatment of widows, for a time at least, is carried out much on the lines approved by orthodox Hindus.

Altogether the article not only exhibits great local knowledge and research, but is one that should be known to all students of Oriental ethnology.

TRACTATUS DE GLOBIS ET MORMUM UNO; a treatise descriptive of the globes constructed by Emery Molyneux and published in 1592. By ROBERT HUES. Edited with annotated Indices and an Introduction by CLEMENT B. MARKHAM, O.B., F.R.S. London, Hakluyt Society. 1889.

The name of the Society which has produced this volume and of the eminent scholar who has edited it are sufficient guarantee of its usefulness and excellence, and it will be unnecessary here to do more than to give a brief notice of its contents.

Helped by information received from the great English navigators and mathematicians of the 16th century and by funds from the great merchants of the day, Molyneux constructed and published his famous globes. To aid the many who wished to study them, Robert Hues, the celebrated mathematician, published his equally famous book on the use of the Globes. The immense sensation caused in the days of Elizabeth by the globes and the tracts to explain them, lasted almost to our own boyhood, when a knowledge "of the use of the globes" was still an indispensable qualification in every household of persons moving in polite society.

The first globes made were the celestial ones whose origin is lost in myth and antiquity. At any rate Posidonius, 150 B. C., constructed a revolving sphere to exhibit the motions of heavenly bodies; and in the second century A. D., Ptolemy laid down rules for the construction of globes. Thenceforward history and numismatics prove their existence and use among the Romans and Greeks, though the earliest existing globe is of Arabic origin, dated as late as 1070 A. D.

On the other hand the oldest terrestrial globe known is dated 1492, and was constructed by Martin Behaim of Nuremberg. The only lines on it are the equator, tropics, polar circles and the first meridian passing through Madeira. The meridian is of iron. A brass horizon was added in 1500. From this globe of Behaim's construction Mr. Markham carries us through the exceedingly interesting and instructive story of every known globe, with passing notices of such astronomical and mathematical giants as Leonardo da Vinci, Schöner, Gerard Mercator, Ulpius, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Pontanus and Santucci to Molyneux.

Very little is known of Molyneux, the first English globe-maker, beyond that he was known to Raleigh, Hakluyt, Edward Wright and John Davis the Navigator. His work was first adver-

used in the first ed. of Hakluyt's voyages in 1589 and published in 1592, — his being the largest globes made to that date. They were 2 feet 2 inches in diameter, or 5 inches larger than Behaim's globe.

These Molynseux globes have "graduated brass meridians and on that of the terrestrial globe a dial circle or *horarius* is fixed. The broad wooden equator, forming the upper part of the stand, is painted with the zodiac signs, the months, the Roman calendar, the points of the compass, and the same in Latin in concentric circles. Rhumb lines are drawn from numerous centres over the surface of the terrestrial globe. The equator, ecliptic and polar circles are painted boldly; while the parallels of latitude and meridians at every ten degrees are very faint lines." Their contents are interesting in the extreme, both as shewing the geographical knowledge of the day resulting from the discoveries of Barents, Davis, Raleigh, Sarmiento, Cavendish, Loaysa, del Cano, Drake and so on, and as exhibiting the prevailing belief in the existence of St Brandon, Moidas, Heptapolis and other mythical islands. S. Matheo a "lost" island visited by Loaysa and del Cano is also shewn in the South Atlantic.

These invaluable documents have been well-nigh lost to the world, though a number were manufactured and sold, for only one set has been preserved, and that mostly by accident in the library of the Middle Temple, of all the places in the world!

To turn to the author of the *Tractatus* under review. Robert Hues or Husius was born in 1553 near Leominster, and was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, between 1571 and 1578, and became known as a good Greek scholar. He afterwards travelled on the Continent and voyaged at least twice across the Atlantic, and meanwhile became a good geographer and mathematician. He next wrote his celebrated treatise, and then became the friend of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and the friend and executor of Sir Walter Raleigh. He lived his last years at Oxford, where he died in his eightieth year, and finally the poor servitor of former days found an honoured grave and monument in Christ Church Cathedral.

His great work went through thirteen editions before 1688 in Latin, Dutch, French, and English. After a vigorous appeal to the English navigators of the day to study science as well as seamanship,

he proceeds to prove the sphericity of the earth by way of preface. He then begins his treatise by describing the globes and their parts: the frame, horizon, meridian, *horarius*, *index horarius*, and the lines and circles. Next he describes the celestial globe and discourses in the most interesting manner on the origin of the Ptolemaic constellations and stars. Then follows an account of the terrestrial globe and discussions on the ancient and modern (up to his time) knowledge of the earth of absorbing interest, and also an account of the various methods adopted to ascertain the circumference of the earth and the length of a degree. Next are his calculations, which were long the only means practical sailors had of finding their way about the earth, and so played an important part in the English explorations of the seventeenth century. So far all the contents of the *Tractatus* were Hues's own work, but as a fifth part it includes a valuable treatise by Thomas Harriot on the rhumb-lines described on the terrestrial globe, the use of which was to shew that, when, of the course, distance, difference of longitude and difference of latitude, any two are known, the other two can be found. The book also contained an index geographical of all places on the globe with the longitude and latitude of each. For the purpose of identifying old geographical names, this is of course invaluable.

To this monumental work, Mr. Markham has added a most laborious, interesting and valuable biographical index to the names of the astronomers and mathematicians whose names are mentioned in the text, and equally important index of names of the stars and constellations.

As an appendix to the volume are added *Sailing Directions for the Circumnavigation of England and for a Voyage to the Straits of Gibraltar from a 15th-Century MS.*, edited by James Gairdner, with a glossary by Delmar Morgan.

The language of this treatise is unintelligible without a glossary, and the place-names meaningless without an explanatory index; both these have been supplied with great clearness and at an expenditure of immense labour by Mr. Delmar Morgan.

This unique publication is accompanied by a curious and exceedingly interesting map, shewing place-names round England as they were known in the 15th Century.

SYSTEM OF transliteration.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	अ	a	ज	अ	ja
आ	आ	ā	झ	अ	jha
इ	इ	i	ञ	अ	ña
ई	ई	ī	ट	अ	ṭa
उ	उ	u	ठ	अ	ṭha
ऊ	ऊ	ū	ड	अ	ḍha
ऋ	ऋ	ṛi	ढ	अ	ḍha
ॠ	ॠ	ṛi	ण	अ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	अ	ta
—	ॡ	e	थ	अ	tha
ए	ए	ē	द	अ	da
ऐ	ऐ	ai	ध	अ	dha
—	ॢ	o	न	अ	na
ओ	ओ	ō	प	अ	pa
औ	औ	au	फ	अ	pha
Visarga	Visarga	h	ब	अ	ba
J-hudmūltya, or old	—	li	भ	अ	bha
Visarga before क	—	—	म	अ	ma
and ख	—	—	य	अ	ya
Upadhmanīya, or	—	h	र	अ	ra
old Visarga be-	—	—	—	अ	ra
fore प and फ	—	—	ल	अ	la
Anusvāra	Anusvāra	m	ळ	अ	ḷa
Anunāsikā	—	m	—	अ	ḷa
क	क	ka	व	अ	va
ख	ख	kha	श	अ	śa
ग	ग	ga	ष	अ	ṣa
घ	घ	gha	स	अ	sa
ङ	ङ	ṅa	ह	अ	ha
च	च	cha			
छ	छ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *sandhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virāṇa* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *sandhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palaeographical standard of the original texts.

The *avagraha*, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Devanāgarī sign.

So also practice has shown that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Devanāgarī marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate usually, of two for each *akṣara* or syllable.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.S., M.B.A.S., C.L.E.

No. 5. — THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF CHANNAVVA OF KITTUR.

KITTUR, now a Government village in the Sampgaum Talukā or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, was formerly the chief town of a Dēśāī's estate.¹ The last Dēśāī was Sivaliṅgappa Rudrasarjā,² otherwise known as Bāpū Sāheb. His father was the Mallappa or Mallasarjā, who is mentioned in the ballad. Sivaliṅgappa died in September 1824; leaving a stepmother, Channavva, and a wife, Iravva or Vīravva, but no children. In order to continue the family, an attempt was made by the Kārbhārī³ to pass off, as Sivaliṅgappa's adopted son, a son of the Pāṭīl of the neighbouring village of Māstamardi. And the events which followed, ending in the resumption of the estate by the British Government, will be best described by reproducing Col. E. W. West's account (*Memoir of the States of the Southern Marāṭhā Country*, p. 129 ff.): —

"On the 12th September 1824 one of the Dēśāī's principal servants came to Mr. Thackeray, the Principal Collector at Dhārwad," — [mentioned in the ballad, verse 4, as *Tākur Sāheb*], — "to announce that his master was dying, and to deliver a letter purporting to be from him, in which the adoption of a son was announced. The letter was dated the 10th July, but it was stated the adoption had only taken place on the day the letter was received. The Civil Surgeon was immediately sent to Kittūr, which is about eighteen miles from Dhārwad, but found the Dēśāī dead, and considered from the appearance of the corpse that he had been dead several hours and most probably before the messenger had left Kittūr for Dhārwad. All the circumstances connected with the alleged adoption seemed to Mr. Thackeray not a little suspicious. In the first place the Dēśāī had never applied for permission to adopt, though he was aware of the proclamation rendering such application necessary. When Mr. Thackeray had seen him a few months previously, though he was very ill and spoke freely of his affairs, he never expressed any wish to adopt. The signature, too, to the letter was scarcely legible, and the characters were quite different from the Dēśāī's usual handwriting, which was remarkably good and distinct. The conclusion therefore irresistibly pressed on Mr. Thackeray's mind was, that, if the adoption had ever taken place it was not performed till the Dēśāī was either dead or insensible.

'In reporting these circumstances for the information of Government, Mr. Thackeray pointed out that the family of the deceased consisted of his wife, who was only eleven years of age, his step-mother, and the young widow of his brother who had died two years previously. The remaining relations were, like the child said to have been adopted, descended from collateral branches so remote that their descent from the common ancestor could not be traced. He reported that he had proceeded to Kittūr to make inquiries into the alleged adoption, and to preserve order pending the decision of Government regarding the succession, and as, if the estate did not revert to Government, there would be a long minority, he proposed for the present to conduct the administration by means of two managers — one on the part of Government, and the other one on that of the Dēśāī's family.

¹ The term Dēśāī denotes an hereditary officer, the chief local administrator of a *dēśa* or *pargana*, i. e. 'district'; another name for the same officer is Dēśmukh. The duties of the Dēśāī or Dēśmukh in the district under him, were very similar to those of a Pāṭīl in his village; and he had, as his coadjutor, a Dēśpāṇḍyā, corresponding to the Pāṭīl's coadjutor, the Kulkarnī or village accountant. The offices of Dēśāī and Dēśpāṇḍyā do not exist under the British Government; but the titles are still known and used, as in most cases the service-lands have been continued, as private property subject to certain limited assessments, to the descendants of those who held office under the Pēśwā's rule. — The wife of a Dēśāī has the title of Dēśāṇḍī.

² *szrjā* appears to be a Persian title. It seems to have been conferred upon the Dēśāīs of Kittūr by the Bājā of Kōlāpur (see West's *Memoir*, p. 193, note).

³ The Kārbhārī is the principal executive officer of a Hindu Native State.

"On the receipt of this report instructions were given that it should be announced that the British Government did not recognise the adoption, as, if made at all, it was made without sanction, and indeed was as yet unsubstantiated by proofs. Mr. Thackeray therefore was desired to take charge of the principality and to make an inquiry into the circumstances of the adoption. Government, however, declared it to be their intention that if the boy said to have been adopted proved on inquiry to be a descendant of the Dêśāi who possessed the country before the conquest of it by Tipu," — [Tîpû Sulţân of Maisûr], — "the question of adoption would be considered immaterial, and the boy would be allowed to succeed. If, on the other hand, it appeared that the claimant was neither a descendant of the ancient Dêśāi nor a near connection of the late Dêśāi by the female line, the adoption was to be disallowed.

"The inquiries set on foot by Mr. Thackeray showed that the Dêśāi had died on the night of the 11th instead of the 12th September, as reported, without making any adoption, and that after his death Konûr Mallapa, his Kârbhârî, and others of his attendants invested the child with the insignia of Dêśāi. This was fully acknowledged by the parties concerned, who further confessed to having put a pen in the dead man's hands and so written his signature to the letter dated the 10th July which was sent to Mr. Thackeray. Konûr Mallappa, who had been appointed manager on the part of Government, was removed on this account, and also because he had been concerned in the removal of some treasure and jewels and accounts from the late Dêśāi's treasury. In his letter reporting these proceedings Mr. Thackeray writes: — 'All is perfectly quiet here. I anticipate no disorder, and I expect to be able to manage the whole country without any military assistance.' He afterwards submitted the result of his inquiries into the family pedigree, which showed that no descendant of the ancient Dêśāi, or near connection by the female line of the late Dêśāi, was alive.

"While these reports were under consideration, Government were shocked by the receipt of intelligence of a rising at Kittûr which had resulted in the death of the Political Agent and other gentlemen. It appears that on the 21st October Mr. Thackeray, finding that a number of the late Dêśāi's Sepoys in charge of the treasury were notorious thieves, and were commanded by a man of like character, became apprehensive for the safety of the treasure, and reluctantly determined to place a guard of Government Sepoys at each gateway. He also required the head men to give a bond rendering themselves responsible for the safety of the treasury, but they refused to do so without the orders of Channayya, the late Dêśāi's stepmother, who had lately claimed the supremacy. Mr. Thackeray then wished to call on the ladies to explain matters, but they refused to see him that day, promising, however, to see him next day. On the 22nd, however, they still refused to see him, and none of the Sardârs⁴ would accompany him to their house. As Mr. Thackeray heard that the Shêtsandîs⁵ and Peons were assembling from their villages, he thought it advisable to take precautionary measures, and accordingly requested Captain Black, the commander of a troop of Gôlandâs⁶ that had accompanied him, to bring two guns into the fort, which were posted at the gateways. In the morning, when the artillery officer proceeded to the fort to change guard, he found the outer gate locked and the inner fort full of armed men, and was refused admittance. Several messages were then sent by Mr. Thackeray, but as they were not attended to, he ordered up the other two guns, and declared that if the gate was not opened in twenty minutes he would blow it open. At the expiration of the specified period, Captain Black, Captain Sowell, and Lieutenant Dighton, of the Gôlandâs, were preparing to blow open the gate, when a rally was made from the fort by the Peons, who seized the guns and cut down the officers and all with them. At this juncture Mr. Thackeray came up on horseback and attempted to quiet the insurgents, but fell by a shot and was then cut to pieces. The remnant of the British detachment was then

⁴ The term Sardâr denotes 'a prince, a chief, a gentleman of rank.'

⁵ Village revenue and police officers, holding, for their service, lands rent-free or under a quit-rent, by a *samâd* or written warrant.

⁶ Gôlandâs is a Persian word, denoting 'a gunner or bombardier.'

attacked and cut up, and Messrs. Stevenson and Elliott, Assistants to the Political Agent, who had concealed themselves in a house, were made prisoners with some native officials and Sepoys. Gurusiddhapa, the ringleader in these proceedings, and the dowager Dēśāpī, who had excoited the spirit that led to this *excite*, when they found what had resulted from their intrigues, were not a little alarmed, and anxiously preserved the lives of the European gentlemen as hostages.

"As the portion of the Dōāb Field Force stationed in Belgaum was too weak to act against a strong fort like Kittūr, said to be garrisoned by some 5,000 desperate men, troops were rapidly concentrated from all quarters. A proclamation was issued offering a free pardon and retention of their *indans* &c.,⁷ to all who should surrender before a fixed date, except Gurusiddhapa, and even he was promised exemption from capital punishment if he surrendered immediately. The Sardārs and Sepoys in Kittūr were warned that they would be held responsible for the safety of the prisoners, and that if any harm was done to them the guilty persons should be punished with such severity as should be a terror to all future offenders.

"In the meantime the insurgents held a very high tone. They addressed several letters to Government complaining of Mr. Thackeray's acts, and demanding the continuance of the *Sāmsthān*.⁸ They also endeavoured to enlist the Rājā of Kōlāpur on their side, but he gave up their emissaries to the British authorities. On the 30th November the fort was invested, and Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Dekkan, who had hurried to the scene of operations, called on the insurgents to surrender. They, however, demanded more favourable terms before releasing the prisoners, but were referred to the proclamation. On the morning of the 2nd December, to the great relief of all, the prisoners were released; but as the fort was not surrendered it was attacked on the 3rd and an advanced fortified post carried, where a battery was erected, which on the next day effected a practicable breach, when the garrison surrendered at discretion. The troops engaged on this occasion were the 1st Bombay European Regiment and two companies of Her Majesty's 48th Foot, a battery of Horse, and a company of Foot Artillery, the 4th and 8th Madras L. O., the 23rd Madras N. I., and the 3rd and 6th Regiments of Bombay N. I., the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon, C. B. The casualties were three killed and twenty-five wounded. Among the killed were numbered Mr. Munro, the Sub-Collector of Shōlāpur, who had come to the scene of action after Mr. Thackeray's death, and was mortally wounded in the attack on the advanced post.

"The territory that thus lapsed to the British Government was divided into the three Tālukās of Kittūr, Sampgaum, and Bīdī, containing in all 286 villages and 72 hamlets. The revenue for the *Faāl* 1234,⁹ immediately after the lapse, amounted to Rs. 8,33,647, which in three years increased by upwards of Rs. 22,000. This revenue was exclusive of lands of the value of Rs. 20,040 held by servants of the late Dēśāpī, and other lands of the value of Rs. 20,925 held by Shōtsandīs. These lands according to the terms of the proclamation were forfeited, but it was considered at the time impolitic to act on the letter of our rights in this respect. The ladies of the family were liberally provided for."

The ballad, which concerns itself but little with the historical events described above, and is interesting chiefly for the insight that it gives into certain phases of Native domestic life, deals with the lamentations and death of Iravva,¹⁰ the widow of Bāpa Sāheb Sivalīngappa Rudrasarjā. When Rāyanna of Saṅgōlī raised his insurrection,¹¹ he spirited away, apparently with the connivance of the Dēśāpī, the boy who was alleged to have been adopted by the

⁷ Property held under grants by Government.

⁸ The technical term for a Hindu Native State.

⁹ The *Faāl* is a Muhammadān revenue reckoning; the years commence with the *Mriga nakshatra*.

¹⁰ The title of the ballad is *Kittūra Ohannavāna sōse*, "the Daughter-in-law of Ohannava of Kittūr."—There are several passages in it, difficult to understand. One or two of them remain unexplained. For the explanation of the others, I am indebted to Mr. Shrinivas Ramchandra Savadi, of the Educational Department.

¹¹ See Ballad No. 1, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 295 ff. References to his insurrection are made in the present ballad.

last *Désâi*, — in order to enlist the sympathies of all the people of the district. *Īravva* was then living at *Hoūgal*, — more usually known as *Bail-Hoūgal*, — in the *Sampgaum Tālnkā*. It was found advisable to remove her to *Dhārwaḍ*. This nearly excited another rising; in fact, a thousand men assembled at *Ānigōl*, to resist her removal. Most of them, however, submitted, on receiving a promise of pardon; while the rest joined *Rāyanna*. *Īravva* was then taken to *Dhārwaḍ*; or, if the ballad is correct, actually to *Kusugal*, a large fortified village about twelve miles to the south-east of *Dhārwaḍ*. She was kept in safe custody there; and shortly afterwards, apparently in July 1880, she died at *Dhārwaḍ*; "it was supposed by poison, taken by herself, or administered to her."¹²

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.

When the Daughter-in-law of *Chammavva* of *Kittār* was leaving *Hoūgal*, great, O my brother I, were the lamentations that she made; — "Ah! if our *Mallasarjā* had not died, how would my belongings have been carried away?"

First Verse.

"Six elephants; sixteen camels; twelve thousand foot-soldiers; and the cannons, such as those that great kings possess, which were laden and carried away; the palanquin, adorned with pearls, for riding in, and eight or ten state sunshades, with silver staves, which were intended to be held all round; the elegant carts have all gone, so that not one remains; and the *chauris* for the horses and chariots; and all the light brown colts, which the fierce soldiers would mount in all their bravery. *Kalabasappa* of *Kallār*, and *Mallappa* of *Kannār*, and *Awarādi-Virappa*. — they were the *Kārbhārīs*; when such nobles as these have fled to the forests, how great is the calamity that has come upon me!"

(With a change of metre),¹³ — "It has happened to me, just as their exile in the woods befell the *Pāṇḍavas*! When the wicked *Duhśāsana* took *Draupadī* by her robe and dragged her (into the public assembly), what could the five princes do? O wicked one! listen! there are none others as sinful as myself." Praising (the god *Śiva*) who wears a serpent, *Īravva* reflected upon (*Śiva*) the Lord of *Pārvatī*.

(Raising the voice), — "Why did Brahman write upon my forehead such a decree, that the good deeds recorded for my previous life have all proved vain?"

Second Verse.

I will describe¹⁴ the articles that the women used to wear. — The waistbands of gold for the slender waists; the various ear-ornaments, viz. the *bugaḍi*,¹⁵ the *bāṭcali*,¹⁶ the *amūkicḍli*,¹⁷ and the *chajātumbū*;¹⁸ the *ryāḡuḍi*,¹⁹ which are placed so charmingly (on the head); the cone-shaped

¹² Stokes' *Historical Account of the Belyann District*, p. 84. The ballad, however, implies no death by violence, much less any foul play; it indicates that *Īravva* starved herself to death. — Mr. Stokes seems to place the insurrection of *Rāyanna*, and the death of *Īravva*, in 1829. According to Capt. West's account, they both happened in 1830.

¹³ *chy*, = *chylka*, or *chāli*; see ante, Vol. XV. p. 350. note 6. Another recension of the ballad, extending only as far as the end of verse 7, uses, instead of *chy*, the word *prāḷpa*, probably in the sense of 'lamentation, wailing.'

¹⁴ i. e. the composer of the ballad.

¹⁵ The *bugaḍi* is explained to me 'as an ear-ornament formed of a round ball at the top, connected below with a *chajātumbū* (see note 18).' Sanderson, in his *Kanarese Dictionary*, defines it as 'a female's ornament, worn in the tip of the ear.'

¹⁶ The *bāṭcali* seems to be another ornament worn near the *bugaḍi*.

¹⁷ More properly *jumukicḍli*. Sanderson gives it as 'an earring with a drop.' It is explained to me as 'an ear-ornament, with two *chajātumbū*s connected by rows of pearls.'

¹⁸ The *chajātumbū* is defined by Sanderson as 'a double cone formed of rings.' It is explained to me as 'a plate of gold, having the shape of a small cup or calix.'

¹⁹ A round ornament for the head, made of gold.

KANARESE BALLADS.

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF CHANNAVVA OF KITTUR.

(Air of the Chorus)

Kit - tu - ra Chan-nav - va - na so - si Hon - ga - la bit - tu

ho - gu - va - ga Hon - ga - la bit - tu ho - gu - va - ga ma - dutt - id - al -

- an - na ma - ha - duth - - kha mat - ta

nam - ma Mal - la - sar - ja sat - tu

ho - gad - - id - da - - ra hot - tu ho - gud -

- ya - ka nam - ma ba - da - - ka hot - tu ho - gud -

- ya - ka nam - ma ba - da - - ka

chevaris;²⁰ the golden ornaments for the braided hair; the necklaces worth a thousand pieces of gold;²¹ the nose-rings, of *mohars* and pearls, with diamonds set in them; the silver necklets, with *liaga*-boxes suspended from them, that are worn round the neck; the necklaces of pearls, with oblong plates, gold beads, and square centre-pieces; the necklaces of black glass beads, with gold beads strung between them; the necklaces of pearls set in squares; the shuttle-shaped pendants of the necklaces;²² the flat collars of gold;²³ the bracelets of gold and coral beads; the coral necklaces; the silver ornaments worn on the great toe, and those worn on the little toe; the ornaments for the second toe; the silver chains, with bells, worn on the leg; the tubes of silver, with pebbles in them, that give a jingling sound;²⁴ the silver chains (for the ankles); and the rings worn on the second toe. "The kindness of him (Vishnu) who supported the mountain Mandara (at the time of the churning of the ocean) has failed; and all these things have been taken away, so that not one remains; no refuge is there left for me hereafter."

(With a change of metre), — What did the maid-servants, conversant with all matters, and full of truth, say in illustration (of her state), bidding their sister restrain her grief? — "Even while Rāma and Lakshmana were living together in affection, the wicked Rāvana carried off Jānakī (Sītā), and hid her in the forest. Then Hanumat went, and burnt Laikā. They gave the crown to Vibhishana. And then, making them close-prisoners,²⁵ the king (Rāma) put to shame all the troops of the demons; and so he, the glory of his family, brought back (Sītā) the mother (of his people)."

(Raising the voice), — "So say, O mother!, that the son whom thou hast lost, may be thine (again);"²⁶ — thus they all spake, consoling her.

Third Verse.

Now I will enumerate the clothes which were carried away, and which were all laden and dispersed over the country-side: — The *sāris*,²⁷ embroidered with gold lace, which the girls would wear; the red *sāris* for the maid-servants; the red and white *sāris* for ladies; the red and black silken *sāris* for ladies of rank; the red and black and white striped *sāris* for young maidens; the dark black *sāris* for sprightly damsels; the flowered *sāris* for girls; the mustard-coloured *sāris* worn by little girls; the silken *sāris* with costly borders, from Cambay (P), for young women; the caps, and the coats with hoods, with which the babies are covered, — how many more shall I describe? — the gold jewels, set with diamonds, shaped like leaves of the sacred fig-tree; the gold wristlets for infants; the caps; the ornaments worn above the elbow, shaped like cobras; the cloths without borders; the turbans; the shawls; the coarse woollen cloths; the green jackets set with emeralds; the sweet-scented kerchiefs for the head; and the upper cloths for men, brought from Nāgpur;²⁸ — all the property accumulated by Mallasarjī was taken away; as well as I can, I tell the plundering of it.

(With a change of metre), — "Even when all this left me, alas! my sufferings came not to an end," — (thus lamented) Itayya, beating her forehead with violence on the ground, and saying that she would throw herself on the blades of swords bound crosswise. All her maid-

²⁰ The *chevari*, or more properly *chevari*, is defined by Sanderson as 'a gold ornament by which some hair of the yak is attached to a female's hair.'

²¹ The *oraddhi* is explained to me as 'a necklace (sara) made up of cup-shaped plates of gold (*tāh*), connected with black glass beads.' — The gold coin is the *koaru*, which is now obsolete. Sanderson gives it as 'half a pagoda, &c.,

²² *qora*. But it has been otherwise explained to me, as 'an ornament worn by women on the wrist.'

²³ The *chintika* appears to be identical with the Marāṭhī *chintāg* or *chintāg*.

²⁴ *kālakāḍḍ*; or more properly *kālakāḍḍa*. Sanderson says simply 'a leg bracelet.'

²⁵ *lā*, 'having firmly sealed them.'

²⁶ This seems to refer to the boy, whom it was sought to palm off as the adopted son of Itayya's husband.

²⁷ I use here, for convenience, a word (a corruption of *sāri*) which is much better known than the Kanarese *sāri* or *sāri* in the sense of 'the cloth worn by a woman.'

²⁸ Compare *ants*, Vol. XVIII. p. 254, and note §,

servants surrounded her, saying "Through the favour of the three-eyed Hara (Śiva), thou hast children, O mother! and a younger brother; O mother! what is it that has come upon thee?" thus they spake, with words of comfort, to Īravva; but she ceased not her weeping:—

(Raising the voice), — "An army of twelve thousand men left me and dispersed; it was as if a swollen tank had burst!"

Fourth Verse.

O thou (Śiva) who didst destroy the god of love!, how is it that such trouble came to such great people? Inquire and see what a time of sorrow Īravva (Śiva) brought upon them! The whole country of Kittār was weeping in sympathy; saying that such destruction should not have come upon the lords who ruled the district. Two hundred bullocks carried away the wealth of a group of twelve villages, the management of which was with men of merit; of a truth, seventy-seven hundred Lingāyat priests could have been fed to satisfaction (with it) in the month of Śrāvāṇa; even without waiting to hear them say that they were hungry, they would have been served, my brother!, with gifts of fruits and milk and sugar and clothes.²⁹ But I will tell how religion faded, and (aimless) actions took its place, and enmity increased; and how the secret leaked out, and three people died.³⁰

(With a change of metre), — All the great men lamented, saying "If Bāyanāyaka had not brought confusion on the country, the affairs of state would have gone on smoothly." Having closely imprisoned the installed Dēśāī,³¹ they took away Ohannavva and placed her at Hoṅgal. They said that he was (nothing but) an adopted (or pretended) son. Then Mr. Thackeray came, and was slain and perished, saying "Capture the village, for heroes have been born in it." The people were weeping with loud outcries.

(Raising the voice), — If the moon in the sky should fail to shine so lustreously, what use would be the stars, no matter how many they are?

Fifth Verse.

From time to time, with constant reiteration, they wrote an answer (to Īravva), — a letter saying "Set out to-morrow!" Loosening all her clothes and ornaments, the poor woman throws them on the ground, and weeps, with her eyes brimful of tears. Having straightway laden it all, and saying "Let the carts and bullocks go forward," they loosed and drove on all the cattle. Calling the priest, and sending for a palanquin, and holding up the sunshade over it, they set out, waving the umbrellas and *chauris*. "O Sir!, I am but a young girl; I will declare (all) to you again and again; listen, O noble Sir! to my fault."

(With a change of metre), — They said "Set out! Set out!" She became obstinate, and braced herself in resistance; and when they came to drag her forth, seeing (their intention), she seized their feet; saying "Why did I not enter the fierce fire and die, there where perished the brave men who governed the country?" — she weeps, thinking of her husband. "In the whole world there is no one as unfortunate as myself; if only one son had been born to me, how could the State have come to an end?"

(Raising the voice), — Her life had become unstable; just as if it were a wild jasmine plant, withering at the root for want of water!

Sixth Verse.

Saying "No matter what I do, they leave me not alone," — with resignation she sang the praises of (her dead) brave (husband). Thinking of her sister-in-law and father-in-law, she

²⁹ The month of Śrāvāṇa, and especially each Monday of it, is the month most sacred to Śiva. The Lingāyats celebrate it by, amongst other ways, feeding large numbers of their priests.

³⁰ The allusion here is not apparent.

³¹ i. e. the boy who was put forward as the adopted son of the last real Dēśāī.

mounted the litter; and the bearers, my brother!, raising it, took it on their shoulders. Keeping guard around her, they set out, my brother!; three hundred matchlock men in front, and two hundred horsemen behind. Jeering at her with the words "Rāyanāyaka is coming!", and saying "Hurry on!", — on the left and the right were eight or ten men with drawn swords. Taking the road, ²² the noble gentleman himself came to Dhārwaḍ, and inquired into her condition. Said he, "Why, rejecting the food that is given to you, have you been displaying so very evil a disposition towards me? And why, sending Rāyanāyaka out by night, are you causing the surrounding villages to be burnt by him, in mockery (of us)? (But) kill her not; take her, and place her alone within the walls of Kusugal; there is the place for her."

(With a change of metre), — The palanquin-bearers raised her, and carried her to Kusugal. While she was slowly going into the fort, Īravva made great lamentation. Wailing, and saying "For children that have no mother, there is no support and no prosperity; they should not seek to preserve their bodies," — Īravva implored Siva for death. The lady Īravva made lament, wailing loudly; Īravva fell straightway into a state of dejection.

(Raising the voice), — "I have been pillaged, just as if one had taken a fish out of the water and thrown it aside; (such is) my condition."

Seventh Verse.

Saying that she would live no longer in this world, she refused all food and water. Her arms and legs wasted; and saying "Let the earth be my portion," she let her colour fade away. All her limbs dried up, as if with dysentery; and she was consumed with a fire in her body, like quick-lime. She went to (the god) Kāḍa-Siddha of Nawalgund in the neighbouring country, and there she bathed and put on the sacred cloth. Having drunk the water in which the feet of the priest were washed, she laid aside all care for herself, and concentrated her thoughts in meditation on the *līṅga*. In devotion, she summoned the ascetic priests, and sent for gold enough to fill the scales, and weighed it out, and gave it away. Saying "Give me liberation; then, O three-eyed Hara (Siva), art my guide!", — she set out and came to Dhārwaḍ.

(With a change of metre), — Hearing it said that her little son Mallasarjā had been caught, ²³ quickly Īravva became quite overcome, and meditated on the three-eyed Hara (Siva). If one has a jar full of gold, what use is it?; it is better to live as a poor woman; if a wife has her husband in the house, then only are ornaments worth wearing. So, she gave away in charity all her ornaments and clothes without exception; and saying that the riches of Kittūr had faded away, Īravva is weeping greatly.

(Raising the voice), — She came to Dhārwaḍ, and when she had been there some three to six days, the time of death came, and she gave up her life.

Eighth Verse.

They all raised up the dead body, and placed it sitting, and, having washed the mouth, spread ashes over it. The virtuous ladies put on her, in folds, the *śṛṅṅ*, with ends decorated with pearls, that her mother-in-law Channavva used to wear. They anointed her with the fragrant musk, and sending for a case of ornaments, they spread them about over her body. In her nose they placed a nose-ring, set with jewels worth eight or ten thousand gold pieces. Burning countless pastilles of the fragrant sandal-wood powder, they filled and set out the small lamps and the jars with ears of corn arranged in water. The priests who read the ancient books (the *Purāṇas*), and narrate the stories of the sacred writings, assembled. Saying "It is an unnatural death!", — the people of the whole country-side came together, and stood there and rained down tears.

²² The word *disokadāḍ*: (in the other copy, *d'isogadāḍa*) is unintelligible. It is not a village-name.

²³ I cannot obtain any explanation of this; unless the name of Mallasarjā was given to the boy who was alleged to have been adopted by the last Dīkṣī. Īravva appears not to have had any children of her own.

(With a change of metre), — All her maid-servants were weeping: — “No mother-in-law or father-in-law is left for us; no sisters-in-law; weep I, for the time of distress has come, since thou, the mother that bare us, art no more.” Her female friends are weeping: — “We have no sisters and brothers, elder or younger; there are none now to roam about the palace!” All the lords were weeping in sympathy; lamenting that she had not been able to say a single sweet word to her husband (at the time of death), and that the noble Bāpā Sāheb had not lived for one year more.

(Raising the voice), — All the dependents who had eaten her salt, fell quickly to the ground; and thinking of the memory of the wife of Bāpā Sāheb, they weep.

Ninth Verse.

All the lords and ladies of the country-side came together, and assembled there. They called a skilful carpenter, and supplied him with all the proper implements, and made a car. On it they arranged mirrors in rows, and they hung on it garlands of flowers in proper order. Round about they fastened clusters of pearls worth eight or ten thousand gold pieces, and shawls with gold and silver lace. They themselves lifted up the dead body, and proceeded on their way; over it they are waving umbrellas and *chāuris*. Throwing about, without stint, the fragrant sandal-wood powder in baskets, they set out, passing along the rows of shops. In front went the noble gentleman, causing the tabors and horns, the trumpets, the drums, the bass and treble tabors, and the large tabors, to be sounded. All the people of the whole country made lamentation, gazing upon their elder sister *Īravva*.

(With a change of metre), — While the people of Dhārwad were weeping, beating their mouths with their hands, her son, who was kept in guard, made a hundred lamentations, praising the god *Samkara*. Seeing the bullock-carts and the riding-horses going in front of the dead body, he made lamentation. Having given charitable gifts, and having finished the prescribed rites, and having placed her in the earth, with praises of (the god) *Basava*²⁴ who gives future emancipation, they turned and went away.

(Raising the voice), — *Basava*, of the charming *Hebballi*, turned into poetry, and described at length, all that he saw.

TEXT.

Pallā.

Kittāra Channavvana sosi Hoigala biṭṭu hōguraḡa
māḡuttida[-appa maha-dukhkhā]
matte namma Mallasarja sattu hōgad-iddara
hottu hōgud-yāka namma badakā || Pallā ||

lne nuḡi.

Āru āni hadināru waṇṇi hannerāḡa-sāvira kāla-balā māriya-tōpa hōdawu hēri;
hattu-hantā muttina pāliki suttal-hiḡuwa hattu eṇṇu beḷli-kāvina aptāḡeri;
ohandadinda ohakkaḡiḡaḡu wonda wuliyad-hōdawu turaḡa-rathada ohawari;
ṡittina ṡipāyigāḡu diṡṡatanadalli hattu-hantā yashṡu iddāḡ-alli jaradā mari;
Kallāra Kalahāsappa Kannūra Mallappa Awarāḡi Vīrappa iddara kārbari;
hint-intā saradāru kantara bidda hōdāru hentā bandito namaga māri || Ohyē ||
Pāḡḡavarig-ona-dēsa band-ante āditu; pāpi Dusvasa Dṡaṡpati śiri ṡaḡed-ōyavāḡa bhūpatigāḡ-
sivaru idd-enu māḡuvaru; pāpi kōḡa namm-antā pātakar-yāḡ-illa;
Pannaḡadharana stutianta Īravvā; Pārvaty-araḡana nenisidaḡo || Yōra ||
Pārva-janmada likhītā puppe sammadu tappit-ondṡu;
baradān-yāka Brahma hintā bari || 1 ||

²⁴ *S. e. Nandi*, the bull of *Śiva*. *Basava*, the establisher of the *Lingyat* religion, is looked upon as an incarnation of *Nandi*.

3ne nuḍi.

Heṇṇu-makkaj-iḍuwa wastā beṇṇisi nā pēḷvenu³⁶ saṇṇa naḍuvina dāba baṅḡarā |
bugaḷi bāwali jamikiwāli chaḷatumbu ohendāḍall-iḍawa ryāguṭi ohewari heḷala
baṅḡarā | sāvirad-honnina saradāḷigaḷu moharada muttina mūḡati mēle kettisid-antā
vajjarā | kaṇṭhaka darisuwa kariḍigi-sarapaṇi kaṭṭaṇi karimaṇi pāṭṭigi-muttu ḍore
chintik-haraḍe hawaḷasarā | hiri-pilligaḷu kiri-pilligaḷu lullu-miṇṭiki ruḷḷiya-
gejji kālkaḍagā sarapaḷi kālūṅgarā | Mandaṛadharana karuṇa tappi wanda wuḷiyada
hōḍawu munda illo namaḡa āsarā || Chyē || Wakkalagitteru | sakalaka śaḡaperu |
satyaṇa śaraṇarā | śākshiya hēḷuvar-enu | akka nillisā dukkhaka yenuta | Rāma
Lakṣmaṇa prēmadind-iruvāḡa ketṭa Rāvaṇa Jānaki wōḍu wanadolaḡe-iṭṭā |
Hanumaṇta hōḡi Lākṣā suṭṭi | Vibhiṣaṇaḡa kaṭṭyāro paṭṭā | gaṭṭi śikewu hāki
hiḍḍa daityaraṇ-ella baḍḍu māḍida bhūpa | tāyi tandano kula-dīpa || Yēra ||
Hōḍ-antā maḡa nimaga āḍānu pēḷavvā tāyi | bhēḍisi hēḷuru yellaru || 2 ||

3ne nuḍi.

Hoduwa-hantā hodikigōḷu bhēḍisi nā pēḷvenu hōḍawu yesṭo rāḷada mēle
hēri | makkala wuḍuwa mandila-siri totṭuḡaḷ-uḍuwa tōḷina-siri | uttumar-uḍuwa
wuḷḷigaṇi-siri | rāṇiyavar-uḍuwa rāḡāwāli-siri | bāḷeyar-uḍuwa bāḷipaṭṭi-siri | ohedarer-
uḍuwa ohandrakāḷi-siri | huḍigiyar-uḍuwa hūvina-siri | saṇṇavar-uḍuwa sāṇibapṇada-
siri | kanyer-uḍuwa kambāvaṭi-siri | kūsiḡe 'hoohohuwa kulāyi koṭṭohigi yēsondu nā
pēḷali | araḷali bindali toppige nāḡa-muri | śeḷyava muṇḍasa śōlu śakalāti paḷoheda
aṅḡi parimaḷa-pāwaḍa | hoduwa-antā dotara Nākpuri | yella hōḡi illad-āyṭu Mallasārja
māḍida badaku ball-aṣṭu hēḷuven-aḍara sūri || Chyē || Aṣṭu hōḡi namma kuṣṭa
biḍalil-ayya paṭṭane nelak-haṇiya baḍawuta īravva kaṭṭi hāyūven-aḷaḡ-enuṭa |
totṭuḡaḷ-ellaru suttale muttidaru | mukkaṇṇa-Harana dayadinda nimaga makkaj-
aidāra tāyi yenuta tamman-aidānu | tāyi nimaga bēḍadd-ēnu | ummāyadindale
hēḷer-īravvaga summan-irada aṭṭiḷaḷu || Yēra || Hannerāḍa-sāvira daṇḍu harada
hōṭi nammana biṭṭu | waḍad-āṅḡa āḍita tumbida kari || 3 ||

4ne nuḍi.

Hantā dorigaḷu hentāḍ-āyita Kantuharane kēḷ-avarigo hentā hotta tanda īsvara |
nāḍar-āḷuwa dorigaḷig-hintā kēḍa bara-bārad-andu | Kittūra nāḍ-ella marigito
marṇarā | mānyē-mānyera āḷu-hantā hannerāḍa karṭti haḷḷi honnu yettugaḷu hēri
hōḍawu innūra | satyaka Śrāvāṇa-māsaka yeppatt-ēla-nūra mandi tṭipti baḍu-hantā
jaṅḡamara | haḍḍēn-andara kiviyaḷi kēḷada haṇṇu hāḷu sakkari nīḍi dānā koḍuvar-aṇṇā
wastarā | dharmā hōḡi 'karmā heohohi warṇā vetti pēḷvenu marma sāḡawadu
maḍadaru mūvaru || Chyē || Rājjeḷa Rāyanāyaka gōḷa baḷohad-iddara | mōḷ-āḡi
dawa-attu sāḡatitt-aṇṇutali mājanar-ella maraḡuvaru | paṭṭa-gaṭṭi dēśāyige gaṭṭi
śikewa hāki attī Channavvān-oydu Hoṅḡaladāḡa hākidarū | āḷkida magan-embuvaru |
Tākur-sāb bandu īr-āḡi maḍadanū dīrar-idaroḷu huṭṭi ūru togolaḷ-andu bhōr-iḍṇta
janar-aṭṭiḷaru || Yēra || Āḷāsada mēḡina chandra lēś-āḡi belak-illadidra | yē-
ond-iḷdar-ēna nakṣatra || 4 ||

5ne nuḍi.

Vyāḷ-vyāḷeka wuttara hēḷi-hēḷi baradāru nāḷi hoḍḍ-ambuwa paṭṭarā | wastā
waḍari yallā uchohi poḍavige waḡadāḷo baḍavi wudarastāḷo kaṇṇiṭṭā | saḷḡaḍ-ella
hēri baḍḍi yettu sāḡali mundaka yendu biohoḷi hoḍadar-ella dana-karā | guravina
karisi pēḷiki tarasi mēle apāḡeri hiḍasi hāraṣṭ-hoṇṭara chattara ohāmarā | saṇṇa
maḡa-ayyā nānu śāri nimaḡa pēḷvenu | tappa kēḷo appa saradārā || Chyē ||
Hoḍḍa hoḍḍ-andara maḍḍiḷa hiḍadāḷo baḍḍa māḍi avaru yeliyaka hōḍara kaṇḍ-avara

³⁶ This is an archaism. We have the same word in the third verse; also pēḷvenu, in verses 4 and 5; and pēḷi in verse 2. Other instances of archaisms are, — idaroḷu, verse 4; dikkineḷu, verse 5; and pōḷuḍḍa, verse 6.

kāla hiḍadālo | maṇḍalan-āluwa puṇḍaru maḍadalle keṇḍa hādu nānu prāpa koḍalill-
endu gaṇḍana nenisi aḷutālo | dikkinoḷu namm-anta deḍigeḍi yār-illa namma hoṭṭili
wōndu putranu iddara deḍigati yāka muṇaguwadu || Yēra || Nīra illada malligi
bēra wonagi hōd-ante | atantrav-āyitu samsāra || 5 ||

6ne nuḍi.

Yeshṭu māḍidara nammāna biṭṭa hōgadillav-endu nishṭadinda māḍeḷa vīraṇa
stati | atti-māvana nenadu hattidaḷu ḍōliya hottar-appa bōveru yetti | munda
munṇūra bārīna-mandi hinda innūra kuduri-mandi māḍut-hoṭṭar-appa pāragasti |
Rāyanāyaka baratān-endu raṇḍa māḍi naḍir-endu yaḍa-bala hatt-eṇṭu hirada
katti | dāsokadinda dāri hiḍadu Dhārwaḍaka tāmwu hōgi saradāra kōḷida avara
stati | koṭṭa anna biṭṭakēra koṭṭa buddhiyannu ishṭu māḍatiddi namma mēga
jyāsti | rātrili Rāyanāyakan-haohohi raṇḍa māḍi suttina haḷḷi avana kailinda
sūḍisti | kolla-byāḍari Kusugalla gōḍiy-olaga ikina waidu wobbaḷ-iḍar-endan-all
wasti || Chyē || Hottaru bōveru Kusugallige waidaru mellaka kiliyava pōguvāga
īravvā bal-hānga dukkhā māḍidaḷu | tāy-illada makkaḷige āy-illo siriy-illa kāya
iḍa-bārad-endu bāya biḍut-īravvā sāwa bōḍidaḷu Sivanalli | akka tā īravvā
dukkhawu māḍyāḷo bakkana bāyava biḍawutal-īravvā jakkane jērig-iḷadālo || Yēra ||
Nīra-waḷagina mīna tagidu byāri ohellid-hānga | namadu sūri āti namma
avasti || 6 ||

7ne nuḍi.

Innu t dareyalli munna ira-bārad-endu anna-wudaka yalla biṭṭalū | saṇṇav-
āḍawu kai-kālu mappe pālav-igaliy-endu baṇṇa waṇagisi biṭṭalū | saṇṇarāpi-byān-anta
sarv-āṅgav-ella waṇagisi saṇṇad-hānga dēha sutṭalū | nāḍa-waḷaga Nawalagunda Kāḍa-
Siddan-hanteli hōgi nīra minadu māḍiyan-utṭalū | jaṅgama-ārthava peḍodu aṅgada
mēlina smarapi maredu liṅgada mēle dhyāna iṭṭalū | bhaktilli viraktara karati
takkaḍi tumba bhaṅgāra tarisi tōka māḍi dāna koṭṭalū | mukti koḍo namaga
nīnu mukkaṇṇa-Hara guruvey-endu Dhārwaḍaka hoṭṭa bandalū || Chyē || Ohikka
maga Mallasārja śikkan-embudu kōḷi jakkana jērige iḷadalo īravvā mukkaṇṇa-Harana
nenadālo | koḍa honn-iddar-ēnu baḍivvy-āg-irawudu lēsu | maḍadigi rāyaru mani-
waḷag-iddara waḍavi-wastagaḷ-iḍa lēsu | waḍavi-wastagaḷ-ellā biḍade dānava koṭṭu
Kittāra dawalattu kirad-āditi-embutali bharadind-īravvā aḷutālo || Yēra ||
Dhārwaḍaka bandu tānu mūr-āra din-iddu | maraṇa-kāla banda prāpa biṭṭalū || 7 ||

8ne nuḍi.

Satt-anta āraṇa-ella yetti kundria mukhava doḷidu vibhūti mēle dharisārū |
atti Ohannavvā wuḍava muttina saragina-sīri wuttamaru nīrig-hoda wuḍasārū |
kastūri-gandhava pōsi wastada-peṭṭigi tarasi vistarisi mai-mēle iḍasārū | hatta-
yeṇṭu sāviraḍ-honnina ratnava tettisida nattu matta mūgin-olaga iḍisārū | bukkitta
wūḍina-kaḍḍi lekhhav-illada suḍuwutale kañchārti kalasgiṇḍi tumb-iṭṭarū | purāṇa-
pustaka wōduw-antha śāstara-kathiya naḍasuw-antha nāḍa-nāḍa jaṅgamara neradārū |
māyav-āda maraṇav-endu māha-nāḍa janaru kōḍi ninta surasāro kaṇṇārū || Chyē ||
Atti-māṇvaru illa attigi-nadanaru illa hotta band-āga maragu hett-avva nī ill-endu
tōttugaḷ-ellā aḷutiharū | aṇṇa-akkagaḷ-illa taṅgi-tammagaḷ-illa aramani-waḷaga inna
addāḍavar-ill-endu ālipariwuta aḷutiharū | purushana kōḍ-ōndu kāla sarasawu
āḍalillā arasu Bāpu-sāb inn-ōnd-orushav-iraliḷl-ōndu rāhutar-ellā marṇgidārū || Yēra ||
Uppa wuṇḍa makkaḷu yellā dappana nelaka biddu | Bāpu-sāhebana maḍadi nenad-
aluvaru || 8 ||

9ne nuḍi.

Rāja-rājeda janar-ellā rējagaṭṭ-allige bandu neradāru rāhuta-rāpirū | baḷl-antha
baḍigēna karisi yellā sūhita koḍini māḍeru vimāna-vistārū | tara-taraka kaṇṇadi

nirata nōdi hondisi sarata nōdi hākera hūvina hārā : hattu-yeṣṭu sāviraḍ-honnina
 mettina goṇḍegaḷu suttali bigadaru śēlu jaratarā : satt-antha śravavu tāṁvu
 hostu-koṇḍu naḍadaru hārastara mēle chhatra chyāmara : buṭṭi-buṭṭi bukkīṣa
 kaṭṭav-illada hārasa hiḍada hoṭṭara maḷigi bājara : haligi kālī karni karaḍi
 sambāḷa samparadāni bāraṣṭ-hoṭṭa munda saradārā : dikka-dikkina mandi yellā
 akṛā śravvana nōdi dukkhka māḍyār-eṣṭu janaru || Chyē || Dhārwaḍada mandi
 bhōr-iḍu-aḷuvāga pabaradāg-idda maga Śaṅkarana stutisuta nūr-ōndu dukkhka
 māḍidanū : yettu-bhaṇḍigaḷu hattūwa kudurigaḷu satta śravada munda sāgi hōḡudu
 kaṇḍu śōḍhisi dukkhka māḍidanū : dāna-dharmava koṭṭu nēma-nitteva urī
 munda mukṭiya koḍuwa Basavana stutisuta maṇṇ-ōḷaḡ-iṭṭa tiragidarū || Yēra ||
 Sundara Hebbaḷli Basava kaṇḍ-aṣṭu : kaviya hondisi māḍida viṣṭārā || 9 ||

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.S., M.B.A.S., O.L.E.

No. 192. — CHELLUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIRA-CHODADEVA.

DATED IN HIS TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

I edit this inscription from the original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, and are now, I understand, in the British Museum. I had them for examination in 1879. A transcription of the text, with a partial translation of it, is given in the Elliot *Telugu Sasanaṁs*, p. 131 ff. And the inscription has recently been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, in his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 49 ff. I give my own version of it here, because it is required, with some other grants of the same dynasty which I have had on hand for a long time unpublished, in connection with a paper on the Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings.

Chellūr is a village about two miles to the west by south of Rāmachandrapuram, in the Rāmachandrapuram Tālukā of the Gōdāvari District, Madras Presidency; it is entered in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94, as 'Chelloor,' in Lat. 16° 49', Long. 82° 3'. It is mentioned in line 98 below, as the Chellūr agraḥāra. The grant appears to have been obtained from the *Karṇam* of this village.¹

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, but the last partially on the second side also, are five in number, each measuring about 10½" by 5½". The edges of them were raised into rims; and the writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout, except where it has been intentionally interfered with, in lines 103-109, and except for one small breakage at the lower proper right corner of the first plate, and three such on the fifth plate. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about ¼" thick and 6" in diameter; it had been cut before the time when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2½" in diameter. In relief on a countersunk surface, it has, — across the centre, the legend *Sri-Tribhuvan[āḥ*]kūṣa*; in the upper part, a boar, standing to the proper left, and surrounded by the sun and moon, an elephant-goat, two *chauris*, two lamp-stands, and a conch-shell; and in the lower part, a water-lily, with a drum, a *svastika*, and a device which on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 49) I have described as being "something like the letter *ga*, which may perhaps be meant for the *makarātṭraṇa*," but which may possibly be intended for the *śikhāḍana* or throne, which also is mentioned among the insignia (line 24 below).² — The weight

¹ In the *Telugu Sasanaṁs*, it is only described as "appertaining to Chellūr;" while, in a separate list, it is entered as being "from Draksharam temple." But the name of Chellūr, though subsequently cancelled, was written on a label fastened onto the plates. The grant was made to a Vaishnava temple at Chellūr. And Sir Walter Elliot himself, referring to other notes of his, has said distinctly that, with the grant of Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva II. (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 55 ff.), it was obtained by Mr. G. A. Smith from the *Karṇam* of Chellūr (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 204). — Under any circumstances, it is better to call it uniformly a Chellūr grant, than to introduce confusion by sometimes speaking of it as the Draksharam grant.

² For a representation of the device, see the proper right side of the lower part of the seal of Rājārāja, No. 1 in the *Plato*, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 253. In the present case, the device is more rectangular, and does not show the curved parts

of the five plates, with the ring and seal, is given in Sir Walter Elliot's list as 353 tolas. — The characters are those of the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of much the same type with those in the Korumelli grant of Rājārāja I. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 48 ff. and Plates).³ Throughout this grant, hardly any distinction, if really any at all, is made between the syllables *ja* and *jā*; in the latter there ought to be a very marked prolongation of the upward stroke that completes the top part of the simple *j* or *ja*. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The engraving is fairly regular and good. The letters show through on the reverse side of the fifth plate only; the interiors of most of them shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit throughout. It is substantially in prose; with passages in verse scattered through it. — In respect of orthography, the only points that seem to call for notice, are (1) the doubling of *ch*, by *ch* in the proper manner, after the *anusvāra*, in *piśchchha*, line 24, and *lśichchhana*, lines 24, 31; in a similar way, the *cha* of *charitēna* is doubled in line 94, but here the doubling does not seem permissible, as the *anusvāra* belongs to a separate word; and (2) the doubling of *dh*, by *d* in the proper manner, before *y*, in *addhyardha*, line 38.

The inscription is one of Vira-Chōḍadēva, otherwise called Vishṇuvardhana, of the Eastern Chalukya family, who was a ruler of the Veṅgi country. It is a Vaishṇava inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of a village, by Vira-Chōḍadēva, to a temple of Vishṇu which his *Sēndpati* or General, a Vaishṇava Brāhmaṇ named Mēḍamārya and otherwise called Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa, had built at the *agrahāra* of Chellūru.

This *agrahāra* of Chellūru is, of course, the modern village of Chellūr itself. The name of the village that was granted, appears to be Koleru. Dr. Hultzsch, reading it as 'Kolāru, has suggested that it may have something to do with the Kōlār or Kolleru Lake in the Guḍivāḍa Tāluka, Kistna District. But it seems to me to be the modern 'Kalairoo' of the map, two miles south-west of Chellūr. It is defined as being in the Guḍavāḍi viśaya, which Dr. Hultzsch has suggested may perhaps be connected with the Guḍivāḍa mentioned just above; the same name, however, occurs also in the case of two villages in the Vizagapatam District. Two other places that are mentioned, are Drākshārāma and Pithapurī. The latter word is, I presume, another form of the name of Piṭṭapuram, — the ancient Pishāpura, — the chief town of the Piṭṭapuram Zamindari in the Gōḍāvari District, in Lat. 17° 6', Long. 82° 18'; in the vernacular headings of inscriptions in the *Telugu Sasanaṃs*, the name is written 'Piṭhāpuram,' while in the English Index it is given as 'Pithapuram.' Drākshārāma is the 'Dracharam' of the map, about four miles south by east from Chellūr; it is described as "one of the most sacred places in the District, with a large and important temple dedicated to Bhīmāsvāra" (Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 25). In the original, the name is actually written 'Dākshārāma;' and it is given in the same way in many places in the *Telugu Sasanaṃs*. But the correct form of the name appears to be undoubtedly Drākshārāma (see, e. g., Sanderson's *Kanarese Dictionary*, as well as the *Lists* referred to just above). And finally Vira-Chōḍadēva's palace is stated to have been at a town, the name of which appears to be Jananāthanagarī (see note 55 below); this place remains to be identified.

below the flat top in the seal of Rājārāja. — As noted by Dr. Hultzsch, the word *wakarathraṇa* is given in Sanderson's *Kanarese Dictionary*, as meaning 'an honorary wreath or string of flowers, &c., raised upon poles and carried in front of one, as an emblem of distinction.' But this is more properly the meaning of the simple word *thrana*, which denotes also a similar wreath or string suspended over a door or gateway. In the Kanarese country, *wakarathraṇa* is the technical term for the ornamented arch of a door or gateway; probably from an original device which introduced brackets representing *wakaras*.

³ When I edited that grant, I rather inconveniently called the king Rājārāja the second, in consequence of his maternal grandfather having had the same name; and I spoke of him in the same way in connection with his coins, and with the date of his coronation (pp. 79 ff., 120f., above). But he was the first king of that name in the Chalukya family; and it will be more correct and more expedient from now, to follow Dr. Hultzsch, and to speak of him as Rājārāja the first.

This record gives a genealogy, mythical, legendary, and historical, which may be treated in the following divisions:—

(1) The Purāṇic genealogy. This commences with the god Viṣṇu, as a result of which, the Chālukyas were comprised in the Viṣṇuvarṇa or lineage of Viṣṇu; and it is taken through Sōma or the Moon, so that they belonged also to the Sōmavarṇa or Lunar Race, as is expressly stated in line 49. As far as the name of Yayāti, it agrees with the Purāṇic genealogy of the Gaṅgas of Kāliṅga (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 170); and the last specific name in it, is that of Udayana, the son of Satānika. Another Purāṇic genealogy of the same style seems to be followed in some of the Kākatiya records (see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, p. 74).

(2) The legendary connection of the Chālukyas with the preceding. Without any specification of names, we are told that, including Udayana, fifty-nine emperors sat on the throne at Ayōdhyā, in unbroken lineal succession. This statement is also preserved in some of the Western Chālukya records (e.g., *ante*, Vol. V. p. 17; also Vol. VIII. p. 12, where, however, after the fifty-nine emperors of Ayōdhyā, sixteen other unnamed kings, in the south, are introduced before the beginning of the real genealogy). And with it we may compare the statement in the Gaṅga grants, which connects their real with their Purāṇic genealogy, by saying that, after Kōlāhala had founded the city of Kōlāhalapura, his son and seventy-nine other kings reigned there, and then were followed by the historical members of the family, commencing with Vīrasimha. When the fifty-nine emperors had reigned at Ayōdhyā, a member of the family, named Vijayāditya, came to the south, from a desire for conquest, and attacked Trilōchana-Pallava, but lost his life in the attempt. His queen, who was pregnant, escaped with some of her attendants, and, being preserved by a saint named Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Sōmayājīn, gave birth to a posthumous son named Viṣṇuvardhana. The young prince was nourished; and, having done worship to the goddess Gaurī on the mountain called Chālukyagiri, he at length assumed all the royal insignia of his family, conquered the Kaṇḍamba, Gaṅga, and other kings, and established himself as emperor of all Southern India, from the Bridge of Rāma, i.e. Adam's Bridge, or the ridge of rocks connecting Ceylon with the Coromandel coast, up to the Narmadā. His son, born of a queen of the Pallava lineage, was another Vijayāditya. With the mountain Chālukyagiri that is introduced here, we may compare the Nandagiri fort which, according to the Kākatiya legend, was founded by Nanda, the son of Uttuṅgabhuja; Nanda's father, in a similar manner, came from Upper India, and settled to the south of the Gōdāvarī (*loc. cit.*). And, in very similar fashion, the mountain Mahēndragiri, — in this case a really existent mountain, — is introduced into the traditions of the Gaṅgas of Kāliṅga. The foundations for this portion of the genealogy are plainly the facts, that the Chālukyas did come originally from the north, and found the Pallavas in possession of some of the territories afterwards acquired by themselves; coupled with a Kaṇḍamba tradition that the founder of that family was Trinētra or Trilōchana.

(3) The Early and Western Chālukya genealogy, as far as it is given; being confined to three names, — those of Pulikēśin I., Kirtivarman I., and Satyāśraya or Pulikēśin II. According to this account, Pulikēśin I. was the son of the second Vijayāditya of the preceding paragraph. In reality, he was the son of Raṇarāga, who was the son of Jayasimha I.

(4) The Eastern Chālukya genealogy. This starts with Viṣṇuvardhana I. or Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, a younger brother of Pulikēśin II., and is carried on to the person who makes the grant, Virā-Chōḍadēva. A continuation of it, for one generation, is given in the Chellūr grant of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff.), from which we learn the name of Virā-Chōḍadēva's eldest brother, Vikrama-Chōḍa.

The chief interest of this record centres in the information that it gives concerning Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. and his sons.* There was an intermarriage of the Eastern Chālukyas

* I use here the form of his name that is given in the Obellūr grant of his grandson. In the present inscription, he is first called Rājendra-Chōḍa, and afterwards Kulōttuṅga.

with the Chôlas two generations earlier, when Vimalāditya took to wife Kūṇḍavāmahādēvi, the daughter of Rājārāja of the Solar Race, and the younger sister of Rājendra-Chôḍa (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50). It was from this, that his son was named Rājārāja (I.). The latter, again, found a Chôla wife, in Ammaṅgadēvi, the daughter of Rājendra-Chôḍa, i. e., I presume, of his maternal uncle mentioned just above. His son, in a similar way, was named Rājendra-Chôḍa after his maternal grandfather, and also Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍadēva I. And he did as his immediate ancestors had done, and married Madhurāntakidēvi, the daughter of Rājendradēva of the Solar Race. From this time the members of this family were plainly Chôlas at heart, far more than Chalukyas; this is indicated not only by their names, but also by their personal history.⁵ Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍadēva I. was first anointed, like his ancestors, in the sovereignty of Veṅḡ, "which was the cause of the rising of his splendour." But subsequently, and apparently very soon, he desired or preferred the Chôla sovereignty; and he was anointed to that, and transferred the rule of Veṅḡ to Vijayāditya, another son of Vimalāditya. The precise circumstances under which this occurred, — whether through a failure of the Chôla succession; or through the breaking out of hostilities between the Eastern Chalukyas, and the Chôlas, leading to a conquest of the latter, — are not as yet apparent. This much, however, seems clear; that Vijayāditya was not an independent sovereign; but Veṅḡ was simply an appanage of the Chôla crown, Vijayāditya being his nephew's viceroy there. Vijayāditya governed Veṅḡ for fifteen years, and then died. Upon that, evidently reserving his eldest son for the principal succession, Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍadēva I. appointed his second son, Rājārāja II., to govern Veṅḡ. The latter, however, was homesick, and returned to his parents after remaining in Veṅḡ for only one year. Then Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍadēva I. appointed his third son, Vira-Chôḍadēva, to the government of Veṅḡ; and the latter was with some difficulty prevailed upon to take up the office, and to go to his appointed country.

The date of the appointment of Vira-Chôḍadēva as viceroy of Veṅḡ, is given as being in Śaka-Saṁvat 1001, when the sun was in Simha, i. e. in the solar month Bhādrapada, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, on Thursday, in the *Vṛiśchika lagna*, and under the *Bravapa nakshatra*. The year is expressed in numerical words, and is not qualified either as current or as expired. It has to be applied as a current year; and the *tithi* has to be taken as a current *tithi*, used with the week-day on which it began. Thus : —

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1002 current (1001 expired), the sun entered Simha at about 38 *ghaṭa*, 35 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on the 27th July, A. D. 1079; the thirteenth bright *tithi* which occurred while the sun was in Simha, was Bhādrapada *śukla* 13; and this *tithi* ended at about 16 *gha*. 30 p. on Tuesday, 13th August, and so cannot be connected with a Thursday in any way.

But in Śaka-Saṁvat 1001 current, the sun entered Simha at about 23 *gha*. 5 p. on the 27th July, A. D. 1078; the thirteenth bright *tithi* which occurred while the sun was in Simha, was again Bhādrapada *śukla* 13; and the exact results, worked by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit according to the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, for the apparent times at Rājamahēndri, are as follows : — The *tithi* Bhādrapada *śukla* 13 began on Thursday, 23rd August, at 8 *gha*. 11 p., and ended on the Friday at 1 *gha*. 26 p. On the Thursday, the moon was in the *Bravapa nakshatra*, at sunrise, and up to 19 *gha*. 38 p. And there was the *Vṛiśchika lagna*, from 11 *gha*. 25 p. to 16 *gha*. 57 p. Accordingly the date of the installation of Vira-Chôḍadēva, as viceroy of Veṅḡ, was Thursday, 23rd August, A. D. 1078.⁶

⁵ Dr. Burnell (*South-Indian Palaeography*, pp. 21, 22, 40) treated them, from the generation before Kulōttuṅga-Chôḍadēva I., as actually Chôlas by descent, and not as Eastern Chalukyas at all; and also made the mistake of identifying Vira-Chôḍadēva with his father, placing his coronation in A. D. 1079, fifteen years after the date that was obtained for the commencement of his reign. — Some similar mistakes have been made by Sir Walter Elliot (*Coins of Southern India*, pp. 131, 135; I may mention, by the way, that the list referred to on p. 135, was not supplied by me.)

⁶ The use of the Śaka year as a current year is exceptional; especially as compared with the manner in which it has to be applied in the dates that give the days of the coronation of Amma II. and Rājārāja I. of the same dynasty (pages 103 f., 129 f., above). Also, I had some doubts as to the year being really 1001. There are some apparently unnecessary and superfluous marks about some of the letters, commencing with the syllable *śi* of the compound that expresses it. My idea

There are some interesting stone inscriptions at Pittāpuram, at the temple of Kuntī-Mādhavaśvāmī, which ought to be properly copied and edited, in connection with the history of this period. One of them, dated Saka-Saṃvat 1124 (*Telugu Sasanams*, p. 501 ff.), states, — differing from the present record, and from the grant of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II. (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55), — that Rājārāja I. reigned for only forty years; and his son, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva II. for fifty years, over the five Draviḍas with the Andhra *vishaya* (?); it seems also to mention the latter as being at first a *Yuvarāja*.⁷ It also states that his son Vikrama-Chōḍa, — apparently having been first installed in the Veṅḡ country, — went away to govern the Chōḷa *maṇḍala*, and left Veṅḡ without a ruler (*udyaka-rahitā*). Another, dated Saka-Saṃvat 1108 (*id.* p. 703 ff.), says that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I., while reigning over the whole earth, gave the Veṅḡ *maṇḍala* to the prince Vīra-Chōḍadēva. It then introduces a feudatory family, several members of which are mentioned. One of them was Goṅka, who served Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. A brother of his, named Guṇḍa, had a son named Vedura, who served Vīra-Chōḍadēva, and conquered Paṇḍyadēva for him. Vīra-Chōḍadēva thereupon gave him half his throne, and a province lying between two rivers (*sindhu-yugm-āntar-dikhyak dśam*). Also, Goṅka had a son named Chōḍabhūpa; and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. treated him as his own son, and gave him, — perhaps after the death of Vīra-Chōḍadēva, — the Veṅḡ *maṇḍala*, consisting of sixteen or eighteen thousand villages.⁸ And a third, dated Saka-Saṃvat 1113 (*id.* p. 715 ff.), seems to mention, in connection with the history just about the time of Rājārāja I., a certain Rājendra-Chōḍa, to whom his paternal grandfather Rājādhirājendra-Chōḍa gave the Veṅḡ country; but the transcription is not very intelligible.

TEXT.⁹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹⁰ [||*] Śrī¹¹-dhāmaḥ puruṣhōttamasya mahatō Nārāyaṇasya prabhōr-nnābhī-
pamkaruhāt babhāva
- 2 jagata[h*] srasthā Svaya[rh*]bhūṣ-tata[h*] jajṣē mānasa-sūnur-Atrir-iti yao-
tasman-munēr-Atritas-Bōmō vāmā-ka-
- 3 sas-sudh-Amśur-udita[h*] Śrīkaṇṭha-chōḍ[maṇi] [||*] Tasmād¹²-abhūt-sudhā-sūtēr-
Bbudhō budha-nutaa-tataḥ jātāḥ Purū-
- 4 ravā nāma chakravartī sa-vikramah || Tasmād=Āyus-tatō Nahushah | tatō
Yayātis-chakravartī vāmā-karttā | ta-

was that the intended word might be *śikhi-khadvay-āshu*; giving the year 1003. And calculating for Saka-Saṃvat 1003 expired, and for Bhādrapada śukla 13, — which here again was the thirteenth bright *tithi* after the entrance of the sun into Śiṅha, which took place at about 9 gh. 40 p. on the 27th July A. D. 1091, — with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I obtained approximate results which led me to submit this year also to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit for accurate determination of the details. And he has given me the following results, calculated, as before, for the apparent times at Rājamahēndri: — The *tithi* Bhādrapada śukla 13 began two or three *palas* after sunrise on Thursday, 19th August, A. D. 1091, and ended on the Friday, at 3 gh. 48 p.; on the Thursday, the moon was in the Śravapā nakṣatra, at sunrise, and up to 35 gh. 36 p.; and there was the Vriśchika lagna from 13 gh. 4 p. to 17 gh. 36 p. It seemed possible, therefore, that this might be the real day. Since then, however, I have heard from Dr. Hultsch that he has obtained another grant of Vīra-Chōḍadēva, dated in his twenty-third year, which gives the same details for the date of his installation; and that, with a small and immaterial difference, the Saka year is expressed by the words *śatī-kā-dvābar-śadu*, which are perfectly distinct and indisputable. Accordingly, the real year undoubtedly is Saka-Saṃvat 1001 current.

⁷ The transcription has *tai-patī-pi yuo-āya-pāra-puruṣhō rājādēva-chōḍa śhīṭaḥ śrī-pamāha-dravidah sakadvā-vishayak pashādād-ābdān arat*. The word *pamāhād* is altered (wrongly) into *pamāhādā* (*etc.*). — It should be noted that the present inscription does not say exactly that Rājārāja I. reigned for forty-one years, but for "forty years and again for one." This suggests the idea of a break in the full period. It may be that he was *Yuvārāja* for one year, before his coronation as king. Or it may be that towards the end of his reign he made over the sovereignty to his son, but subsequently assumed it in person again for one year more. The passage is in verse; but there is no reason why forty-one years should not have been specified in it in a plain and ordinary manner, if that was the real unbroken length of his reign.

⁸ The transcription has *prtiśāpīdāśadēvāḥ*. It is difficult to say whether this represents *prtiśā śhīṭa-sa-sahasraḥ*, or *prtiśāpīdāś*.

⁹ From the original plates.

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ Represented by an ornate symbol.

¹² Metre, Śūṭika (Anuṣṭubh).

- 5 taḥ Puruḥ tatō Janamājayah tataḥ Prāchibah tatas-Sō(sai)nyayātīḥ tatō Hayapatīḥ tatas-Sārvvabhāums[ḥ*] ta-
- 6 tō Jayasēnah tatō Mahābhō(bhau)mah tasmād=Aikānakah¹³ tataḥ Krōdhānanah tatō Dēvakīḥ tasmād=Ṛibhu-
- 7 kah tasmād=Ṛikshakah tatō Mativaras=atra-yāga-yājī Sarasvatī-nadī-nāthah tataḥ Kātyā-
- 8 yanah tatō Nilah tatō Dushyantah [i*] tat-sutah : Garhgā¹⁴-Yamun[ā*]-tīr[ḥ*] yad-avichohhinnān¹⁵=nidhāya yū-
- 9 pān kramasah kṛitvā tath=śvamēdhan=nāma mahā-karmma Bharata iti yō-labbhata i(ii) Tatō Bharatād-Bhūma-
- 10 nyuh : tatō Hasti¹⁶ tatō Virōchanah : tasmād=Ajami(mi)lah tatas-Samvaranah tatas-Sudhanvā tataḥ Parikshi-
- 11 t tatō Bhīmas[ḥ*]nas=tataḥ Pradīpanah tatas-Samtanuh tatō Vichitraviryayah tataḥ Pāṇḍurājah ta-
- 12 taḥ Pāṇḍavah : Yōn¹⁷-ādāhi vijitya Kā(khā)ṇḍava-mathō gāṇḍvīnā Vajripān yuddhō pāsupat-āstram=A-
- 13 [māha]karipōḥ-ch-ābhi daityān bahūn Imdr-ārddh-āsanam=adhyarōhi jayinā yat Kālikēy-Adi-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 14 kām hatvā svē(svai)ram=akāri vāmśa-vipina=chhē(chohhē)daḥ Kurūpām vibhōḥ i(ii) Tatō=Ṛijunād-Abhimanyuh tataḥ Parikshit
- 15 tatōḥ¹⁸ Janamājayah tataḥ Kshēmukah tatō Naravāhanah tatas=Satānikah tasmād=Udayanah [ii*] Tataḥ prabhṛi-
- 16 tishv¹⁹=avichohhinna-samtān[ḥ*]shv=Ayōdhya-simhāsan-āsinēshv-ēkām-na-shashṭi-chakra-varttiḥ gatēshu tad-vamśyō Vija-
- 17 yādityō nāma rājā vijigīshayā dakṣiṇāpātha[m*] gatvā Trilōchana-Pallavam-adhikshipya daiva-durthayā
- 18 lōkāntaram=agamat : Tasmin samkalō purōhitēna vṛiddh-āmātyais=cha sārddham=santarat[n*] tasya mahādēvi
- 19 Muḍivemu²⁰=nām-āgrahāram=upagamya tad-vāstavyēna Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sōmayājīnā mahā-muni-
- 20 prabhāvēna(na) dūhīpi-nirvviśesham=abhirakshitā satī Vishṇuvarddhanan-nāmdanam=asūta [i*] Sā ta-
- 21 aya kumārakasya Mānavyasagōtra-Haritiṭputra-dvipakṣa-gōtra-kram-āchitāni karmma-
- 22 pi kāravitvā tam=avarddhayat : Sa cha mātṛā vidita-vṛi²¹ttāntas=an=nirggatya Chalukya-girau Nandā[m*] bha-
- 23 gavatīm Gō(gau)rim=ārādhyā Kumāra-Nārāyaṇa-mātrigaṇām=cha samta-ppya śvātātapatr-aikāśmka-paṇcha-

¹³ In the grant of Rājārāja I (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 50, line 7), I gave here the wrong reading of *tasmād-dāśanakah*. Dr. Hultzsch has shown the right reading, in his edition of the present grant.

¹⁴ *Metre*, Āryāṭī.

¹⁵ Dr. Hultzsch has proposed to read here *garhgā-yamunā-tīrayōr-avichohhinnān*; but he has overlooked the metre, — as I myself did, in editing the grant of Rājārāja I.

¹⁶ In the grant of Rājārāja I, the reading is *bhēmānyuh tasmād=suhōtraḥ tatō hasti*.

¹⁷ *Metre*, Śārdūlavikrāṇṭa.

¹⁸ Read *tatō*.

¹⁹ Read *tataḥ parasi tat-prabhṛitishv*; as in the grant of Rājārāja I.

²⁰ In the second syllable of this word, the consonant looks at first sight very much like ā. But a comparison with other words shows that it is not ā. In the grant of Rājārāja I, the syllable is very distinctly dī; and there can be no doubt that the same was intended here; simply, the loop at the end of the lower part of the dī has not been properly formed.

²¹ First *vi* (probably as part of *vri*, for *vri*) was engraved; and then the superscript *i* was cancelled.

- 24 mahāśabda-pālikātana-pratīḍakka²²-varāhalānchchhana-pimchchha²³-kumta-simhāsana-
makaratōraṇa-kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṇ-
25 gē-Yamun-ādini sva-ru(ku)la-kram-āgatāni nikshiptān-iva sāmājya-bhi(chi)hnāni
samādāya Kaḍaṣha-Gaṇg-ādi-bhū-
26 m.pān-nirjitya S[ē*]tu-Narmmadā-madhyam sārddha-sapta-lakṣam dakṣiṇāpatham
pālayām-āsa i(ii) Tasya²⁴-āśid-Vija-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 27 yēdityō Viṣṇuvarddhana-bhūpatēḥ Pallav-ānvaya-jātāyā mahādēvyās-cha
namdanam²⁵ i(ii) Tat-sutaḥ
28 Palakēsi-vallabham²⁶ [i*] tat-putrah Kirtti-varmma [ii*] Tasya tanayaḥ [i*]
Svasti Srimatām sakala-bhuvana-sam-
29 stayamāna-Mānavya-sagotrāṇām Hārīt[i]-putrāṇām Kauṣikī²⁷-vara-prasāda-labdha-
rājyānā[m*] mā-
30 trīṣṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānām bhagavaṇ-Nārāyaṇa²⁸-prasāda-
samā-
31 sādita-vara-varāhalā[m*]chchhan-ēkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vaśi(śi)kṛit-ārātimanḍalānām-sāvamōdh-
āvaḥṛidha(tha)-snāna-pe-
32 vitrīkṛita-vapushām Chālukyānām kulam-alamkarishpōs-Satyātraya-vallabhōmndrasya
bhrā-
33 tā Kubja-Viṣṇuvarddhanō-śhādaśa varshāpi V[e*]mgi-dētam-apālayat [i*]
tad-ātma-jō Jayasi[m*]-
34 ha-vallabhas-traya-trimśatam i tad-anuja I[m*]drarājās-sapta dināni i tat-
sūtō Viṣṇuvarddhanō nava va-
35 rshāpi i tat-sūnur-Mmaṇgi-Yuvarājah pañcha-vimśatim [i*] tat-putrō
Jayasinhhas-trayōdaśa [i*] tad-avarajah
36 Kakkilish-shaṇ-māsān [i*] tasya jyēshthō bhrātā Viṣṇuvarddhanas-tam-
uchchātya sapta-trimśatam [i*] tat-putrō Vija-
37 yāditya-Bhaṭṭārakō-śhādaśa i tat-tanujō Viṣṇuvarddhanā[h*] shat trimśa-
tam²⁹ [i*] tat-sūtō Nārēndramrigarājō-śhātā-
38 chatvārīmśatam [i*] tat-sutaḥ Kali-Viṣṇuvarddhanō-ddhyarddha-varsham [i*]
tat-sūtō Guṇagādhika-Vijayādityas-chatuś-cha-
39 tvērīmśatam [i*] tad-bhrātur-Vikramādityasya tanayaś-Chālukya-Bhīmas-
trimśatam i tat-sutaḥ Kollabhigaṇḍa-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 40 Vijayādityash-shaṇ-māsān i tat-sūtō-Mma-rājās-sapta varshāpi i tat-sutam
Vijayādityas bālam-u-
41 chchātya Tāḍapō(pō) māsam-ēkam i tam jivā Chālukya-Bhīma-sūtō
Vikramāditya ēkādaśa māsān [i*]
42 tat-Tāḍapa-rāja-sūtō Yuddhamallās-sapta varshāpi i tam-uchchhā(chchā)tya dēśād-
Amma-rāj-ānujō Rāja-Bhi-
43 mah(mō) dvādaśa varshāpi [i*] tat sūnur³⁰-Amma-rājah pañcha-vimśatim i
tasya dvē(dvai)māturō Dēnanripas-trīṇi va-

²² Read *ṣatki*, or *ṣakki*.²³ Read *picchha*, probably; but the same word, *picchha*, is used in line 27 of the grant of Rājārāja I.; and it has a meaning of its own (see *op. cit.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 813, note 18).²⁴ *Metre*, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).²⁵ Read *namdanam*. The same mistake, between the final *m* and the *v*icarya, occurs in *vallabham* in the next line; and must be due, I think, to the use of some peculiar form of the *v*icarya by the writer of the charter. The final *m* occurs, properly, in lines 84 ff. below.²⁶ Read *vallabhaḥ*; and see the preceding note.²⁷ At first, the *śi* was omitted; and then it was altered into *śiśi*.²⁸ Read *bhagavan-nārāyaṇa*.²⁹ Read *shat-trimśatam*.³⁰ Read *tat-sūnur*.

- 44 rshāpi [i*] tāntas²¹=sapta-vimśati-varshāpi daiva-durīhayā Vemgi-mahir-anāyik-
ābhavat | tatō Dān[ā*]rūpava-su-
45 tā(ka)ś-Saktiva²²mma-bhūpatir-dvādaśa varshāpi samarakshad-uvvi²³ [i*] Tatas=²⁴
tad-anujas=sapta vatsarān bhūta-vatsalāḥ |
46 Vimalāditya-bhūpālāḥ pālayām-āsa mēdī(di)nīm | (II) Tat²⁵-tanayō naya-āli(II)
jaya-lakshmi-dhā-
47 ma Rājārāja-narō[m*]draś=chatvīrimśatam-abdān-ēkam cha punar=mmahim=
apālayad=akhilām | (II) Yō²⁶
48 rap[ē*]ṇa Mābhanōbhavam²⁷ viśadayā kāmtyā kalānān-nidhiḥ bhōgēn=āpi
Purāndaram vipulayā lakshmyā
49 oha Lakshmidharam Bhīmam bhīma-parākramēṇa vihasan bhāti sma bhāsvad-
yaśā[h*] śrīmat Sōma²⁸-kul-ē(ai)ka-
50 bhūshaya-manir-ddin-aika-chintāmanīḥ [i*] - Tasy-āśid-apakamashā su-charitair-
Ammatga-nāmnā bhuvi pra-
51 khyātā śubha-lakshaṇa-aika-vasatir-ddēvi jagat-pāvanī | yā Jahnōr-iva Jāhnavi²⁹
Himavatō Gaure-iva La-
52 kshmir-iva kshirōdād-divasōsa-varsha-tilakād-Rājēndra-Chōḍād-abhūt | (II) Putra³⁰-
tayōr-abhavad-apratighā-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 53 ta-śakti-niśāhit-āri-nivahō mahānya-kīrtiḥ | Gaṅgādhar-Ādristayōr-iva Kārttikēyō
Rājēndra-
54 Chōḍa iti rāja-kula-pradīpaḥ | (II) Bhāśām³¹=uninati-hētum pradha(tha)maḥ Vemgi-
śvaratvam-ādhyāya yas-tējaśā
55 dig-amtān-ākramad-udayam sahasrarāśmir-iva || Udyach³²-chaṇḍatara-pratāpa-dahana-
plushṭ-ākhilā-dvō-
56 shipā sarvān Kuś(kē)rala-Pāṇḍya-Kuṇṭala-mukhān nirjītya dēśān kramāt
ājñā maulishu bhūbhritām
57 bhaya-rujā chittēshu durmēdhasām kīrtti[r*]-dikshu sudhāmśu-dhāma-dhavalā
yēn=ārppit=ōjīmābhātē | (II) Bhō-
58 gīś³³-ābhīla-bhā(bhō)ga-pratibhaya-bhūja-nirbbha[r*]tan-Ātyamta-bibhyan-nānā-bhūpāla-
lōka-prahi-
59 ta-bahuvīdh-ānargghya-ratn-ābhīrāmam dhātō maṇīm parārddhyō mahati nripa-
kulō yaḥ Kulō-
60 ttuṅgadēvō dēvēndratvād-anūnē surapati-mahimā Chōḍa-rājyē-bhishiktāḥ | (II)
Hasta³⁴-bhrajita-śam-
61 kha-chakra-jalajam yam Rāja-Nārāyaṇam lōka[h*] stauti sa sūryya-varsha-
tilakād-Rājēndradēv-ārṇavā-
62 t sambhūtām-Madhurāntak-iti viditān-nāmn-āpagē(rē)ṇa svayam Lakshmin-
udvahati sma lōka-mahitā³⁵
63 dēvīm charitr-annatām | (II) Gaṅg-aughā iva nirmalāḥ kṛita-tamō-dhvaṁśā
dinēśā iva kshōḍīdhā iva
64 bhū-bhara-śrama-sahā jātās-tayōs-sūnavah tan-madhyē naya-vikram-aika-nīlaya[m*]
śrī-Rājārājān
65 prati prēmā(mā) vācham-imām-avōchata pitā sa[r*]vv-ōrvar-ādhhvata(rā)ḥ | (II)
Mayā³⁶ Vemgi-mahi-rā-

²¹ Read tatas.²² Read urvish.²³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and in the next verse.²⁴ The ā is imperfect in the original; the top stroke of the ā being omitted.²⁵ Metre, Āryāgṭti.²⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and in the next verse.²⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anuśtubh); and in the next two verses.²⁸ This letter, oo, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.²⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuśtubh).³⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.³¹ Read mānōbhavam.³² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.³³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.³⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita; and in the next verse.³⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anuśtubh); and in the next two verses.³⁶ Metre, Āryāgṭti.³⁷ Read śrīmat-sōma².³⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.³⁹ Metre, Śragdhara.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 66 jraṁ Chōḍa-rāḷy-Abhilaṇṇi(ṣhi)ṇā mat-pitṛivṛyō purā nyastam Vīṣṇuśaṣṭya-bhūbhujī (11)
Sa cha paṁcha-
- 67 daś-ābdāni paṁchānana-parākramaḥ mahīm rakṣān-mahā-nāthō divam dēv-ōpamō
gataḥ (11) Ity-uktṛā tā-
- 68 n-dhuraṁ dattām gurupā chakravartinā anishṭa-tad-viyōgō-pi vini(ni)tō vahaṭ
sma saḥ (11) Śrī⁴⁷-pāda-sōvā-su-
- 69 khatō gurūpānena jātu rājyaṁ sukham-ity-avākṣhya samrakṣhya Vemgi-
bhuvam-ōkam-ābdam bhūyaḥ-sa pitṛō-
- 70 r-āgamat-samīpam (11) Tad⁴⁸-anujam-adha(tha) dhīraṁ Vīra-Chōḍam kumāraṁ
guṇam-iva tann-baddham vikramaṁ chakra-
- 71 vartī udayam-iva raviḥ-tvaṁ prāpya V[^e]⁴⁹ṁg-lōvata(ra)tvam vitanu śirāḥ
pīdaṁ bhūbhṛitām-i⁵⁰ty-avō-
- 72 chat (11) Ity⁵⁰-āśiṣam samadhigamya nripād-avavadyām⁵¹ dēvyā-tadh(th)-āgraja-
nripa-dvityāt
- 73 kramēṇa ānanya tān-avaustō-varajaiḥ kumāra[h*] śriṣṭa[h*] sva-dēśa-gaṁanāya
sa taiḥ kathamohit (11) Śatru⁵²-dhvām-
- 74 tam-apāya rāja-nikāraṇ-āchchhādyā dhāmn-āparān dūrvṛtīn-vinivartya bhū-
kama⁵³linīṁ kṛitvā tadh(th)-ānamdinī[m*] ā-
- 75 rūḍō(ḍhō)⁵⁴ Jananātha⁵⁵-nāma-nagari-harmy-ōdayādriṁ vibhur-Vvemgi-bhūtala-
bhūṣaṇam nripa-utō bāl-ārka-
- 76 bimba-dyutiḥ (11) Sak-ābdō kaśi-khadvay-ōmdu-gaṇitō śiṣh-ādhirūḍō(ḍhō)
ravan chahdrō vṛiddhimati trayōdasa-ti-
- 77 thau varō Gurōr-vvṛiṣhikō lagnō-tha Bravanō samasta-jagatī-rājy-ābhishikrō
mu[dē] lōkasy-ōdva-
- 78 hatī sma paṭam-anaghaḥ śrī-Vīra-Chōḍō nripaḥ (11) Sa sārvalōka-śraya-śrī-
Viṣṇuvarddhana-mahārā-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 79 jādhirājō rāja-Paramēśvaraḥ paramamāhēśvara[h*] parāśabhaṭṭ[ā*]rakāḥ parama-
brahmaṇyaḥ śrī-Vīra-Chōḍadēvaḥ Gūḍā-
- 80 vāḍi⁵⁶-viśaya-nivāsinō rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhān kuṭumbinas-sarvvān samāhuya
māntri-purōhita-sōṇāpa-
- 81 ti-yuvarāja-daṁvārika-namakṣham-i⁵⁷ttham-ājñāpayāt | yadhā(thū) | Pāvanē⁵⁸ brahma-
vāmō-bhūt-param-āhlāda-da[r*]śanāḥ

⁴⁷ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Up'ndravajrā.

⁴⁸ Metre, Mālinī.

⁴⁹ This is an anomalous letter; neither exactly mā, nor exactly mī, but a mixture of the two. It occurs again in line 81 below.

⁵⁰ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁵¹ Read avandhyām.

⁵² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛijita; and in the next verse.

⁵³ The ma here is expressed by an akṣara which might very easily be interpreted as rō. The akṣara is of frequent use in the western inscriptions.

⁵⁴ Attached to the lower part of this akṣara, there is a mark which perhaps may be intentional, and intended to express the aspirated ḍā. But I have not met with it elsewhere; and I am more inclined to think that it is due to a slip of the engraver's tool.

⁵⁵ The second syllable of this word is cramped and not completely formed; and the value of it is rather doubtful. — Dr. Hultzsch read it as bha, which he corrected into ga. He thus obtained the name of Jagannāthanagarī. And taking this as a Prakrit form of Jagannāthanagarī, he suggested that the place might be identified with Jagannāthanagarī, which, according to Mr. Sewell's *List*, is "the portion of the town of Coconada lying south of the river." — My own reading was ca; Jagannāthanagarī. — But I have since heard from Dr. Hultzsch that, in the grant of the twenty-third year of Vīra-Chōḍadēva, the reading is distinctly na; Jagannāthanagarī. And, as the doubtful akṣara may stand for na just as well as for bha or ca, that it is the reading that I adopt. — It happens that, in the *Telugu Sāma*, the reading of na is actually given for the present grant also.

⁵⁶ Dr. Hultzsch has read the last syllable of this word as ti. But I do not agree with him. It is not identical with the ti of sphṛita in line 103.

⁵⁷ See note 49 above.

⁵⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh) and in the next four verses.

- 82 munimdrô Mudgalô nâma kshirôda iva chamdramâh 1(11) Yën-âta[r*]ky.
 Anubhâvêna samâhûtê divâkarê yasya ya-
 83 shpis=samâdisha râvi-chêshâm=achêshâtâ 1(11) Âst-pavitra-châritras=tad-gôtrê gôtra-
 varddhanañ diô nija-yasô-dhâmnâ dyô-
 84 tayan Pôtan-âhvayah 1(11) Guṇ-âdhikô guṇa-jôṇa Râjarâj-âdhipêna yah Râjarâja-
 brahma-mahârâja-nâmnâ
 85 statô mudâ 1(11) Tasya puṇya-nidhâñ patni Kannamâmbâ jagan-nutâ Atrê-iv-
 Ânasûy-âstô-anasûy[â*]-
 86 guṇ-ônnatâ 1(11) Sutam⁶²=iva Vasudêvâd=Dêvaki Vâsudêvam Guham=iva Girikanyâ
 nâmdanam Ohamdram⁶³(mau)lâh
 87 atha tanayam-asûta âri(âri)-nidhiñ sâ oha tasmâd=akhilâ-vibudha-saṅghair-âditam=
 Mâdâmaryyam 1(11) Uddâma⁶⁴-dhâ-
 88 ma-vimalkṛita-dig-vibhâgê nity-ôdaya-sthitimati pravikâsi-padm[ê*] yatr-ôditê nikhila-
 bandhu-kulâni lakshmi-râ-
 89 dhyâta vârija-vanâni vivasvat=iva 1(11) Yasminn⁶⁵-âsri(âri)-ta-vatsalê Kṛitayug-âchâr-
 aika-dhîrê svi(sthi)tiñ bibhrâñ(âñ) Guṇaratnabhû-
 90 shapa iti prakhyâta-nâmnî svayam satya-tyâga-parâkrama-prabhṛitayas=sambhûya
 sarvâtê guṇâ varddhantê
 91 guṇa-râsi-lôpa-nipunam nirjjitya kâlam Kalim 1(11) Phi(dh)ro⁶⁶ nity-ânnaktô
 dṛiḍa(dha)-niḥita-matir=brahma-vânâsa-pradipô
 92 lakshmi-bhâr-iddha-têjâ naya-vinaya-nidhiñ-âstra-âstra⁶⁷-pravipah mânayâ-
 sâ(sai)lêndra-sâra-sthira iti oha mayâ sâda-
 93 rah saprasâdam sâ(sai)nâpatyê-bhishiktô vahati jana-mudê paitam-ârpitam
 yah 1(11) Sûrâshayâ⁶⁸ gurujanam.

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 94 m⁶⁹ choha(cha)ritâna lôkam=ma[nêna] bandhu-janam-ishṭa-dhanêna shishân yô
 mâm=madhya-nikhila-kshiti-râjya-bhâra-kshânti-âbhinaûda-
 95 yati bhakti⁷⁰-bharêṇa Sauri[m 1(11)] Yasya⁷¹ prâṅgapa-bhûmishu prâti-dinam
 prakshâlyamân-âmita-kshôḍidêva-samûha-pâdha(da)-vigalad-vâri-pra-
 96 vâhaishubhaih sâvan-mârgga-sahasra-pûrîbhîr⁷²-ahô Gamgâ-pravâhô(hâ) jî(ji)tâ
 dêvêshv-anyatamasya pâda-galitâ mârgha-tray-âkṣitâh
 97 1(11) D[r*]aksh⁷³-âramê pavanê puṇya-bhâjâ puṇya-kshêtrê Pîthapurayam oha
 yêna bhôkt[u*]m prîtyâ praty-a⁷⁴ham brâhmaṇânâm-â-kalp-ântam kalpi-
 98 tam sat[t*]ra-yugmam 1(11) Chellîru⁷⁵-nâma-prathit-âbhîrâma-shishṭ-âgrahâr-ôttara-dig-
 vibhâgê mahat-tâkâm⁷⁶-madhur-âpibn-pâṇnam-a-
 99 chi(ch)karad-yah karupâ-ras-âtmâ 1(11) Viprair⁷⁷-Agastya-pratimair=asamkhyai[r*]-
 nnity-ôpabhôgyêna sâsi-prabhêṇa yad-vâ⁷⁸rip-âbdhim hasat=iva bhû-
 100 yô nîsâsha-pftam kalâ-ôdbhavêna 1(11) Mah⁷⁹-âujasâ tēna mahâ-mahimnâ grâmasya
 tasy-âpara-dig-yibhâgê nirmâpitam dharmma-
 101 parâyâṇêna Vishnô[r*]-griham Vaishṇava-puṅgavai(vô)na 1(11) Samunnatê ohamdra-
 marlohi-gô(gau)rê Lakshmi-nivâsê nâyan-âbhîrâmê
 102 tatr-âvir-âst-syayam-ôvê(va) dêvô Lakshmi-patir=llakshita-sankha-chakra[h*] 1(11)
 Tasmai âri-Vishnu-bhaṭṭârakâya⁸⁰ praty-sham charu-ba-

⁶⁹ Metre, Mâlinî.⁷⁰ Metre, Brâgharî.⁷¹ The repetition of the *anyatâ* here is unnecessary.⁷² These two syllables, *bhakti*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.⁷³ Metre, Sârdûlavikṛîta.⁶⁶ Metre, Vasantatîlaka.⁶⁷ Read, probably, *âstra-âstra*.⁶⁸ Metre, Sârdûlavikṛîta.⁶⁹ Metre, Vasantatîlaka.⁷⁴ Read *prîtyâ*.⁷⁵ Metre, Sâlinî.⁷⁶ These two syllables, *praty*, were at first omitted, and then were inserted below the line.⁷⁷ Metre, Upajîti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.⁷⁸ Read *tâkâm*.⁷⁹ Metre, Indravajrâ.⁸⁰ First the superscript *â* was formed, and then it was corrected into *â*.⁸¹ Metre, Upajîti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.⁸² At first *bhaṭṭârakâya* was engraved; and then the first *ra* was cancelled.

- 103 li-pūj-ārttham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navaka[r*]mm-ārttham oha bhavad-vishayē. Kolēru.⁷⁷
 nāma-gr[ā*]mas-sarvva-kara-parihārēṇa
 104 dēvabhōgikṛitya udaka-pūrvvakam datta iti viditam=astu vah [11*] Asya grāmasya-
 sīmānāḥ [1*] pūrvvataḥ Ku-
 105 karapolagarusu Nāru(P)vaya si(al)mā āgnēyyām Treṅkipolagarusu Natrena(P)-
 gumtaya si(al)mā dakshinasyām Treṅ-
 106 kipolagarusu medigumtaya si(al)mā nairityām Treṅkipolagarusu
 māsvarama si(al)mā
 107 paśchimataḥ Tāru ma(P)polagarusu Na da(P)gumtaya
 si(al)mā vāyavyām
 108 ru(P)napolagarusu si(al)mā uttarasyām Kra(P)ladipolagarusu si(al)mā Porāṇa(P)-

 109 garusu Oha(P)va(P)lām(Plim)gagumtaya si(al)mā sīmā || Asy-ōpari na kēnachid-
 b[ā*]dhā kara[pliyā yah karō]ti sa

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 110 paṁcha-mahāpātaka-yuktō bhavati | Tathā ch-ōktām bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Sva-⁷⁸
 dattām para-dattām [vā yō harē]ta va-
 111 sundharām shashtīm varsha-sahasrāpi viśṭhāyām jāyatē krimih [11] Gām-ōktām
 svarṇam-ēkam vā [bhūmēr-apy-ēka]m-aṅgu-
 112 lām | haran-narakam-āpnōti yāvad-ā-bhūta-samplevam [11] Bahubhir-
 vvasudhā dattā bahubhiḥ-ch-ānupālita yasya
 113 yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [11] Sri-vijayarājya-samvatsarē
 ēka-viṁśatē dattasy-āsya
 114 śāsanaay-ājñaptih paṁcha pradhānāḥ kāvya-karttā Viddayabhaṭṭaḥ lēkhakaḥ
 Pennāchāriḥ ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

From the water-lily that grew from the navel of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu)² (line 1), there was produced Svayambhū (Brahman), the creator of the world (l. 2). From him there was born Atri, a mind-engendered son. From him, Sōma (the Moon), the founder of a race. From him there sprang Budha (l. 3). From him, the emperor named Purūrasas. From him, Āyus (l. 4). From him, Mahusha. From him, the emperor Yayāti, the founder of a race. From him, Puru (l. 5). From him, Janamājaya (l.). From him, Prāchīna. From him, Sainyayāti. From him, Hayapati. From him, Sarvabhauma. From him, Jayasēna (l.) (l. 6). From him, Mahābhauma. From him, Aśanaka. From him, Krōdhānana. From him, Dēvaki. From him, Ribhuka. From him, Rikshaka (l. 7). From him, Matiyara, the celebrator of sacrifices, the lord of the river Sarasvatī. From him, Kātyāyana. From him, Nīla (l. 8). From him, Duśhyanta. His son was he who set up sacrificial posts, step by step, in an uninterrupted line, on the banks of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and performed the great rite of the *śvamedha*-sacrifice, and acquired the name of Bharata (l. 9). From him there was born Bhūmanyu. From him, Hastin

⁷⁷ Dr. Hultsch has read this name as 'Kolāru.' He quotes Sir Walter Elliot as giving the name as 'Kaleru.' It is given as 'Kāler' in the Index to the *Telugu Sastras*; but, in the transcription of the text, in the same book, it is given as 'Kāveru.' — There are some unnecessary marks in the first syllable, but on the whole it seems to be *ko*, or possibly *ke*; and not *ka*. On this point, however, I should like to see the original plate again. — The second syllable is rather spoiled, through the *r* of the third syllable having been at first commenced here; and the vowel is of a decidedly anomalous form; but the intended *akāru* seems to be certainly *ka*. — From this word, down to just before the second *śmā* in line 109, the writing has been deliberately damaged, and at some places rendered quite illegible, by paring down the copper; and here and there some letters have been inserted between the lines, as if to add to the confusion.

⁷⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the following two verses.

(l. 10).⁷⁹ From him, Virūchana. From him, Ajamila.⁸⁰ From him, Sahvarana. From him, Sudhanvan. From him, Parikshit (I.). From him, Bhīmasēna (l. 11). From him, Pradipana. From him, Santanu. From him, Vichitravirya. From him, Paṇḍurāja. And from him, the Pāṇḍavas (l. 12). One of the Pāṇḍavas was Arjuna (l. 14), who, armed with the bow *gāṇḍīva*, conquered (the god) Indra who wields the thunderbolt, and burnt the hermitage in the Khāṇḍava (forest) (l. 12); who acquired in battle the weapon of Paśupati (Śiva), from (Śiva) the foe of (the demon) Andhaka; who slew Kālikēya and many other Daityas, and then, in victory, mounted half of the throne of Indra; and by whom there was effected, just as he liked to do it, the cutting-down of the forest of the race of the lord of the Kurus. From him, Arjuna, there was born Abhimanyu (l. 14). From him, Parikshit (II.). From him, Janamājaya (II.) (l. 15). From him, Kāśhēmuka. From him, Naravāhana. From him, Satānika. And from him, Udayana.

Then, commencing with him (Udayana), sixty emperors, less by one, in unbroken lineal succession, sat on the throne at Ayōdhyā (l. 16). And when they had passed away, a king of that same lineage, by name Vijayāditya (l. 16-17), went to the region of the south, from a desire for conquest; and, having attacked Trilōchana-Pallava, through the spite of fate he (*lost his life and*) went to the other world. In the confusion that ensued, his queen-consort, who was pregnant, escaped with the family-priest and with the aged ministers, and reached the agrahāra named Muḍivemu (l. 19); and being cherished, just like a daughter, by the great saint Viśhṇubhaṭṭa-Sōmayājīn, who dwelt there, she brought forth a son, Viśhṇuvardhana (l. 20). And having caused to be performed for that prince those rites which befitted his descent from the two-sided *gōtra*, of those who were of the Mānavya *gōtra* and were descended from an original ancestress of the Hārita *gōtra* (l. 21), she reared him. And he, being instructed by his mother in the events that had happened, went forth; and worshipped Nandā, the divine Gaurī, on the Chālukya mountain (l. 22); and appeased Kumāra and Nārāyaṇa and the troops of the Mothers of mankind; and assumed the insignia of universal sovereignty which had descended to him by the succession of his family, and which had been, as it were, laid aside, *viz.* the white umbrella (l. 23), the single conch-shell, the *pañchamahāśabḍa*, the *pāṇḍikāṇa*,⁸¹ the double drum, the crest of a bear, the feathers of a peacock's tail, the spear, the throne, the *makarabhaṭṭa*, the golden sceptre, and (the signs of) the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and other insignia; and conquered the Kaḍamba and Gaṅga and other kings (l. 25); and ruled over the (whole) region of the south, lying between the Bridge (of Rāma) and the river Narmadā, and containing seven and a half *lākhs* (of villages).⁸² The son of that same king Viśhṇuvardhana, and of his queen-consort who was born in the Pallava lineage, was Vijayāditya (l. 26-27).

His son was Pulakēśin (I.), the favourite (l. 28). His son was Kirttivarman (I.), His son:—

Hail! Kubja-Viśhṇuvardhana (I.) (l. 33), — the (*younger*) brother of Satyākṛaya-(Pulakēśin II.), the chief of favourites, who adorned the family of the Chālukyas (l. 32), who are glorious; who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* (l. 29), which is praised throughout the whole world; who are Hārityputras; who acquired sovereignty through the excellent favour of Kauṇḍikī (the goddess Durgā); who have been protected by the troop of the Mothers (*of mankind*); who

⁷⁹ According to the grant of Bājārāja I., the succession was, — from Bhūmanya, Subhōtra; from Subhōtra, Hastin; and so on (see note 16 above).

⁸⁰ The correct form of this name appears to be Ajamīṭha, or Ajmīṭha.

⁸¹ An arrangement of flags in rows; see *ants*, Vol. XIV. p. 104 f.

⁸² *i. e.* seven hundred and fifty thousand villages. — Dr. Hultsch has translated “(and the revenue from which amounts to) seven and a half *lākhs*.” But the specification refers undoubtedly to the number of villages (of course exaggerated here as in other instances) supposed to be included in the territory; compare the explicit mention of “the three Mahāśabṭrakas, containing ninety-nine thousand villages” in the Alhōle inscription (*ants*, Vol. VIII. p. 262, line 12). — The mistaken supposition that the numbers in such cases indicate the revenues, appears to have originated with Dr. Burnell (see his *South-Indian Palaeography*, p. 67, last paragraph but one).

meditate on the feet of (the god) Svāmi-Mahāsēna; who have had the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent crest of a boar (l. 31) which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa; and whose bodies have been purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *āvanēdha*-sacrifice, — ruled over the Veṅgi dēva for eighteen years (l. 38).

His son, Jayasinhha (I.), the favourite, ruled for thirty-three years (l. 34). His younger brother, Indrarāja, for seven days. His son, Viṣṇuvardhana (II.), for nine years. His son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja (l. 35), for twenty-five years. His son, Jayasinhha (II.), for thirteen years. His younger brother, Kokkili (l. 36), for six months. Having expelled him, his elder brother, Viṣṇuvardhana (III.), reigned for thirty-seven years. His son, Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka (I.) (l. 37), for eighteen years. His son, Viṣṇuvardhana (IV.), for thirty-six years. His son, Narēndramrigarāja-(Vijayāditya II.), for forty-eight years. His son, Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana (V.), for one year and a half year. His son, Guṇagaṅka-Vijayāditya (III.), for forty-four years. Then Chālukya-Bhima (I.) (l. 39), the son of his (younger) brother Vikramāditya (I.), for thirty years. His son, Kollabhiṅga-Vijayāditya (IV.), for six months. His son, Amma (I.) (l. 40), for seven years. Having expelled his son Vijayāditya (V.), while he was a child, Tādapa (l. 41) reigned for one month. Having conquered him, Vikramāditya (II.), the son of Chālukya-Bhima (I.), reigned for eleven months. Then Yuddhamalla (II.) (l. 42), the son of that same Tādapa, reigned for seven years. Having expelled him from the country, Rāja-Bhima (II.), the younger brother of Amma (I.), reigned for twelve years. His son, Amma (II.) (l. 43), for twenty-five years. His half-brother, born from a different mother, Dānārīpa, for three years. Then, for twenty-seven years, through the spite of fate, the land of Veṅgi was without a lord (l. 44).⁸³ Then king Śaktivarman (l. 45), the son of Dānārīpa, reigned for twelve years. Then his younger brother, Vimalāditya, for seven years. Then his son, Rājārāja I. (l. 47), for forty-one years; he was a sole ornament of the glorious Lunar Race (l. 49). His queen was Ammaṅgadēvi (l. 50-51), the daughter of Rājendra-Chōḍa of the race of the sun. Their son was Rājendra-Chōḍa (l. 53-54), who, at first had the sovereignty of Veṅgi, "which was the cause of the rising of his splendour," and who conquered in succession the Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Kuntala, and other countries (l. 56). He was also called Kulōttuṅgadēva (ll. 59-60); under which title he was anointed in the Chōḍa kingdom; and another of his names was Rāja-Nārāyaṇa (l. 61), because on his hands there were marks of the conch-shell, the discus, and the water-lily. He married Madhurāntakidēvi (l. 62-63), the daughter of Rājendradēva of the race of the sun. And they had seven sons.⁸⁴ One of their sons, — as a matter of fact, their second son, — was Rājārāja (II.) (l. 64). To him his father explained that, when he himself was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom, he had given the sovereignty of Veṅgi to his own paternal uncle Vijayāditya (l. 66), who ruled there for fifteen years, and then died. He now appointed Rājārāja (II.) as Vijayāditya's successor; and the latter, though the separation from his father was unwelcome to him, obediently took up the burden (l. 68); but, feeling that sovereignty was no happiness without the pleasure of being able to worship the feet of his elders, he governed the country of Veṅgi for only one year, and then returned to his parents (l. 70). Then Kulōttuṅgadēva appointed Virā-Chōḍa (l. 70), the younger brother of Rājārāja II., to the sovereignty of Veṅgi; and, being blessed by his father, his mother, and his two elder brothers, in succession, Virā-Chōḍa was, with difficulty.

⁸³ The expression in the original here is *septa-vishati-varshāḥ; dāva-darthyāḥ veṅgi-mahī, andyik-dhāvat*. In the grant of Rājārāja I. it is said that "for twenty-seven years a feverish desire, to obtain a suitable lord, consumed the earth, which was without a ruler;" and that "Chālukya-Chandra cured the fever of the earth." In another record (*Telugu Sasanaśas*, p. 777) it is said that *sakalīṅga-sādāra-māṅgalam aradhiḥam āva vidhi-vakṣa bhūtam*. — The time in question has been understood as a period of anarchy. But the expressions do not seem to necessarily mean that; compare the description of Veṅgi, in one of the Piṭṭapuram inscriptions (page 427 above), as being *nāyaka-rakṣi-d* again at a later time, when there was certainly no anarchy.

⁸⁴ The number of their sons is not explicitly mentioned; but, as pointed out by Dr. Hultsch, it is indicated by their being compared with the (seven) streams of the Ganges, the (seven) suns or Ādityas, and the (seven) mountain (see his translation of the verse).

prevailed upon to go to Veṅgi (l. 78); and, arriving there, he established himself in the palace at the city of Jananāthanagari (l. 75).⁸⁵ And thus, being anointed to the sovereignty of the whole earth (!) in the Saka year is that numbered by the moon (one), two skies (a pair of ciphers), and the moon (one) (l. 76), when the sun was standing in the sign Sīṁha, when the moon was waxing, on the thirteenth lunar day, on Thursday, in the Vriśchika lagna, and under the Bravaṇa (nakṣatra), he, the king, the sinless one, the glorious Vira-Chōḍa, assumed the fillet of sovereignty, to the delight of mankind (l. 78).

And he, the asylum of all mankind, the glorious Viṣṇuvardhana (l. 78), the Mahārājā-dhīrāja, the Rāja-Paramāśvara (l. 79), the most devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara, the Paramabhāṣṭṛaka, he who is most kind to Brahmins, the glorious Vira-Chōḍadeva, having called together all the cultivators, headed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, dwelling in the Guddavāḍi viśaya (ll. 79-80), thus issues a command, in the presence of the Mantrin, Purōhita, Śeṇāpati, Yuvarāja and Daudārika (l. 81):—

"In the Brāhmaṇ race (i. e. caste), there was a saint named Mudgala (l. 82). In his gōtra (i. e. in the Mudgala gōtra), there was a person named Pōtana (l. 84), who was praised by the king Rājarāja (l.) by the name of 'the great king of the Brāhmins of Rājarāja.' His wife was Kannamāmbā (l. 85). Their son was Mōḍamārya (l. 87), who became famous under the name of Guṇaratnabhūṣhana (l. 89-90). He has been anointed by me in the office of Śeṇāpati, and wears the fillet which was placed on his head to the delight of the people (l. 93); and he pleases me by the patient manner in which he bears the burden of rule over the whole of my territories (ll. 94-95).

"At the pure Drākṣhārāma, and at Pīṭhapuri, a place of sanctity (l. 97), he established two *sattras*, for feeding Brāhmins. Also he caused to be made a large tank, in the northern division of the famous *agrahāra* of Ohellūru (l. 98). And by him, an eminent person among the Vaishnavas (l. 101), there was caused to be built a temple of Viṣṇu, in the western part of the same village; in which the god himself, the lord of Lakṣmī, manifested himself, having his conch-shell and discus distinctly visible (l. 102).

"Be it known to you that the village named Koleru, in your district, has been given to that same god, the holy Viṣṇubhāṣṭṛaka (l. 102), for the daily performance of the *charu*, *balli*, and worship, and for the repairs of whatever may become broken or torn, — with exemption from all taxes, and on the terms of a *dēvabhōga* (l. 104)."⁸⁶

Lines 104 to 109 specify the boundaries of the villages. As the passage contains several words that are more or less illegible, and as an identification of the names might shew that some of the legible words have not been properly divided by me, it is needless to produce any part of it here.

Then follow, in lines 110 to 113, three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the record ends with the statements, that the charter was given in the twenty-first year of the glorious and victorious reign (l. 113); that the *Dātakas* (denoted by the word *ājñapti*) were the five Pradhānas or Ministers (l. 114); that the composer was Viddayabhatta; and that the writer was Pennāchāri.

⁸⁵ See note 55, above.

⁸⁶ The *dēvabhōga*, 'enjoyment by a god,' is obviously one of the divisions of the *tribhōga*, for which see page 2171 above.

FOLKLORE IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN KO.

No. 2. — The Two Blind Princes.

Being childless at the time of his accession to the throne of Tagaung, King ThadonAganang¹ adopted prince Labaduha, brother of his queen Kënnayidêwi,² as his heir.

One day it was reported to the king that a huge wild boar, 18 feet high, was devastating the land, and the Ênyemin,³ as the prince was now called, was ordered to stop its ravages. The prince marched out with an armed force, and the boar fled southwards and sought refuge in the Shan country, and to this day the place of its entry is known as Wetwin.⁴ The chase was continued, and the animal crossed the Irrawaddy (Aïrâvâtî) at a place called Wetmasut⁵ without wetting itself, and was not overtaken till it reached an island above Prome now called Wettôgyun,⁶ where it met its death. The prince afterwards proceeded southwards, and the lake where he washed his dagger after killing the wild boar, came to be known as Wetthwese-in, now corrupted into Wetohe-in.⁷

After accomplishing his mission, Labaduha bethought himself that, in case a son and heir had been born to the King of Tagaung during his prolonged absence, his return thither would only complicate matters. The distance he would have to traverse was great and beset with much danger, and he was not free from apprehension that his return would give rise to intrigues, and perhaps civil commotion, as was the case with most of the neighbouring countries. Besides, he was of an advanced age and would prefer ending his days in peace. He, therefore, resolved to take up his permanent residence in the country of the Pyns,⁸ and acquire merit by leading the austere life of an ascetic hermit.

One day the religious meditations of the hermit-prince were disturbed by the cries of an infant near his hermitage, and on repairing to the spot whence the sound proceeded, he saw to his great surprise that a doe had miraculously given birth to a female child. The doe being frightened by human intrusion ran off, and the hermit-prince could do nothing but take possession of the child and carry it to his lonely abode. Fortunately for the sustenance of the child, abundant milk miraculously flowed from both the fore-fingers of the hermit, who had constituted himself its foster father. In due course the child grew into a beautiful damsel, and was named Bedâyi.⁹ When she was seventeen years of age, she was sent daily to fetch water and directed not to return home till after sunset. This injunction was given, because it was considered that the presence of a female was detrimental to the spiritual progress of a recluse.

In the same year that prince Labaduha set out on his perilous chase, queen Kënnayidêwi gave birth to two male twins who were born blind. The king was ashamed of owning them as his children, and ordered them to be done away with. But the queen, with the motherly affection natural to her sex, hid them away and saved their lives. When they were nineteen years old, however, the king discovered that his behest had not been obeyed, and he peremptorily commanded that effect should be given to his previous order. The queen could no longer stave off the fatal moment, and therefore bringing her feminine wit into requisition, she devised a scheme for obeying the royal order and yet at the same time for saving the lives of

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII. page 275, footnote 2.

² Kënnayidêwi = Kinnaridêvi.

³ Ênyemin or Ênshemin literally means 'lord of the eastern house,' and corresponds to the Yswarâja in ancient Hindu kingdoms; vide Phayre's *History of Burma*, page 9.

⁴ Wetwin means 'boar-entry.' It is in the Shan State of Thônâ, which is to the north-west of Mandalay.

⁵ Wetmasut means 'boar-not-wet.' It is situated in the Myingyan district.

⁶ Wettôgyun means 'boar-strike-island.'

⁷ Wetohe-in; a quarter of the town of Prome is still known by this name.

⁸ The Pyns are an extinct tribe whose habitat was the Prome district.

⁹ Bedâyi; this appears to be a word of the Pyn language, about which nothing is at present known.

her children. She had a magnificent raft built, stored it with provisions, shipped her sons on it, and consigned it with its precious freight to the bosom of the Irrawaddy, invoking at the same time the dryads¹⁰ to exercise special care over her children.

The raft floated down the river, and in due course arrived at the place where Sagaing¹¹ now stands. Here its further progress was stayed by a projecting branch of a "sit" tree, whose guardian¹² was an ogress¹³ called Sandamōkki.¹⁴ Taking advantage of the blindness of the princes, the ogress daily shared with them their scanty meals without their knowledge, till the brothers made an arrangement to catch the intruder by holding each other's hand and asking whose it was. By this means the princes captured the ogress, and were just waving their swords to kill her, when she cried out: "Hold! spare my life, and you will see how grateful an ogress can be." One of the princes asked: "What do you mean? How will you show your gratitude?" And the ogress replied that she would undertake to cure their blindness. On this condition her life was spared, and the raft floated down. At the place now called Sagū¹⁵ she began to cure them, and at Ywālin¹⁶ their eyesight was restored. At Myēdè,¹⁷ just above Prome, delighted with their restored vision, they exclaimed:—

Mō: gā: a-pōn:

Myē gā: a-p'ō:

"The sky is a covering dome,
And the earth is below it."

The downward voyage was continued, and the raft was not moored till its arrival at Būgāyaung,¹⁸ a creek below Prome. Here they encountered Bedāyi, who was drawing water. Noticing the smallness of the aperture in the joint of the hollow bamboo through which the water was trickling, this being the contrivance of the old *yathā*¹⁹ whereby he succeeded in keeping his foster daughter employed all day long, the princes took the liberty of cutting off the joint in the bamboo end and thus enabled Bedāyi to return home earlier than usual. The hermit enquired why she had, unlike her wont and in disobedience to his express command, returned so early. She explained the cause, and volunteered to fetch the princes and introduce them to the old recluse. This was permitted, and on learning the pedigree of the strangers, who were no other than his nephews, Labaduha married Bedāyi to Mahāthanbawa,²⁰ the elder of the two princes.

At that time the ruler of the Pyu tribe was a queen, and the *yathā* obtained from her a grant of land of the size of a hide. He, however, construed the grant in a different sense, and cutting up a hide into thin strips, took possession of as much land as could be encircled by

¹⁰ The corresponding term in the Burmese version of the tale for 'dryad' is *nat*. *Nat*-worship, which is pure demonolatry, still prevails in Burma, and the Buddhist monks have never attempted to suppress it.

¹¹ Sagaing is written in Burmese as 'Sit-kaing,' i. e., the Sit-garden. The *sit* tree is not mentioned in Mason's *Burma*.

¹² Each object in nature, as trees, hills, streams, &c., is believed by the Burmans to be presided over by a guardian *nat*. See note 10, *supra*.

¹³ [The description of the "ogress" here is extremely interesting, as by the term is meant merely a foreigner or "barbarian," without any special attribute of inspiring terror. — R. O. T.]

¹⁴ Sandamōkki is the Burmanised form of the Pāli word *Oḥandamūḥhi* (*ओहंदमुहि*).

¹⁵ Sagū means "begin-cure." It is in the Minbū district.

¹⁶ Ywālin is popularly, but wrongly, identified with Salin in the same district. It is situated in the Malun township of the Thayetmyo district.

¹⁷ Myēdè is in the Thayetmyo district. The Myēdè parallel was taken as the boundary line between Upper and Lower Burma before the annexation of the former.

¹⁸ This creek has been filled up.

¹⁹ *Yathā*, so pronounced but written *raśā*, is the Burmanised form of the Sanskrit *riśā*.

²⁰ Mahāthanbawa is the Burmanised form of the Pāli word *Mahāthanbhava*.

the combined length of the leathern strips. Hence the city built on the land was named Tha-*śk'ittayā*.²¹

When Mahāthanbawa became king over Thayēk'ittayā, he appointed his brother Sulathanbaw²² to be Eñyemin²³ or Crown-Prince. The former reigned for six years, and was succeeded by his brother who married²⁴ his sister-in-law Bedāyī. Sulathanbawa reigned for 35 years and died at the ripe age of 61.²⁵

MISCELLANEA.

THE PANCHASIDDHANTIKĀ.

Whatever I have said in my papers on the original *Sārya-Siddhanta* and on the *Rāmaka-Siddhantas* in connection with Dr. Thibaut's opinion on certain points in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, has reference only to his article published in 1884, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. pp. 259 to 293; I did not know his edition and translation of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, not only when I originally drafted my papers, viz. in July, 1889, but for some time even after their publication. Through the kindness of Dr. Thibaut I have now a copy of his work, received at the end of July last. Since then I have had no time to read it carefully; but thinking it to be desirable, nay even to be my duty, to state as early as possible those points criticised by me on which his opinions have changed, as shewn in this edition, I do so here briefly.

The principal point of my criticism was Dr. Thibaut's first view, that the *Rāmaka-Siddhanta* treated of in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, and *Śrīśāṅga's Rāmaka-Siddhanta*, were one and the same. But he has now come to the conclusion that they are different works. His opinion now about the age of the former, as given in his edition of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, is, that it was "composed not later than about 400 A. D." I still differ from him in this respect; my conclusion being that it was composed before A. D. 150; and I hope that by-and-by he will come round to the same view.

Some minor points are as follows:—

(1) (See pp. 46, 47, and 50, note 15, above). He originally read the last expression in the 8th

verse of the 1st chapter as *सौम्यदिवसद्वय*, *sauṁya-divas-dvya*. He has now read it as *सौम्यदिवसद्वय*, *sōma-divas-dvya*. But I have shewn in my paper on the original *Sārya-Siddhanta* that the real reading is *सौम्यदिवसद्वय*, *bhauṁya-divas-dvya*.

(2) (See p. 47, above). The second half of the 4th verse of the 9th chapter is now explained. Here we both, unaware of each other, have made the same emendation for the *द्वय* of the original MS. I have put the word *द्वय* (= 9), and Dr. Thibaut has put *द्वय* (= 9).

(3) (See p. 136, above). The *Kāśhāpakas* in the 1st, 4th, 5th and 8th verses of the 8th chapter have been taken into consideration. Here, again, we have both made the same emendation in the 2nd half of the 4th verse. I have added the word *द्वय* (= 9) and Dr. Thibaut has added *द्वय* (= 9). I may state here that there were several such instances of coincidence in my first paper, not published, on the original *Sārya-Siddhanta*, of which my published paper on the same is a recast (see p. 45, above, note 1). The satisfaction felt at such an agreement in the results of independent work, will be appreciated by those who have had a like experience.

(4) (See p. 136, above, note 5). Dr. Thibaut now reads *द्वय* for *द्वय*, in the 8th verse of the 8th chapter.

(5) (See p. 141, above). The word *व्याख्यातो* in the 3rd verse of the 1st chapter is now translated by Dr. Thibaut by "explained."

I would add that the edition and translation of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* brought out by Dr. Thibaut and Mahāmahāpādhyāya Sudhākar Dvivedī, is a most important work, both in itself, and in

²¹ Thayēk'ittayā: this old-world fable has been invented to account for the name, which Lassen identifies with *Śrīśāṅga*, the 'field of fortune,' and Dr. Forchhammer with *Śrīśāṅga*, the 'glory of the Kāshātriyas.' — [We would, however, agree with Lassen! Eds.]

²² Sulathanbawa: *PAH OAH* *śāṅga*.

²³ See *supra* (note 3).

²⁴ Marriage with a sister-in-law has died out among the Burmese. It is, however, still prevalent among the Chinese: vide sec. 21 of Maung Tet Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chinese*.

²⁵ The date assigned to the beginning of this story by the legendary history of Burma, is the 40th year after Gautama-Buddha's death, i. e. to say, 503 B. C., if the Burmese date of Buddha's death is to be accepted. [Quasi-historical legends like this are common in Burma, and are always exceedingly interesting and illustrative of the folklore of the Burmese. — B. O. T.]

giving most useful means to add to and correct our knowledge of the Hindu astronomy.

SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT.

Dhulia, 16th September 1890.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 41.

In the Khédrapur stone inscription of the Dévagiri-Yādava king Singhapa II., from the Kōlāpur State, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 1, 7 ff., the date (line 8 f.) is — śrī-Saka-varshē 1136 Śrīmukha-sahvat-sarē Chaitrē sūrya-parba(rva)ni Sōmadintē, — “in the glorious Śaka year 1136, in the Śrīmukha sahvatsara, in (the month) Chaitra, at the conjunction or festival of (an eclipse of) the sun, on Monday.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, Singhapa II. granted the village of Kōḷaladāmaṇḍa for the aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga and other rites of the god Koppāvara.

Here we have a clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, which is the only one applicable in this and the following five cases, the Śrīmukha sahvatsara coincided with Śaka-Sahvat 1136 current (1136 expired).

In this year, the new-moon *tithi* of the *audanta* Chaitra ended on Monday, 22nd April, A. D. 1818, at about 28 *ghaṭis*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun, which was perhaps visible in India just about sunset (von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 232, 233, and Plate 115).

With the use in this case of the word *sūrya-parvan* for the fuller and more customary term *sūrya-grahaṇa-parvan*, we may compare the Surāt grant of Trilōchanapāla of Lāṭadēta (see *ante*, Vol. XVIII p. 91). The *tithi* is not specified, and has to be inferred from the meaning of the word *sūrya-parvan*. And the Mēṣa-Saṅkrānti or entrance of the sun into Aries, occurred on Sunday, 24th March, at about 51 *gha.* 30 *p.*, and, on account of the lateness of the hour, was probably celebrated on Monday, 25th March. But in the grant of Trilōchanapāla, at any rate, it is certain that the word *sūrya-parvan* denotes an eclipse of the sun, and not a *saṅkrānti*. And it seems only natural and correct to understand it in the same sense, in the present case also.

No. 42.

In the Munōḷi stone inscription of the same king Singhapa II., from the Belgaum District,

¹ Read *śrīmukha-sahvat*.

published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 2, 11 ff. (see also *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 233 ff., where a photograph is given, and Vol. III. p. 116 ff.), the date (line 24 f.) is — śrīmats Saka-varsha 1145naya Chitrabhānu-sahvatsarada Kārttika sudhdha² punnami Sōnavāra sōmagrahaṇa-bya(vya)tipātadalli, — “in the *vyatipāda* of an eclipse of the moon (on) Monday the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the Chitrabhānu sahvatsara, which is the 1145th glorious Śaka year.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, at the command of the Sarvādīkārī and Daṇḍad-yaka Puruṣhottama, a certain Jōgādēva granted the village of Kallavoḷe for the aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga and other rites of the god Svayambhu-Pāṇchalinga, and for the purposes of a charitable dining-hall.

Here we have another clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Chitrabhānu sahvatsara coincided with Śaka-Sahvat 1145 current (1144 expired).

The details, however, do not work out satisfactorily. In this year, Kārttika śukla 15 ended, not on a Monday, but on Saturday, 22nd October, A. D. 1922, at about 25 *palas*. And if the term *vyatipāda* denotes the *yōga* of that name, then that detail also is apparently incorrect; for, the *Vyātipāda yōga* ended at about 1 hr. 12 min., — 3 *ghaṭis*, before the sunrise at the end of the Friday and the beginning of the Saturday. On this day, however, there was an eclipse of the moon (von Oppolzer's *Canon*, p. 362). And I think that this is undoubtedly the eclipse that was intended; though the week-day, Saturday, does not agree with that given in the record. There is no apparent reason for looking upon any portion of the record as not genuine. And, as suggested already in a similar case (*ante*, Vol. XVIII p. 127 f.), the explanation is perhaps to be found in the use of the term *vyatipāda*. In connection with eclipses and *saṅkrāntis*, it seems to have much the same sense as *parvan* and *pūṇyakhila*; except that, as it literally means ‘falling entirely away, total departure,’ it may possibly denote only the latter half, or even the very end, of the *pūṇyakhila*. There remains, of course, the difficulty, that the *pūṇyakhila* of an eclipse, whether of the sun or of the moon, is limited to the time during which the eclipse is actually visible, except for accidental obstruction by clouds &c. (*Dharmasiddhanta*, i. 43). But special excellence is attached to an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, or of the moon on a Monday; — (Revivārē *sūrya-grahaṇa*

² Read *suddha*.

Chandrarātrē chandra-grahāś chāḍāmanī-saṁjñāś tatra dān-ādikam ananta-phalam; — *loc. cit.*) And it may be that, within certain limits, the *puṣyāḍā* could be extended to the Sunday or the Monday, as the case might be. In the present instance, the eclipse, — one of the moon, — actually occurred on a Saturday; while the record, using the term *vyatīpāda*, connects it with the Monday. While, in the other case of which I have spoken, the eclipse, — one of the sun, — actually occurred on a Saturday; but the record, using the same term, connects it with the Sunday. Moreover, in the present instance, the intervention of an expunged *tithi* during all the hours of daylight on the intervening day, may have something to do with the matter; Kārttika kṛishna 1 ended at about 8 *palas* on the Sunday; kṛishna 2, the expunged *tithi*, ended at about 58 *gh.* 30 *p.* on the same day; and the *tithi* that ended on the Monday, was kṛishna 3, at about 55 *gh.* 35 *p.*

In this case, no better result can be obtained by applying the given year as an expired year, and altering the name of the *sauvatsara* from Chitrabhānu, No. 16, to Subhānu or Svabhānu, No. 17. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1143 current (1143 expired), Kārttika śukla 15 again ended not on a Monday, but on Thursday, 9th November, A. D. 1223, at about 52 *gh.* 30 *p.* Moreover, on this day there was no eclipse of the moon.

No. 43.

In the Chikka-Bāgiwāḍi copper-plate grant of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Kṛishna, from the Belgaum District, published by me, with a lithograph, in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 303 ff. (originally in the *Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 3, 23 ff.), the date (line 19 ff.) is — ākṣaptaty-uttara-sat-ādha(dhi)ka-sahasra-saṁkhyāḥu Śak-ārdh(bā)ḥv-sattāḥu pravartamānāś Saumya²-sauhvatṣarē tad-antā[³]gat-Āshāḍha-pūrṇamāsyarh Sansācchara-vārē Pūrva-Āshāḍh[⁴]-nakṣatrē Vaidhṛiti-yōgē ittham-bhūta-puṇya-kālā, — “when there have gone by the Śaka years numbered by a thousand increased by a hundred raised by seventy-one, in the current Saumya *sauvatsara*, on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Āshāḍha in that (year), on Saturday, under the Pūrva-Āshāḍhā *nakṣatra*, (and) in the Vaidhṛiti *yōga*; at this meritorious time.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, at this time, the minister Mallisāṁṭhi gave certain lands at Santheya-Bāgavāḍi to the god Mādhyava and thirty-two Brāhmanas.

Here the given year is an expired year, as

specified in the record itself. For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Saumya *sauvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1172 current (1171 expired).

In this year, the given *tithi* Āshāḍha śukla 15 ended on Saturday, 26th June, A. D. 1249, at about 32 *ghaṭis*, 15 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). By the equal-space system for the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakṣatras*, the moon was in the Pūrva-Āshāḍhā *nakṣatra*,⁵ at sunrise, and up to at about 7 hrs. 52 min., = 19 *gh.* 40 *p.* Also, there was the Vaidhṛiti *yōga*, ending at about 14 hrs. 2 min., = 35 *gh.* 5 *p.*

No. 44.

In the Mūnōḷi stone-inscription of the same king Kṛishna, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 4, 34 ff., the date (line 20 ff.) is — Sa(sa)ka-varsha 1174neya Virō[dhi-kṛitu]-sauhvatṣarada Jyēṣṭhā⁶ bahuja ya(ama)śāśe sūryya-grahana Su(su)kravā[rad-a]ḥidu; — “on Friday, (at the time of) an eclipse of the sun, which is the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (the month) Jyēṣṭhā of the Virōdhikṛit *sauvatsara*, which is the 1174th Śaka year.” And the inscription proceeds to record that, on this day, the cultivators of Mūnōḍraḥḷi, and certain other people, granted some lands &c. for the *śaṅgabdhōga* and *raṅgabdhōga* and other rites of the god Jagadīśvara.

Here, again, we have another clear instance of the use of a current year of the Śaka era. For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Virōdhikṛit *sauvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1174 current (1173 expired).

The details, however, do not work out satisfactorily. In this year, Jyēṣṭhā kṛishna 15 ended, not on a Friday, but on Tuesday, 20th June, A. D. 1251, at about 38 *ghaṭis*, 40 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). Moreover, on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. The nearest solar eclipses (von Oppolzer's *Canon*, p. 236) were, on Saturday, 22nd April, of the same year, corresponding to Chaitra kṛishna 15; and on Sunday, 17th September, corresponding to Bhādrapada kṛishna 15.

Nor can any better result be obtained by applying the given year as an expired year, and altering the name of the *sauvatsara* from Virōdhikṛit, No. 45, into Paridhāvin, No. 46. For, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1175 current (1174 expired), Jyēṣṭhā kṛishna 15 again ended, not on a Friday, but on

² Read *saumya*.

⁴ Read *puṇya*.

⁵ By the unequal-space systems, the *nakṣatra* at sun-

rise was Uttara-Āshāḍhā and Pūrva-Āshāḍhā ended on the previous day.

⁶ Read *Jyēṣṭhā*.

Saturday, 8th June, A. D. 1252, at about 43 gk. 55 p.; and at this conjunction also, there was no eclipse of the sun.

In this instance, again, there is no apparent reason for questioning the genuineness of the record. But the word *sūryagrahāṇa* is unusually, and irregularly, placed before *Śukra-vādrad-anda*; and I suspect that the grant was really made on Tuesday, 20th June, A. D. 1251, and that the Friday refers, either to the writing of the record, or to its being engraved on the stone. The sentence may be made complete and accurate, by inserting *-nimittadiṇi* or *-nimittav-dgi* after *sūrya-grahāṇa*. The fact, however, still remains that there was no eclipse of the sun; in respect of this, I can only draw attention to the "observation" from Warren's *Kalasankalita*, quoted at page 323 above.

No. 45.

In the Bēhaṭṭi copper-plate grant of the same king Kṛishṇa, from the Dhārwad District, published by me in the *Jour. Bo. Br. B. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 4, 42 ff., the date (line 51 ff.) is — *parichhasaptaty-adhika-śat-ōttara-sahasrakē Śaka-varahē varttamānē Svasti Śrīmad-Yādavanārāyaṇa-bhujāva(ba)lapraṇḍhapratāpachakravartti-śrī-Kanharadēva-varahāṇu saptamē Pramādi-sahvatsarē Chaitra-māsē kṛishṇa-pakṣhē amāvāsyāyām Sōmavārē*, — "the Śaka year one thousand, increased by one hundred raised by seventy-five, being current; Hail!; in the years of the glorious Yādava-Nārāyaṇa, a universal emperor through the mature prowess of the strength of (his) arm, the glorious Kanharadēva; in the seventh (year, which is) the Pramādin *sahvatsara*, in the month Chaitra, in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon *tithi*, on Monday." And the charter proceeds to record that, on this day, the *Mahāpradhāna* Chaṇḍarāja made an *agrahāra*-grant to the Brāhmins of the village of Kukkandru.

This date is of interest in giving an instance of the improper use of the word *varttamāna*, 'current.' For, by the southern luni-solar system, the Pramādin *sahvatsara* coincided with the given year, Śaka-Sahvat 1175, only as an expired year.

The details, however, do not work out satisfac-

torily. In this year, the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended, not on a Monday, but on Sunday, 30th March, A. D. 1253, at about 46 gk. 45 palas.

Nor can any better result be obtained by really applying the given year as a current year, and altering the name of the *sahvatsara* from Pramādin, No. 47, to Paridhāvin, No. 46. For, in Śaka-Sahvat 1175 current (1174 expired), the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 again ended, not on a Monday, but on Wednesday, 10th April, A. D. 1252, at about 29 gk. 5 p.; beginning at about 27 gk. 5 p. on the Tuesday.

Here, again, there are no apparent reasons for doubting the authenticity of the record. And the only explanation that suggests itself, is, that the grant was really made on Sunday, 30th March, A. D. 1253; and that the Monday refers, either to the writing of the record, or to its being engraved on the copper. Failing that, it would seem that there is a mistake in the month; and that the *tithi* should be Vaisākha kṛishṇa 15, which began on Monday, 28th April, A. D. 1253, at about 16 gk. 35 p., and ended on the Tuesday, at about 16 gk. 15 p.

No. 46.

In the Palṭhan copper-plate grant of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Rāmachandra, from the Nizām's Dominions, published by me in this *Journal*, Vol. XIV. p. 814 ff., the date (line 62 f.) is — *Se(śa)kē cha śhādaśasu trinavaty-adhikāhva-attāṣhu 1193 varttamāna-Prajāpati-sahvatsar-āntargata-Māgha-śuddha-dvādaśyām Vu(bu)dhē*, — "in the Śaka (era), when there have gone by eleven (centuries) increased by ninety-three (years), (or in figures) 1193; on the twelfth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of (the month) Māgha in the current *Prajāpati sahvatsara*; on Wednesday." And the charter proceeds to record that, on this day, king Rāmachandra granted the village of Vāḍāṭhāna, and two others, to a number of Brāhmins, as an *agrahāra*.

Here, by the southern luni-solar system, the *Prajāpati sahvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Sahvat 1194 current; so that the given year, 1193, is rightly qualified as an expired year.

And in this year, Māgha śukla 12 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 13th January, A. D. 1272, at about 86 gk. 14 palas.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CORRUPTIONS OF PORTUGUESE NAMES IN SALSETTE AND BASSEIN.

The accompanying lists are in illustration of the corruption which Portuguese names have under-

gone in the mouths of the Christianised Kālis and others upon whom they have been imposed. They have been compiled from the Criminal Returns of Magistrates exercising jurisdiction in the Salsette

and Bassein Talukds of the Tháná district. Great help in identifying the Portuguese originals of the various corruptions was given me by Mr. J. L. Britto, Head Clerk in the Registrar's Office (Appellate Side), High Court of Bombay, who has also revised the proofs. In the lists the Portuguese name comes first, the corruptions after it.

Surnames.

<i>Barbosa</i> , Barbôa.	<i>DeMonte</i> , Montt.
<i>Botelho</i> , Butêl.	<i>DePenha</i> , Peniâ.
<i>Coelho</i> , Kulêa.	<i>DeSa</i> , Dêâ, Dêâ.
<i>Correia</i> , Kurêl, Kumêl.	<i>DeSouza</i> , Souza, Sôj.
<i>Costinho</i> , Kôtin.	<i>Dias</i> , Dis.
<i>D'Abreu</i> , Dâbrê, Dâbrêl.	<i>Dos Remedios</i> , Remêd.
<i>DeCunha</i> , Kun.	<i>Falcão</i> , Falkão, Falkû.
<i>D'Albuquerque</i> , Albukar.	<i>Fragoso</i> , Phargôl.
<i>D'Almeida</i> , Almêd.	<i>Gomes</i> , Gôm.
<i>D'Andrade</i> , Andrâd, Andrât.	<i>Gonsalves</i> , Ghôsâl.
<i>DaSilva</i> , Sôl, Silvâ.	<i>Grapias</i> , Grâsi.
<i>DeBrito</i> , Debrît, Dibrit.	<i>Lopes</i> , Lôp.
<i>DeCarvalho</i> , Karwâl.	<i>Pereira</i> , Prêl.
<i>DeConceição</i> , Kôesâw.	<i>Rebello</i> , Rebêl.
<i>DeMello</i> , Dumêl.	<i>Soares</i> , Sowâr.
<i>DeMenezes</i> , Minêz.	<i>Vas</i> , Wâz.

Christian Names.

<i>Aleixo</i> , Alêa, Alis.	<i>Angelo</i> , Angêl, Angû.
<i>André</i> , Andriâ.	<i>Antonio</i> , Antôn, Antû.

<i>Apollinario</i> , Applân.	<i>Manoel</i> , Mânô, Mâniâ.
<i>Augustinho</i> , Gustin.	<i>Maria</i> , Mârâ.
<i>Bernardo</i> , Bernâd.	<i>Mariano</i> , Mâriân.
<i>Bertoldo</i> , Bêtâ.	<i>Martinho</i> , Mârtin.
<i>Boaventura</i> , Itâr, Vitur.	<i>Mathews</i> , Matêa.
<i>Oastano</i> , Kâtô, Kaitân.	<i>Mathias</i> , Mâthis.
<i>Carlos</i> , Kârlô.	<i>Miguel</i> , Mingêl, Mangâ.
<i>Celestino</i> , Silô.	<i>Nathalia</i> , Nathâ.
<i>Constancio</i> , Kustân.	<i>Nicolau</i> , Niklâo.
<i>Dioginho</i> , Dêgin.	<i>Pascoal</i> , Paskôl,
<i>Diogo</i> , Dêgiâ, Dêgir,	<i>Paskiâ</i> , Pakû.
<i>Dêgâ</i> .	<i>Paulo</i> , Paulô.
<i>Domingos</i> , Duming,	<i>Pedrinho</i> , Pedrin.
<i>Dumâ</i> , Dumji.	<i>Pedro</i> , Pêdru.
<i>Elías</i> , Ellis.	<i>Pobre</i> , Pôbriâ.
<i>Feliciano</i> , Filcô.	<i>Quiteria</i> , Kittâ.
<i>Filipe</i> , Phillâ, Piliâ.	<i>Raphael</i> , Raphêl.
<i>Francoisco</i> , Farnô.	<i>Romania</i> , Rumân.
<i>Ignacio</i> , Inâs.	<i>Rosa</i> , Rôst, Roxô.
<i>Jacinto</i> , Jâsi, Jâsin.	<i>Salvador</i> , Sâlô.
<i>Jerônimo</i> , Jurân.	<i>Santana</i> , Santân.
<i>Joana</i> , Jânâ.	<i>Santiago</i> , Santiâg.
<i>João</i> , Jão.	<i>Sebastião</i> , Bêstiâo,
<i>Joaquim</i> , Jokim, Jâkâ.	<i>Bêstev.</i>
<i>Josê</i> , Jujiâ, Zujê, Zujâ.	<i>Simão</i> , Simaw.
<i>Lourenço</i> , Lorêa.	<i>Theresa</i> , Terêz, Terâj.
<i>Luís</i> , Lûshâ.	<i>Thomas</i> , Tomâ.
<i>Luísa</i> , Lûzâ.	<i>Vicente</i> , Vishiâ, Vishu.

C. E. G. CRAWFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE VIRGIN MARY AND HER SISTERS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE
"INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

SIR, — In the September issue of your *Journal*, Mr. Geo. F. D'Penha, in his contribution re the Blessed Virgin Mary and Her Sisters, gives a one-sided account. The legend told, from a Hindu point of view, may or may not be correct, but this I do not wish to argue. It is generally believed among Natives in the way your correspondent cites it, and this might account for the influx of Natives during the feast-days in the month of September. My Hindu informant tells me that the name of the sixth sister is Lillâvati, a temple in whose name is near Girgaum.

It is astonishing to find how your correspondent, who is a Catholic, should have ignored the history of "Mount Mary" as related from a Catholic stand-point, and volunteered to commit to writing the other version of the story. With

a slight stretch of memory your Bândrâ correspondent could have recollected that in the appendix to the pamphlet published in 1874 by the Very Rev. F. L. G. D'Athaide, on the *Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, a concise account is given of the Chapel of the Mount. I possess a copy of the pamphlet in which the following appears:—

"In the year 1678 a Chapel was built by the Portuguese and named '*Capella de N. Senhora do Monte*,' which was made filial to the ancient Church of St. Anne;¹ when the Marâthâs invaded the island of Salsette, the Chapel along with the Church of St. Anne, was demolished and burnt, but the image was thrown into the sea. This image was hidden among the rocks in the creek by some devout person, and lay there for six months, after which it was removed and replaced in St. Andrew's Church. In 1761, when the population of the parish of St. Andrew's numbered more than 10,000 souls, the statue of

¹ On the ruins of this Church now stands the Bândrâ slaughter-house. The large stone cross belonging to this

Church may be now seen in the compound of St. Andrew's Church, Bândrâ.

the Blessed Virgin Mary was carried to the Hill and a Chapel was built and dedicated to her. The cost of the building was defrayed by subscriptions from the Catholics of Mahim, Bombay, Bassein and Salsette."

I shall feel obliged by the publication of the above, as no doubt the legend, as already told,

might have made a non-Catholic impression upon your readers.

Mahim, 22-9-90.

B. L. D'SILVA.

[We do not think that our correspondent, Mr. D'Penha, meant any disrespect to the Roman Catholic religion by placing on record his very instructive version of a folktale current among the Natives in the neighbourhood of Bombay. — Hds.]

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE HINDU HOME-LIFE, by KACOO MAL MAHUGHES, Rai Bahadur. Lucknow, London Printing Press, 1890.

This little volume, invaluable to the student of Indian folklore, contains a long series of discursive notes, arranged in alphabetical order of subjects, on the religious beliefs, social customs, folklore and superstitions of the Hindus of Oudh. They are given without comment or any attempt at generalization, and so form to the anthropologist a most useful mine of information at first hand by a Hindu about Hindus.

The last half of the book is taken up with proverbs and sayings on agriculture and general subjects, arranged on the plan of Dr. Fallon's *Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs*, and with a quantity of those religious aphorisms which form so important a feature in the practical religion of the modern North-Indian Hindu.

This book contains just the information that European anthropologists so much need, and we hope that the author will be encouraged to give us more of his observations, and that other Native observers will hasten to follow his example.

COMPARATIVE NOTES TO THE MAHIMOGHON, by Prof. H. GAIDOS, reprinted from *F. Cyrenodotus*, Vol. X. Pts. 1 and 2.

In his "Notes," No. 1, Rankom by Weight, Prof. Gaidos has done good service in drawing attention to the spread of the well known Indian custom of tulâdân, or weighing against gold or silver, now used as a superstitious prophylactic against sickness, but originally a war custom of the Aryans as a method of valuing the ransom of a prisoner or the payment to be made in consequence of a murder or death.

The custom of weighing against precious metals as a cure for sickness was known in mediæval Europe, and in an attenuated form, in the shape of a staff of a measured thickness and height, was practised both as means of valuing reparation for a wrong and of procuring the birth of children. It survives still in the custom of presenting wax models of the whole or parts of the body at shrines upon recovery from sickness.

The interesting notes collected by Prof. Gaidos

might well be increased by an enquiry into the shapes the custom has assumed in folktales. For instance, take this description from *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 10, — "Now the king had a daughter called Princess Blossom, who was so lovely and tender and slim and fair, that she only weighed five flowers. Every morning she was weighed in golden scales, and the scales always turned when the fifth flower was put in, neither less nor more." The vernacular names for Princess Blossom are Bâdshâhâdî Phâh or Princess Flower, and Phâlâzâdî, Born-of-a-flower. Pâfichphâhî Râni or Queen Five-flowers is an old favourite in Indian nurseries.¹ In *Indian Folktales*, pp. 1 and 2, the heroine weighs only one flower and the same weight is given to the god Indra. Weighing against flowers is again in other folktales a test of chastity.

This favourite point in folktales assumes altogether a new interest, if it be held to be connected with the ideas that have led to the world-wide custom of tulâdân.

THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE, Vol. VII. No. 1, July 1889. Madras, Addison & Co.; London, Elliot Stock.

This number contains a lively and useful controversy between Mr. John Kuriyan and Mr. G. Milne Rae on the Indian Apostleship of St. Thomas, which brings out among other facts that among the Malabar Christians the "title-deeds of the new churches record the fact that the properties were conveyed to St. Thomas personally (*Mar Thomma slihauda manusingattin gulakku*)." These should be worth examination, to test genuineness and age.

THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW. Minutes of the Managing Committee from August 1883 to 31st March 1888, with an Introduction. Allahabad, Government Press. 1890.

This is a vain-glorious chronicle of very small beer, got up in the style of a *University Calendar*. It contains pp. ix. and 417. The printing is expensive and good, and the contents may be of use to the compiler, but hardly to any one else.

¹ See *Old Devon Days*, p. 120.

INDEX.

Abaya, a name used in the <i>Kalīṣattu Parāṇi</i> for Kulottunga-Ohōḍadēva I.....	329,
	331 to 337
Abā, Mount; inscription of the time of Bhi-madēva II; examination of the date.....	88
Abu-l-Faṣl; see <i>Albaradma</i>	1
<i>Acharya</i> , among the Jains, denotes a <i>Sādhu</i> who has the right both of reading publicly, and explaining authoritatively, the sacred text	234
Aḍḍij inscription of Mahamūda Pātastha; examination of the date	27
Adiśāvara, a <i>ghāt</i> at Benares	250
Adrśavidhāvari, or Adriyalavidhāvari, an ancient place in the south.....	350, 351, 352
Aḍḍr, a village in the Dhārwad District; an inscription here, attributed to Kirtivarman I, perhaps belongs to his descendant of the same name	306 n.
Aghāṭadurga, a fort in the kingdom of Jaitrasinhadēva	167
<i>agnihotya</i> -sacrifice	19
<i>agnihōtma</i> -sacrifice	19
Ahrad Sultan, a MS. of his time; examination of the date	180
Aihcī, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the Sanskrit name of Āryapura, 8, 9; — the inscription of Vijayāditya; examination of the date	187
Ajayapālādēva (Ohandella); examination of dates of his time	362, 365
Ajayavarman (Paramāra).....	346, 347, 348
Ajayaḡh, examination of the dates of inscriptions at.....	25, 37, 167, 168, 357, 373
<i>Ajita-dantistavaripitti</i> ; see Jinaprabha	354
Ajīt Singh of Jammūn, his character	291
<i>Ajṇāṭi</i> used to denote the <i>Dātaka</i> of a grant	436
Akbar, rare copper coins of, 219; — origin of his copper coinage, 220; — his share in the rise of the Urdū language, 104; — the <i>Rasacharitra</i> of Dēvavijayagani was composed in his reign	176
<i>Albaradma</i> , the, of Abu-l-Faṣl; a passage in it, relating to the Lakshmanasena era	1
<i>alshaya-triṭṭyā</i> , a name of the <i>Hāḥi Vaiśākha</i> tūka 8	86, 362
Alandatirtha, the ancient name of probably 'Alundah'	304, 310
Alavalli, an ancient place near Balāghatve	144 n., 145
<i>alavaya</i> , a word requiring explanation	144 n., 145 and n.
Albārdnt; his names for the stars, 72; — his transliteration of Indian words, 12, 73; — notice of Dr. Sachau's translation of his <i>India</i> ; with comparison of original passages in the <i>Vishnuḍharmottara</i> , from which he derived the greater part of his statements about Hindu cosmogony, astronomy, &c.	381 to 410
Alexander the Great colonizes Soḡotra, 190; — the event is probably fabulous	191
<i>Alṭya</i> , account of a new MS. on the	325
Alha-ghā; inscription of Naraśinhadēva; examination of the date.....	29
Alhanadēva (Chāhumāna); see Naddī	30
'Alī-Ibn-'Isā, financier of Al-Muktadir ...	322, 323
Allahābād pillar; the separate Aśoka edicts, edited	122
Ajūkas, perhaps the Nāgas, mentioned in connection with Kirtivarman I.....	14, 19
'Alundah,' a village in the Bhār State; probably mentioned by the ancient name of Alandatirtha	304
Alupa chieftains	152
Amali, an ancient place near Balāghatve	145
Amarāvatarirtha, an ancient place in Central India	31
Amber in Rājputāna, an inscription at; examination of the date	174
Amir Ohand, father of Kīrṇāram, author of the <i>Guldāmda</i> , created Diwān	292
Amitagati composed his <i>Subhadehitaratna-saṃgraha</i> in A. D. 998.....	361
Amitaprabhā, daughter of a king of Prāgyōtisha, and wife of Mēghavāhana	263, 267
Amma I. (Eastern Ohalukya)	435
Amma II. (Eastern Ohalukya), 435; — the date of his coronation in A. D. 945	103
Ammangadēvi, wife of Rājārāja I.	435
Amoghavarsha, a king; the Jain <i>Prabuddhara-Batavallā</i> is sometimes attributed to him	379
Anandapura, an ancient town.....	170
Anandadēvi, wife of Kumāragupta I.	225, 226
Andhra country	427
Anḡugi, perhaps the ancient name of 'Undega'	144, 145
Anga country.....	14, 19
<i>anika</i> , 'a name, appellation, or <i>ṭiṇḍa</i> ,' 18 n.; — it sometimes occurs as an inherent part of a name	18 n.
Anikachiti, an early astronomical writer.....	188 n.
animals giving birth to human children	427
Anopalya, an ancient <i>agradra</i>	310

- antiquities, spurious, Assyrian, Central Asian, Persian and Chaldean 818, 819
- As-Naga Language, Prof. Avery on the, 231; — its affinity to Burmese 231
- apachit*-hymns in the *Atharva-Vêda*, Prof. Bloomfield on the 232
- Arabic, some new proverbs in, 231; — words in Italian 286
- Arakan, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
- Arbudâ mountain, = Mount Âbâ 240
- argala*, a word used in certain dates, 29 and n.; — it is to be translated by 'checked by' 61 n.
- Arjunadêva (Vâghôla); see Verâwal 180
- Arjunavarmadêva *Mahârâja* (Parumâra), 846; — the date of his *abhishêka-parvan*, 24; — examination of other dates of his time 31, 175
- arupa*, 'six *parvas*,' a tax on *malaya*-lands... 249
- Aryabhata, the first, the astronomical writer, 52, 133, 134, 135, 138; — indications that he wrote another work, in addition to the *Arya-Siddhanta* 54
- Aryakhalaguhya-dharmasûtra*, Prof. Pizzi on the 286
- Aryan immigration into India, notes on the 379, 380
- Aryapura, ancient Sanskrit name of Aihole... 8, 9
- Aryarâja, another name of Sârdhîmat... 263, 267
- Aryasamudra, a Jain pontiff in the Upa-kêsa-Gachchha 235
- Aryavarta, a name of Northern India 219
- Âtâpalli, an ancient village or town 178
- Ashâdha, the Hindu lunar month; instances of the use of a year commencing with this month, 27, 83, 171, 260; — a Kanarese saying about the high winds that prevail in this month 285
- ashabhâga*, a fiscal term, explained 244
- Âśoka, the great Buddhist king; mentioned by the name or title of *Piyadasi*, 125; — and by the epithet of *Dêvânâmpiyâ*, 95, 96, 101, 102, 124, 125; — his rock edicts at Dhanli (in Outtaok), and at Jangaḍa (in the Gâñjam District); M. Senart's texts and translations, rendered into English by Mr. Grierson; the first edict, 82; — the second edict, 96; — Dr. Bühler's rendering of the first to the fifth edicts on the Dehli Mirat pillar, 122; — and of the Queen's edict, and the Kâsambi edict, on the Allahâbâd pillar 195
- astika*; see *śrîka* 163, 164 and n., 165
- Aslâghar, = *Stagirus* 190
- atramâdha*-sacrifice 19
- Atharva-Vêda*, Prof. Bloomfield on the, 231; — and on hymns and charms in it... 232
- Atikai, or Athikai, a former name of Tiruvatikai or Tiruvâdi in the North Arcot District 333, 339, 340
- atita-râjyâ*, an expression denoting so many years "since the (commencement of the) reign, (now) passed," 2 and n.; — an instance in which it is used for the years of the Vikrama era 181
- Atthasâlini*, a Buddhist work by Buddhaghôsa 118, 119
- Attikâmbikâ, wife of Komma 274
- Autârdêv of Jammân, opposes Mahmûd of Ghazni 289, 290
- Avâlladêva (Châhamâna); father of Visala-dêva 216 and n., 218
- Avastâ*, importance of the *Gâthâs* in the, 232; — notes on the grammar of the 325
- Avestan superstitions 230
- Ayappâti, the Tamil month Aippâti 70
- Ayôdhyâ, Udayana of 425, 434
- 'Az Khân, Râjâ of Rajâort, defeated by Gulâb Singh 292
- Bâbânagar, a village in the Bijâpur District; apparently mentioned by the ancient name of Kannadige 270
- Bâbar, copper coins of 219
- Bâbi MSS., accounts of various 320, 321
- bâhîlî*, a copper coin 219
- Bâdâmi, in the Bijâpur District; remarks on the proper attribution of the cave inscription of Saka-Sâhvat 500, which mentions both Kirtivarman I. and Maṅgalâka 10, 11, 12 n.
- bagaṇa*, 'a bangle' 240 n.
- Bâge Fifty, the, a sub-division of the Tardavâḍi Thousand 269, 273
- bahuvârjya*-sacrifice 19
- Belagâdive, a village in Maisûr; mentioned by the ancient name of Valligâme, 144, 145; — other forms of the ancient name, 144; — an inscription of the time of Vinayâditya, edited 142
- balambê*-house or courtyard, a term requiring explanation 275
- balîya*, 'near to, included in' 273 n.
- ballada*, Kanarese; No. 5, the Daughter-in-law of Channavva of Kittûr 413
- Balkhâ II. (Hoyasâ); see Gadag 155
- Banawâsi, in the North Kanara District; mentioned by the ancient name of Vâijayantî 14, 19, 147
- Bândâ grant of Madanavarmadêva; examination of the date 368
- Bani Kara Beduins described, 212; — compared to Sokotrans, 212, 213; — said to be descended from the Gerrod 215

- banners; the bull-banner of the Pallavas, 334, 337; — the Garuda-banner of the Rappas of Saundatti and Belgaum, 165, 548; — the tiger-banner of the Ohôlas 329, 330 to 333, 339; — the banners of the boar, the plough, the stag, the lion, the lion, the bow, and the fish 330
- Bappâra, see Batpâra 14, 19
- Barâhi grant of Gôvindahandradêva; examination of the date 363
- batika* as the termination of a village-name, in Sriyambâtika 9
- Batpâwar inscription of Paramardidêva; examination of the date 30
- Batpâra family 14, 19
- Bavarij, Indian Pirates, 190; — known also as the Pirates of Sokotra, 191; — their habitat in Kachh, 191; — derivations of the name 191
- bear, the word used as an omen, 131; — worship of the, in Siberia 159
- Bedfyt, a folk-heroine in Burma 438
- Beduin, a name for the hill people of Sokotra 192
- Behaim, Martin, as a globe-maker 411
- Bêhâpti grant of Krishnâ; examination of the date 442
- Belagâve; see Balagâhve 142
- Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, mentioned by the ancient name of Vâpugrâma 214, 248
- Belgaum District, an inscription from the, edited 242
- Bêlkara inscription of a ruler of Kanauj (?); examination of the date 87
- Benares mentioned by the names of Kâfi and Viâdvâmarâjadhâni, 28; — the grant of Jayachandradêva of Kanauj; examination of the date 80
- Bengal, the Lakshmanasêna era of, 1 to 7; — the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bahtiyâr seems to have taken place in the eightieth year of this era, 7; — Governors of Bengal, Mr. Danvers' account of the, 44; — Lieut.-Governor, origin of the title 44
- Bengal Asiatic Society's grants of Jayachandradêva; examination of the dates 87
- Bengal Presidency, an inscription from the, edited 77
- Beni Rahov, a tribe of Sokotran highlanders, 192; — their claim to Jewish descent ... 192
- Bhâdrapada, the Hindu lunar month; in the Onko reckoning of Orissa, the year begins with the tithi sukla 11 or 12 of this month 255
- Bhâgrathi, the river Ganges 16, 19
- Bhairavêndra; see Umgâ 32
- Bharuvachohha, a form of the intermediate ancient name of Broach 239, 240
- Bhâskarakâya composed his *Saubhâgyabhâskara* in A. D. 1723 34
- bhaktira*, and *bhaktira*, earlier forms of *bhaktiraka* 306 n.
- bhaktiraka* applied to the god Vishnu 436
- Bhaktiraka*, a title of paramount sovereignty, used by the Chalukyas 306, 307
- Bhayaharastavaritti*; see Jinaprabha 26
- Bhillamâlanagara, = Bhilmâl; see Bhilmâl 35
- Bhilmâl; see Bhilmâl 233
- Bhima, the river, mentioned as Bhimanadi, 270, 274; — and as Bhimarathi 304, 310
- Bhima, a ruler of Jêsalmer in A. D. 1589 39
- Bhimadêva I or II (Chaulukya); discussion of a grant which may belong to the time of either of them, or may be spurious ... 263
- Bhimadêva II (Chaulukya); spoken of with the title of *Mahârâja*, 23; — examination of the dates of his grants and inscriptions, and of a MS. of his time 24, 25, 30, 38, 106, 173, 177, 338, 366, 368, 369
- Bhimadêvi, a place in Kâsimr 283, 287
- Bhimarathi, a form of the name of the river Bhima, 304, 310; — also Bhimarathyâ 304 n.
- Bhimasêna composed his *Sukhâdadhî* in A. D. 1722 84
- Bhimasêna, a king of Bhilmâl 285
- Bhilmâl, a place near Mount Âbû, also called Bhilmâl, Bhilamâlanagara, and Srimâl, 85, 233 and n., 235 and n., 236, 240; — in the *Pañdvallî* of the Upakâsa-Gachohha it is called Sri-Lakshmi-Mahâsthâna 285
- Bhitari, a village in the Ghâzipur District; the copper seal of Kumâragupta II, edited 224
- Bhôi, a village in the Belgaum District, mentioned by the ancient name of Bhôyija, 243, 248; — the grant of Kârtavîrya IV., of Saka-Sauvât 1131, edited 242
- Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ; the epoch of the *Etjavarigadâ*, which is a Karana attributed to him, 45; — his grant of Vikrama-Sauvat 1078; examination of the date 361
- Bhôjadêva of Kanauj; see Dêgudh 28, 29
- Bhôjadêva (Paramârû) 346
- Bhôjdêv of Jammûn, opposes Sabuktigin of Ghazni 282
- Bhôjrâjdêv of Jammûn quarrels with Mahân Singh, father of Râjît Singh 290
- Bhôpâl grants of Arjunavarmadêva; examination of the date 81, 175
- Bhôiya, ancient name of Bhôi 248, 248
- Bhîgukachohha, = Broach, mentioned as a residence of Arjunavarmadêva 175
- Bhûpêdv, *jigîrdâr* of Rîdâi, turned out by Gulâb Singh 298

- Bhūtabhartṛi, an ancient *śrīka* in Kāśmīr..... 268
- Bidyāpati Thākur, as a writer on the Kṛishṇa cult 104
- Bijāpur District, inscriptions from the, edited 7, 268
- bṛavana-pāriśadya*, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 249
- Bitṛasa, Prākṛit form of the name of Viṣṇu-
vardhana I. 303, 305
- boar-banner 330
- boar-crest of the Chālukyas, 434; — and the
boar as an emblem on their coins, 81; —
and their seals 303, 423
- Bōdh-Gayā, a date in the Lakṣmaṇasēna
era from 2, 7
- Bombay Asiatic Society's grant of Bhīmadēva
I. or II., dated Sāmvat 93; discussion of
the date and the authenticity of the grant,
253; — an inscription of Sōmāśvara I.,
edited 268
- Bombay Presidency, inscriptions from the,
edited 7, 161, 242, 268, 303
- Boram-Deo, a Satī-pillar at; examination of
the date 82
- Borad, an inscription at a well at; examina-
tion of the date 178
- bōṭāṭa*, 'a goat' 237 n.
- bow-banner 330
- Brahma-Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta; quota-
tions from it, referring to earlier *Siddhān-
tas* and writers 133 to 136
- brahmanya*, 'good to Brāhmanas' 19
- Brahmadēva, a king; see Rāyṇpur 26
- Brahmagupta, the astronomical writer, 52,
53, 54; — the epoch of his *Khaṇḍakhādya* is
Śaka-Sāmvat 587 expired 51 and n.
- Brāhmaṇ caste, princes belonging to the 56,
60, 61
- Brahmaputra-Saṅgha, the 77
- British Museum; the Sātārā grant of Viṣ-
ṇuvardhana I., edited, 303; — the Chellūr
grant of Vīra-Chōḍadēva, edited 423
- Buddha, a Kalachuri king, conquered by
Mangalōṭa 16, 19
- Buddha-Gayā, see Bōdh-Gayā 2
- Buddhaghōṣa, or Buddhaghōṣa, a Buddhist
patriarch; Mr. Foulkes' account of his life
and history, 105 to 122: — I., introductory,
105; — he is unknown to the Northern Bud-
dhists; 105; — he is perhaps referred to by
Fa-Hian, 106; — II., the Buddhaghōṣa
legends; A., the Burmese legend, 107; —
B., the Ceylonese legend, 110; — it occurs,
not in the *Mahāvastu* of the fifth century,
but in its continuation of the thirteenth
century, 112; — C., combinations of the
preceding legends, 112; — III., comparison
of the preceding legends; A., his early life,
114; — B., his visit to Ceylon; (1) the
object of his visit, 115; — (2) his literary
work there, 115; — C., his later life, 116;
— IV., his literary work, 117; — V., his
date, 119; — the assigned dates group
themselves about the reign of Mahānāma
of Ceylon, 120; — VI., conclusions 121
- Buddhist history and literature; remarks on
them in connection with Buddhaghōṣa 105
to 122
- Buddhist inscriptions 77, 82, 96, 152 to 126
- burial among the Sōkoṭṛan highlanders 194
- Burmese language, its affinities to Garo, 229;
— its analogies to Lepcha, 230; — its affinity
to the Ao-Naga language 231
- Burmese marriage laws, their affinity to those
of the Dēnās, Western Canada 411
- Byānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja; exami-
nation of the date 181
- calumniated persons in folktales; hero 165
- caravan routes from India to Russia 159
- caste in ancient India, the ruling; its social
and military position 223
- caste emancipation in Madras 231
- cave-dwelling among the highlanders of
Sōkoṭṛa, 194; — among the Bani Kāra
Beduins 212, 213
- centuries; see hundreds 33, 171, 360
- Ceylon conquered by the Chōḷas 331, 339
- Chāhamana kings 216 to 219
- Chakrakōḍḍam, = Chakrakōṭa 332, 337
- Chakrakōṭa, an ancient fortified place, 332,
337; — it was in the Dhārā territory 340
- Chaldeans, ancient, were Cushite Beduins ... 215
- Chālukya-Chandra, a *virāḍa* of Śaktivar-
man 81
- Chālukya-Bhīma I. (East. Chālukya) 435
- Chālukyagiri, the Chālukya mountain 425, 434
- Chālukyas, Early, 7 to 20, 151, 310, 425; —
the family is derived from the god
Brahman 18, 19, 433
- Chālukyas, Eastern, 79, 102, 129, 423 to 436;
— some of their coins, 79 to 82; — their
genealogy, in four divisions, 425; — their
insignia, 434; — they belonged to the line-
age of Viṣṇu and to the Lunar Race, 425;
— the descent being taken through the god
Brahman, 433; — their intermarriages with
the Chōḷas, 435; — their acquisition of the
Chōḷa kingdom 426, 435
- Chālukyas, Western, 142 to 152, 161, 187,
269, 310, 425; — a probable early hint of
the tradition which allotted them to the
Lunar Race 151 and n.

- Chalukyas, Western, probably referred to as the Kuntalas and as the people of Kalyāna 831
chālūkyā, a form of the dynastic name of the Chalukyas 13, 18, 19
 Chambe, an inscription at; examination of the date 176
 Chand Bardāi, value of, as an historical chronicler 104
 Chandāra, an early poet, in Kāśmīr 283, 284
 Chāṇḍannāśana (Chauhān); see Dhālpur ... 35
 Chandpur, inscription on pedestal of boar at; examination of the date 354
 Chandradēva and Madanapāla of Kanauj, a grant of; examination of the date 371
 Chandragōmin; an epistle addressed by him to prince Ratnakīrti, 319; — Chinese testimony regarding him, 319; — his works 319
 Chandragupta I. (Early Gupta); his wife was Kumāradēvi 225
 Chandragupta II. (Early Gupta); his wife was Dhruvadēvi 225
 Chandrapuri, a residence of Jayavarmadēva. 350
Chandrayādharaṇa by Chandragōmin, the ... 319
 Chandrakādēvi, wife of Lakṣmidēva I. 248
 Chāṅkapaṛya, Chāṅkīrāja, or Chāṅkimayya, of the Vāṇasa family, an officer of Kātala-dēvi 274, 275
 charms used in Madras, 103; — against tumours, in the *Atharva-Veda* 232
 Chaoni a village near Kōtah, mentioned by the ancient name of Chōpipadraka 55, 61
 Chārṇā; see Harasudā 24
 Chauhānas; see Chāhamāna kings 216 to 219
 Chaulukyas of Aphilwād 253
 Cheduba, the island of, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
 Chelja, = Pāṇḍya 338
 Chellūr, a village in the Gōdāvari District; mentioned as the Chellūru *agrahāra*, 424, 436; — the grant of Vīra-Chōḍadēva, dated in his twenty-first year, edited 428
 Chenni = Chōḷa 330, 333
 Chēra country 331, 333, 336
 Chikka-Bāgiwādī grant of Kṛishṇa; examination of the date 441
 child, miraculous birth of a 437
 children, exchange of, in Sōkoṭra 195
 Chintāmani Tripāṭhi, as a poetical critic 104
 Chitr in Rājputānā, an inscription at; examination of the date, 373; — spelling of the name 380
 Chitrasedu, an ancient village in the Tora-mara viśaya 147 n., 152
 Chitravāha, Mahārāja (Ajapa) 150 n., 152
 Chōḷa; see Chōḷa. 14, 19, 151, 330, 331, 339, 426, 435
 Chōḷa country; a reference to the forests on its coast 248
 Chōḷa kings; their Purāṇic genealogy, 330, 339; — historical members of the family, 331, 339; — they had the tiger-banner, 331; — their later conquests, 339; — inter-marriages with the Eastern Chalukyas, 435; — the acquisition of the Chōḷa kingdom by the Eastern Chalukyas, 426, 435; — a Chōḷa king was conquered by Kīrtivarman I., 14, 19; — and another by Vikramāditya I. 151
chōḷiya, a variant of *chōḷa* or *chōḷa* 14, 19
 Chōḷipadraka, ancient name of Chaoni 55, 61
 Chronological Tables for Southern India, by W. S. Krishnaswami Naidu; notice of the book 326
 Chunar, the Fort of; an inscription; examination of the date 186
 "circle of sovereignty" in the *Avastā* 325
 circumcision in Sōkoṭra 195
 coins of the Eastern Chalukya kings Śaktivarman and Rājārāja I., 79; — instances of punch-coins of the eleventh century A. D., 79, 80; — 'Abbāsī coins, 158; — Byzantine, 157; — Crimean, 158; — of the Golden Horde, 157; — Ilak, 158; — Khwārismi, 158; — Sāmānī, 158; — Sassanian, 158; — Shaibānī, 158; — of the Sūts, 219, 220; — Tahiri, 158; — of Turkistan, 157; — of Akbar, 219; — of Akbar, names for the months on, 220; — of Al-Mausūr, 158; — of Bābar, 219; — of Bahlāl Lodhī, 219, 220; — of Humāyūn, 219, 220; — of Ibrāhīm Sūr, 220; — of Islām Shāh Sūr, 220; — of Khān Shādī Bēg of the Golden Horde, 158; — of Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq, found in Russia, 320; — of Muḥammad Sūr, 220; — of Sikandar Lodhī, 219, 220; — of Sikandar Sūr 220
 colour, effect of, in serpent-worship 72
 commentaries, modern vernacular, on Sanskrit works 104
 Constantine the Great, his place in Oriental legends 318
 crests; the boar-crest of the Chalukyas, 151, 434; — the elephant-crest of the Rājās of Saundatti and Belgaum 165, 243
 Cross, finding of the, legend of the 318
 crow-cawing, as an omen 130
 cures; searing with a hot iron, among Sōkoṭras, Somālis, and Arabs 192
 current and expired years; a case in which a year of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter is apparently quoted as the expired year, 359; — years of eras distinctly specified as current, but wrongly so, by the use of the words *vartamāna*, 442; — and *pravartamāna*, 27 (No. 23), 33 (No. 40), 368 (No. 186); also 27 (No.

22), if the word really qualifies the year and not the *saivatsara*; — years distinctly and correctly specified as expired, of the Saka era, 150, 442; — and of the Vikrama era, 25, 35, 39, 59, 163, 169, 182; — unqualified years, to be applied as current, of the Lakshmanasena era (one instance only, exceptionally), 6; — of the Saka era, 42, 244, 317, 423, 440; — and of the Vikrama era, by the northern reckoning, 28, 40 (P), 173, 178, 184 (P), 185 (P); — if the southern reckoning is intended, 28 to 35, 40 (P), 173 to 178; — and by either reckoning, 22, 166, 171 to 172 (P), 373; — unqualified years, to be applied as expired, of the Lakshmanasena era (every instance except one), 6, 7; — of the Saka era, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 102, 129, 155, 156, 157, 164, 374, 441, 442; — and of the Vikrama era, if the northern reckoning is intended, 28 to 35, 40 (P), 173 to 178, 185 to 187 (P), 358, 359, 362, 363; — by the southern reckoning, 35 to 40, 40 (P), 173 to 184, 184 to 187 (P), 217, 352 (P), 354, 355, 359, 360, 362, 363, 373; — and by either reckoning... 22 to 28, 166 to 171, 171 to 172 (P), 250, 354, 355, 357, 358, 361, 363, 364, 374

Cuttack (Kajak); the Dhauili rock edicts of Asoka, edited 82

ḍ and *ḍ*, nasalised; a change between them in Kanarese Prākṛit 317

Dādā, as a revivalist writer 104

ḍaṁ, the word found on coins, 220, 224; — Akbar's, = half *tanba*, 224; — Akbar's revenue in, now possible to gauge 221

Dānanripa (East. Chalukya) 435

Dabhoi inscription of Viśaladēva; examination of the date 28

Dakṣhārāma; see Drākṣhārāma 424

dakṣiṇādyama, 'the whole period in which the sun is moving from north to south' 27, 28, 39

Damayanī, wife of Nala, an epigraphical reference to 18 n., 19

Danḍanāyakanakera, a village in the Nizam's Dominions; its ancient name was Poṭṭakakera 163

danḍāya, an ancient tax 165

Dante borrowed imagery from India 236

Daphar Khān, a ruler of the Gurjara country in the time of Nasrat Shāh 355

Dasaoli, a village in the Fatypur District; mentioned by the ancient name of Dosaoli 250

dāshāsa, as an auxiliary verb in Persian 169

dates (see also eras); a date in which there is

a mistake in respect of the Saka year, 26; — dates which do not give satisfactory results, in respect of an eclipse, 440, 441; — of a month, 442; — of a *nakṣatra*, 147; — of a *tithi*, 164; — of a week-day, 157, 363; — and of a year, 364 to 371; — dates recorded in: — decimal figures ... 2, 3, 4, 22 to 40, 155, 156, 157, 164, 166 to 187, 218, 252, 278, 317, 349, 354 to 374, 440, 441, 442

kaṭapayāddi-system 83, 84

numerical words ... 22, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 102, 129, 169, 170, 177, 179, 187, 354, 366, 369, 373, 431

words ... 5, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46, 59, 150, 166, 173, 174, 181, 182, 183, 247, 252, 310, 353, 361 to 369, 371, 372, 441, 442

Dāvāngara, a village in Maistr; an inscription of Vijayapāṇḍyadēva; examination of the date 186

Dattadēvi, wife of Samudragupta 225

Dawn, a hymn to the, from the *Ṛig-Vēda* ... 326

days, civil, of the fortnight or month, denoted by *ba di* and *ba di* or *va di*, and mentioned in recorded dates: —

bright fortnight: —

first 366

second 31, 36, 357, 358

third 25, 28, 31, 33, 36, 361, 362, 371

fourth 22, 357 (P), 363

fifth 24, 26, 29, 33, 39, 363, 373

sixth 31, 356, 372

seventh 35, 37, 40, 356

eighth 23, 25, 29, 369, 374

ninth 27, 28

tenth 4, 25, 37, 354

eleventh 37, 38

twelfth 23, 40

thirteenth 23, 25, 30, 32, 365, 373

fourteenth 24, 30, 37, 356, 361, 368

fifteenth ... 23, 25, 28, 37, 38, 218, 252, 357, 362, 367, 368

dark fortnight: —

first 163, 181, 355

second 179, 183

third 169, 178, 184, 185, 349, 367

fourth 169, 173, 174, 175

fifth 167, 172, 174, 181, 182, 185

sixth 175, 186, 365

seventh 170, 177, 183, 187, 364

ninth 171, 178, 179, 180, 183

tenth 168

eleventh 171, 174, 184, 354

twelfth 2, 166, 168, 170, 179

thirteenth ... 3, 172, 176, 178, 180, 181, 186

fourteenth 166, 168, 184

fifteenth 166, 167, 173, 255, 358, 371

- days, lunar, i. e. *tithis*, of the fortnight or month (see also *tithi*), denoted by the number or name of the *tithi*, and mentioned in recorded dates: —
- bright fortnight: —
- first.....3, 28, 29, 30, 366, 368
 second.....31, 35, 39, 317, 360
 third.....25, 28, 32, 36, 371
 fourth.....368
 fifth...26, 27, 30, 33, 35, 38, 39, 41, 157,
 164, 169, 358, 361, 363
 sixth.....372, 374
 seventh.....34, 37, 363
 eighth.....26, 39, 40, 155, 353, 369
 ninth.....26, 34, 35
 tenth.....24, 37, 39
 eleventh.....365, 369
 twelfth.....31, 247, 442
 thirteenth.....22, 25, 27, 30, 34, 373, 431
 fourteenth.....24, 27, 28, 368
 fifteenth.....32, 36, 40, 373
 full-moon ... 22, 23, 32, 33, 37, 38, 156,
 353, 362, 367, 368, 372, 440
- dark fortnight: —
- first.....33
 second.....41, 129, 181, 354
 third.....186, 361, 364, 367
 fourth.....4, 183, 185, 356
 fifth.....182, 366
 sixth.....365
 seventh.....5, 171
 eighth.....169, 170
 ninth.....171, 172, 176, 180
 tenth.....176, 177
 eleventh.....170
 thirteenth.....102, 176
 fourteenth.....166
 new-moon 167, 178, 175, 369, 441, 442
- fortnight not specified: —
- full-moon... 20, 23, 25, 29, 31, 187, 252, 309
 new-moon ... 167, 278
- days of the week; the earliest instances of the use of them in Southern India, 147 and n.; — names of the days of the week, as used in recorded dates: —
- Aditya (Sunday).....164, 369
 Bhiskara (Sunday).....39
 Bhauma (Tuesday)...25, 26, 30, 33, 38, 39,
 46, 169, 173, 176, 367, 368
 Bhṛigu (Friday).....33, 102
 Bhṛmitanaya (Tuesday).....360
 Bṛhaspati (Thursday).....23, 155, 373
 Budha (Wednesday)...3, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31,
 37, 163, 169, 172, 176, 179, 181 to 187,
 247, 355, 356, 365, 366, 442
 Chandra (Monday).....4, 170, 181
 Gaṣṭhasti (Sunday).....39
- Guru (Thursday)...2, 3, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32,
 34 to 41, 129, 170, 174, 176, 179, 183,
 185, 218, 356, 357, 363, 364, 368, 373,
 374, 431
 Jiva (Thursday).....27
 Kuja (Tuesday).....169
 Mangala (Tuesday).....33
 Ravi (Sunday)...23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31,
 35, 36, 37, 38, 166 to 170, 175 to 178,
 180, 183, 354, 355, 361, 363, 371, 373
 Śanaiśchara (Saturday).....150, 441
 Śani (Saturday)... 22, 23, 24, 37, 40, 167,
 168, 170, 173, 174, 180, 184, 185, 186, 335
 Śaśin (Monday).....22, 354
 Saumya (Wednesday).....46
 Soma (Monday).....22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 34,
 35, 36, 156, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 179,
 181, 273, 354, 357, 358, 359, 361, 362,
 364, 365, 366, 368, 371, 372, 374, 440, 442
 Sukra (Friday)... 4, 5, 23, 28, 28, 37, 157,
 163, 171, 174, 176, 252, 317, 362, 365,
 367, 369, 441
 Vākpati (Thursday).....33
 Vāsarāṣṭri (Sunday).....30
 Vidhu (Monday).....25
- Dāgini, wife of Sankuka.....56, 61
- Dehli mentioned by the names of Indraprastha, 26; — and Yōginipura, 353; — the Aśoka edicts on the Mirat pillar, edited, 122; — the inscriptions of Viśaladēva on the Siwālik pillar, edited, 215; — examination of the date of them, 36; — of an inscription of the time of Muḥammad Shāh, 26; — and of another inscription.....176
- demon guarding the wonderful tree in folktales.....153
- Dēśās, Canadian Indians, their customs compared with Oriental customs.....411
- Dēśgaḥ; examination of the dates of the inscriptions of Bḥjadēva of Kanauj, 28; — and of Kirtivarmadēva, 35; — and of another inscription.....32
- Dēśās Śāh of Pālhapura.....241
- Dēśinga, Dēśinga-Ballāja, corruptions of the name of Jayasinhha III.....162, 163
- dēśadi, 'the establishment of a temple'.....145 n.
- Dēvagupta-Sūri, the name of nineteen Jain pontiffs in the Upakēśa-Gachohha, 238 to 243; — the eighth of them is placed in Vikrama-Samvat 995, . . . 240; — the eleventh, in V.-S. 1108, . . . 240; — the fourteenth, in V.-S. 1409, . . . 241; — the eighteenth, in V.-S. 1528, . . . 242; — and the nineteenth, in V.-S. 1631.....242
- Dēvanapīy, 'dear unto the Dēvas,' an epithet of Aśoka.....95, 96, 101, 102
- Dēvapālādēva of Dhārā; see Harauda.....24

- Dēvalapāṭaka, an ancient place 348
 Dēvavarṇadēva (Chandella); see Nanyaurā 364
 Dēvaviṇyagani composed his *Edmācharitra* in A. D. 1595 176
 Dēval inscription of Lalla, the Ohhinda; examination of the date 364
 Dhāmlej, an inscription at; examination of the date 186
 Dayvada-Manṭār, ancient name of Manṭār 161, 165
 Dhangadēva (Chandella); see Nanyaurā 23
 Dhārā (see also Dēvapālādēva, and Vākpatirāja) 346 n., 351
dharma-jayastambha, 'a pillar of victory of religion' 8, 19
 Dhauli in Outtaok (Kaṭak); the rock edicts, of Aśoka, edited 82
 Dhavala (of the Maurya race), about A. D. 738 56, 60
 Dhiniṅki grant of Jīkadēva; examination of the date 369
 Dhōlpur inscription of Chaṇḍamahāsēna; examination of the date 35
 Dhruvadēvi, wife of Chandragupta II. 225
 Dhyān Singh befriends Gulāb Singh 291
 Diḍvāpur, an ancient place 240
 Dioscora, Dioscorida, Dioscorides, Dioscoris, Dioscurias, = Sokōtra, 189; — a possible Sanskrit origin of the word 189
 disguise in folktales, king as a peasant, 126, — hero as a beggar 277, 282
 Doehalt, ancient name of Dassuli 250, 253
 Drākṣhārāma, a sacred place in the Gōdāvari District 424, 436
 Dramiḷa, the Tamil country 19
 Draviḍa countries mentioned as five in number 427
 dreams in folktales 153
drakṣti, in Buddhist literature, 'theory, doctrine'; and hence 'a peculiar or heretical doctrine' 86
 Dubkund inscription of the time of Vikramasīnha (?); examination of the date 361
 Dugarāndradēva, a king; see Gwālīor 374
 Duriabhadēvi, of the Batpūra family, wife of Pulikāśin I. 14, 19
Dātaka of a charter, more than one in number 343, 436
 Easter Tables in Syriac 23
 Ekaladēvi, wife of Kārtavīrya-IV. 248
 eclipses; eclipses of the sun as noticed in the *Rig-Vēda*, remarks on, 430; — an observation from Warren's *Kalasaṅkalita* about wrong predictions of eclipses, 323; — Rāhu connected with eclipses, 23, 371; — use of the term *vyatīpāta* in connection with eclipses, 440; — lunar eclipses, mentioned in recorded dates, 23, 31, 40, 70, 351, 357, 440; — and solar eclipses, 166, 175, 270, 370, 371, 372, 440; — references to solar eclipses, not visible at the places where they were observed, 166, 370, 371, 372, 410 (?); — reference to a solar eclipse, when there was none at all in the proximity of the given date 441, 442
 Eḍenāḍ Seventy, an ancient district near Balagāmve 144
 Eḍevolā viśhaya, an ancient district near Balagāmve 152
śabhāga, *śabhāgya*, fiscal terms 271
 elephant-crest of the Rājās 165, 248
 elves in Madras 73
 English names for children used by natives to avoid the evil eye 25A
śuśhēmin = *śuśhēmin*, 437; = *yuvardja* 437
 eras, the various, used in recorded dates: —
 Hijra 180
 Lakṣhmaṇasāna 2 to 5
 Mālava 59
 Saka 26 to 29, 31, 32, 33, 41, 46, 102, 129, 150, 155, 156, 157, 164, 176, 247, 273, 317, 374, 431, 440, 441, 442
 Saptarāhi 176
 Siṅha 24, 172, 180
 Valabhi 180
 Vikrama 22 to 40, 166 to 187, 218, 252, 349, 353 to 374
 Erega, a shorter form of the name of Eṇeyammarasa 163
 Eṇeyammarasa, also called Erega, *Mahāśaṁanta* (Rājā); he had the name of Singana-Garuḍa 161, 165
 evil eye, use of English names to avoid the, in Madras, 255; — opprobrious names used to avoid the 255
 expired years; see current and expired years
 exposure of the aged and sick in Sokōtra 197
 Faijābād or Faizabād grant of the time of Jnyachchandradēva; examination of the date 37
 fasting, the dangers of 181
 Fathpur District, an inscription from the, edited 249
 fire-ordeal hymn in the *Atharva-Vēda*; it is not really such 232
 Firz Shāh bin Rājāb; see Māchādī 31
 fish-banner 330
 folktales, in Burma, 437; — in Salsette, 314; — in Southern India, 126, 275, 311; — in Western India 153

- fortnights, lunar; the *amānta* scheme used with the Śaka era in Southern India by A. D. 945, . . . 103; — the *amānta* scheme was the one used with the Lakṣhmaṇasena era, 6; — use of the *pūrṇimānta* scheme with the Vikrama era . . . 166 to 169, 171 to 172 (P), 172 to 177, 178 to 181, 185 to 187 (P), 354, 355, 358, 359, 361, 364, 366, 367
 future life among Hindus . . . 231
- Gadag, in the Dhārwaḍ District; an inscription of Bellāla II.; examination of the date 155
 Gādahtya-Sākha, a division among the Jains; its origin . . . 241
 Gadhia kā paisā, a name of certain coins; a story about the origin of it . . . 240 and n.
 gaṇabhōga, a fiscal term . . . 271
 gaṇasthiti = 'reckoning' . . . 55, 56
 Gaṇḍanāyaka of Navilai . . . 335
 Gaṇḍhāra country . . . 263, 267
 Gaṇḍa, among the Jains, denotes a disciple who is put in charge of a few others . . . 239 n.
 Gaṇḍa-Daivajña; the epoch of his *Graha-lāghava* is Śaka-Samvat 1442 expired . . . 45
 Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, a title of the Chōla king Rājaraja . . . 332, 337, 339
 Gaṅgāpuri, or Gaṅgaikonda-Chōlapuram, was the capital of Kulottunga-Chōlādēva I . . . 331, 339
 Gaṅga mentioned in connection with Kīrti-varman I . . . 14, 19
 Gaṇi, among the Jains, denotes an *Acārya* who has disciples, but has not risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śākhā* . . . 234
 Gaṇjam District; the Jaugaḍa rock edicts of Aśoka, edited . . . 82
 Gāra = Kara . . . 214
 Gardafui, Cape, origin of the name . . . 189 f.
 Garo language, Prof. Avery on the, 229; — its affinities to Burmese, 229; — and to Kachhārī . . . 231
 Gaṛuḍa as an emblem on banners, 165, 248; — on the seals of grants, 224, 243, 249; — and on an inscribed plate itself . . . 248
 Gayā; an inscription on the pedestal of an image of Buddha, edited, 77; — examination of the dates of an inscription of the time of Gōvinda-pāla, 358; — and of an inscription at the temple of Gayāsurīdēvi . . . 39
 Gayāśadīna, = Sultan Ghiās-u'd-dīn . . . 38
 geographical notes; Belgaum District, 243, 244, 270; — Bhār State, 304; — Bijāpur District, 9, 269, 270, 317; — Dhārwaḍ District, 144; — Faḥpur District, 250; — Gōdāvari District, 424; — Kolāpur State, 269; — Madras Presidency, 339, 340; — Maisūr, 144; — Nizām's Dominions, 161, 162, 270; — North Kanara District, 147; — Sātārā District . . . 270
 Geroni, = ancient Chaldeans, 215; — probable forefathers of the Sokoṭrans . . . 215
 Gharah = Kara . . . 212
 Ghatōtkacha, *Mahārāja* (Early Gupta) . . . 225
 Ghāzīpur District, a copper seal from the, edited . . . 224
 Ghiās-u'd-dīn, Sultan, of Mālwa; examination of the date of a MS. of his time . . . 36
 Gipsies, possibly derived from the Saṅghāra, Kachhī pirates . . . 191
 Girmār in Kāshīwāḍ, mentioned by the name of Ūjayanta-tīrtha, 29; — examination of the dates of the inscription of Jayantasiṃha, 25; — and of other inscriptions . . . 29, 358
 Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban; see Pālam Bāoli . . . 186
 Gīz, = ancient Ethiopic; its relation to the Sokoṭran language, 199; — improperly called Ethiopic, 211; — borrowed words in it, 211; — its affinities . . . 211
 globes, outline history of the making of, 411; — earliest existing, of Arabic origin, 411; — celestial preceded terrestrial, 411; — oldest terrestrial by Martin Behaim, 411; — of Molyneux, described . . . 412
 Goa grant of Śaka-Samvat 532; remarks on its proper attribution . . . 11, 12 and n.
 Gōbind Singh, as a revivalist writer . . . 104
 Gōdāvari, the river . . . 334
 Gōdāvari District, an inscription from the, edited . . . 428
 gods, serpents as . . . 74
 Gōpāditya, father of Mēghavāhana . . . 263, 267
 Gospels, a Persian version of the Four . . . 159
 Gōtamai, the river . . . 324
 gōtra, 'a family or clan'; the *Mānavya gōtra* included the Ohalukyas, 13, 18, 151, 810, 434; — nine right-handed and nine left-handed gōtras mentioned in the *Paṭṭavālī* of the Upakṣā-Gachchha, 239; — names of gōtras mentioned in records: —
 Bhāradvāja . . . 350, 351
 Gārga . . . 252
 Ghṛitakaṇṭhika . . . 310
 Hārīta . . . 13, 151
 Hārīta . . . 310, 434
 Mānavya . . . 13, 18, 151, 810, 434
 Mudgala . . . 434
 Governor-General of India, origin of the title 44
 Gōvinda-chandradēva of Kanauj; his Bān grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1188, partially, edited, 249; — examination of the dates of his other grants . . . 357, 362, 363, 365, 367, 371, 372
 Gōvinda-pāladēva (Pāla); see Gayā . . . 358

- Grahāḷaghava*; see *Ganēśa-Daivajña* 45
grāma, the Hindu *gamut*, probable origin of the European scale of seven notes 72
grammar, an *Osmanli* 159, 160
grammar, Sanskrit, remarks on 229
grass, biting a blade of, is an Indian custom in token of submission and asking quarter 218 and n.
 greed, punishment of, in folktales 311 ff.
Guddavāḍi viśaya, a division of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom 486
guḍḍa-mānya, a term requiring explanation... 275
Gulābdama, a life of Gulāb Singh of Kāśmīr; a detailed notice of it 289
 Gulāb Singh, his birth, 290; — joins Ranjit Singh's army as a trooper, 291; — is befriended by Dhyān Singh, 291; — gets Rāmgarh in *jāgr*, 292; — shares in the Sikh campaigns in Kāśmīr, 292, 299; — defeats Rājā 'As Khān of Rajāori, 292; — his feat at Multān, 292; — gets Rīsi in *jāgr*, 292, 293; — obtains Jammūn in *jāgr*, 293; — kills Sartāpā Giyāl, 293; — takes part in the attack on Dārā Ghāst Khān, 293; — takes part in the campaign at Aṭak, 294; — obtains Jammūn as a *rāj*, 294; — takes part in the campaign in the Rāwal Pindī district, 295; — administers the Salt Range and the Gujrat Districts, 295; — his share in the murder of Chēt Singh, 297; — reduces Pāñohh, 297; — his action on the accession of Mahārājā Shēr Singh, 298; — gets Manāwar in *jāgr*, 299; — his steps to get possession of Jammūn, 299; — his share in the first Afghan War, 300; — administers the Hazāra District, 300; — attempts to murder him at Kaṅgrā, by Mahārājā Shēr Singh 301, 302
Gupāḍāka-Vijayāditya III. (East. Chalukya) 435
Guparānabhūshana, another name of *Mēḍa-mārya* 438
Gupāḍāgāra, an *Ālupa* chieftain 150 n., 152
Gupta, Mahārāja (Early Gupta) 225
Guptas, the Early 224 to 227
Guruchandragani composed his *Śrīcitra-charitra* in A. D. 1088 36
Gwalior inscriptions of the time of Puṅgavāradēva; examination of the date 374

Haḍhrāmānt, the ancient mariners of 190
hair-cutting in the *Avesta* 230
haladagāga, a difficult term 250
Hamtrādēva, Mahārāja 22
Hamīra; the term applied to Giyās-ud-dīn Balban 186

Haridatta, a Jain pontiff in the Upakāśa-Gaohohha 235
Harischandradēva, Mahārāja (Paramāra) 346, 347, 348
Hārītiṣṭra, 'descended from an original ancestress of the Hārīta gōtra'; applied to the Chalukyas, 13, 18, 151; — also *Hārītiṣṭra* 810, 434
Harśandā (or Chārwa) inscription of Dēvapādēva; examination of the date 24
Harsha, a king to whom, in a certain period, Kāśmīr was tributary 262, 263, 264
Harshavardhana of Kanauj; a note on his conquest of Nēpāl, 40; — a reference to his defeat by Pulikēśin II 151
Hārūn Ar-Rashīd; his revenues 322, 328
Hāthasūt inscription of Thēpaka; examination of the date 359
healing power of the serpent 73, 74
Hāmaachandra, the grammarian and lexicographer, mentioned by the name of Hāma-Sūri 241
Horiot, Robert, on the rhumb-lines 412
hero in folktales, is the neglected son, 153; — kills demon guarding the wonderful tree... 154
hide, measuring by a, in strips; variant of this universal folktale in Burma 438, 439
Hilpenkandura at Kandy, description of 410
Hindi language, rise of the, 104; — drama, rise of the 104
Hindus of Gujarāt, nuptial songs of the... 374 ff.
Hindustāni books in the British Museum, notice of catalogue of 256
Hipparchus, the astronomer; the original *Romaka-Siddhānta* is based on his theories and tables 142
Hiranyagarbha, the god Brahman 13, 19
history, modern vernacular works on 104
Hutdaw, the Records of the, valuable as historical documents 75, 76
Honwāḍ, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the ancient name of the Ponnvāḍa *agrahara*, 269, 273, 274; — an inscription of Sōmēśvara I., of Saka-Sarhvat 976, edited 268
Hoṭṭalakere, a later form of the name of Poṭṭalakere 162
house-warming customs, in Madras 311
Hues, Robert, author of the *Tractatus de Globis* 411, 412
Humāyūn, copper coins of 219, 220
Husius = *Hues* 412
Hussain Bābī, an account of 320, 321
hundreds, omitted; an instance, of the sixteenth century A. D., 360; — instances in which the hundreds are separated from the odd years of the centuries 33, 171

- I-tai, the bearing of his memoirs on Chan-
dragōmin 319
- idolatriy, the origin of 232
- Iladurga, an ancient place 39
- Ilam, = Ceylon 331
- impossible task in folktales 153
- Indraprastha, an ancient name of Dehli 26
- Indrakīja (East. Chalukya) 435
- Indu, a name mentioned by Brahmagupta as
that of an astronomical writer 134
- inscriptions on copper, edited: —
- Euddha, on the pedestal of an image of
 Cōvindahandradēva (Gāhaḍavāla of Ka-
 naūj); Vikrama-Saṁvat 1188 (partially
 edited) 249
- Jayavarmadēva (Paramāra) 340
- Kārtavīrya IV. (Bāṭṭa of Saundatti and
 Belgaum); Śaka-Saṁvat 1181 242
- Kumārāgupta II. (Early Gupta); the
 Bhitari seal 224
- Lakṣmīvarmadēva (Paramāra); Vikra-
 ma-Saṁvat 1300 351
- Vinayāditya (Western Chalukya); Śaka-
 Saṁvat 614 expired 146
- Vira-Chōḍadēva (Eastern Chalukya); of
 his twenty-first year 423
- Vishṇuvardhana I. (Eastern Chalukya);
 of the eighth year of Pulikēśin II. ... 303
- Yasōvarmadēva (Paramāra); Vikrama-
 Saṁvat 1192 348
- inscriptions on stone, edited: —
- Aśoka; his rock edicts at Dhauli and
 Jaugada; the first edict, 82; — the
 second edict, 96; — his columnar edicts
 on the Dehli Mirat pillar, 122; — the
 queen's edict, 125; — the Kōsambi
 edict 126
- Jayasinha III. (Western Chalukya);
 Śaka-Saṁvat 952 161
- Matgaḍa (Early Chalukya); of his fifth
 year 7
- Siragana; Mālava-Saṁvat 795 expired... 55
- Sōndēvara I. (Western Chalukya); Śaka-
 Saṁvat 976 268
- Vinayāditya (Western Chalukya) 142
- Viśaladēva (of Śākambhart); Vikrama-
 Saṁvat 1220 215
- inscriptions, Arabic at Kāzan, 321; — in
Western Arabia, 196; — Aramaic in Hebrew
characters, 320; — at Behistān, 236; — note
on some forged cuneiform, 321; — Nestorian
in Central Asia, 321; — of Piyadasi, M.
Senāt's account of, 43; — in Shihr, 214;
— Sinhalese at Tirukkōḍisvaram, 410; — in
Sokopra, 195, 196; — of Śrī-Parākrama
Bāhu VI. at Moṇṇisvaram in Ceylon 410
- intercalary months indicated by the expres-
sions *dvi*°-Āshāḍha, 29; — *dvitīya*-Bhādra-
pada, 157, 183; — *dvitīya*-Śrāvaṇa, 156,
356; — *prathama*-Āshāḍha, 33, 40, 155; —
prathama-Śrāvaṇa, 39; — and *prathama*-
Vaiśākha, 40, 356; — use of the expression
sādhārāṇa-Phālguna; but with nothing to
explain it, as the Tables do not shew an
intercalary month for the given year, 368; —
a case in which there is a difference between
the record and the tables as to the inter-
calary month, 155; — cases in which the
given months were intercalary, though the
fact is not indicated by the records... 36, 87,
174, 177, 178, 180, 183, 185, 358, 359
- intercalated months indicated by the expres-
sions *adhika*-Jyēṣṭha, 363; — and *māyā*-
Bhādrapada 181
- invocations of Śiva, 59, 60, 245, 350, 352; —
of Viṣṇu, 151, 245; — and of the Jain
religion 273
- Iravva of Kittūr; a Kanarese ballad on her
lamentations and death 418
- Iśāna, the *Guru* of Saṁdhimat 263, 267
- Iśōvara, an ancient Śaiva temple in Kāśmīr
263, 267
- Iśvarakṛishṇa composed his *Puṇyachandro-
daya-Purāṇa* in A. D. 1624 27
- j* and *ḍ*, nasalised; a change between them in
Kanarese Prakṛit 317
- Jacobi's Tables for Hindu Dates; remarks on
the use of them for accurate purposes ... 21 n.
- Jagadkāmalladēva, a *birada* of Jayasinha
III. 165
- Jāikadēva; see Dhiniki 369
- Jain inscription, a 268
- Jains, Weber's Sacred Literature of the;
translated by Dr. Smyth 62
- Jaitrasinhadēva; a MS. of his reign; exa-
mination of the date 167
- Jalauka II., a king of Kāśmīr 263, 264
- Jambūdetapaprajñaptiritti; see Puṇyāsagara 39
- Jananāthanagarī, the city of Vira-Chōḍadēva
424, 431 n., 436
- Jāpilliya family, Pratāpadhavalā of the ... 179, 184
- Jātakas, notes on the, by Louis de Zoysa 411
- Jaugada in the Gaffjam District; the rock
edicts of Aśoka edited 82
- Jaunpur; examination of the date of an
inscription of Vijayachandradēva (? of
Kanaūj), 182; — and of another inscription 31
- Jayachandradēva of Kanaūj; examination
of the dates of his grants 30, 87, 363
- Jayaṅkonda, author of the *Kalīngatta Parāṇi* 329
- Jayaṅkonda-Chōḷa, a title of Rājakesari-
varman 329

- Jayanta composed his *Kātyāprabodhāpikā* in A. D. 1293 178
- Jayantasinha, son of Vastupāla; see Gīrnār 25
- Jayantasinha (Chaulukya); see Kaḍi 25
- jayānya*-charms in the *Atharva-Vēda*, Prof. Bloomfield on the 232
- Jayasinha I. (Early Chaulukya), 18, 18; — he had the epithet of *vallabhendra* 18, 18
- Jayasinha I. and II. (East. Chaulukya) 435
- Jayasinha III. (West. Chaulukya); in the *Līngāyat Purāṇas* his name occurs as *Dēśinga* and *Dēśinga-Ballāla*, 162, 163; — he had the *biruda* of *Jagaddhāmalla*, 165; — one of his chief cities was *Poṭṭalakere*, 161, 165; — the Maṇṭūr inscription of his time, of *Saka-Saṁvat* 962, edited 161
- jayastambha*; see *dharma-jayastambha* 8, 19
- Jayavarmadēva (Chandella); see *Khajurāhō*... 302
- Jayavarmadēva (Paramāra) 846, 847, 848, 350; — his Ujjain grant, edited 849
- Jayendra, a king of Kāśmīr 263, 266
- Jedḍa, a village in Maistūr; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Jedugūr or Jedugur 144
- Jedugūr, or Jedugūr, perhaps the ancient name of Jedḍa 144, 145
- jewel, the serpent 73
- Jēśalamērudurganagara, = Jēśalmer, 39; — also Jēśalpur 240
- Jhānsī; an inscription from the wall of the Fort; examination of the date 179
- Jidḍūḷige Seventy, an ancient district near Belagāwre 144
- Jinsrabha composed his *Ajitasāntistavavṛitti* in A. D. 1308, . . . 354; — and his *Bhaya-karastavavṛitti* in the same year 26
- Jiyasattō, king of Sāvattthi in the Kumāla country 235 n.
- Jñānavimalagani composed his commentary on Mahāvāra's *Śabdaprabhāṭa* in A. D. 1598 39
- Jupiter, the planet; his sixty-year cycle according to the mean-sign system; an instance in which a year of this cycle is apparently quoted as the expired year, 359; — names (of the years of the cycle, according to this system, as used in recorded dates (the queries indicate that in those instances the years may be determined either by this system or by the northern luni-solar system): —
- Bahudhānya 84 (P)
- Bhāva 82 (P), 359
- Khara 368 (P)
- Kahayakṛit 83
- Manmatha 186
- Phava 31 (P)
- Prajāpati 88 (P)
- Siddhārtha 10, 20
- Subhakṛit 27, 33 (P)
- Vikārin 358 (P)
- Jupiter, the planet; his sixty-year cycle according to the northern luni-solar system; names of the years of the cycle, according to this system, as used in recorded dates (for other possible cases, see the entries, to which queries are attached, under the preceding heading): —
- Chitrabhānu 24
- Kālayukta 35
- Savajit 26
- Vikārin 28
- Jupiter, the planet; his sixty-year cycle according to the southern luni-solar system; names of the years of the cycle, according to this system, as used in recorded dates: —
- Chitrabhānu 440
- Dumdubhi 317
- Iśvara 374
- Jaya 274
- Prajāpati 443
- Pramādin 442
- Saumya 441
- Siddhārthin 155
- Śrīmukha 440
- Svabhānu 157
- Vibhava 165, 248
- Virōdhikṛit 441
- Virōdhin 156
- ka*, an affix, in *pracardhamānaka* 303
- Kabir, the value of his works 104
- Kachāri language, its affinity to Garo 231
- Kachohhāyana's *Pāli Grammar*; Buddhaghōṣa is said to have translated it into Burmese 119
- Kadanapura, an ancient town 83
- Kadāram, an ancient place 331, 339, 340
- Kaḍi grants; examination of the dates; of Bhīmadēva II., 25, 30, 166, 366, 368, 369; — of Jayantasinha, 25; — of Mālarāja, 166; — of Tribhuvanapāladēva, 372; — and of Viśaladēva 183
- Kajhāragrāma, an ancient village in Magadha 181
- Kakka-Śūtri, the name of seventeen Jain pontiffs in the *Upakēśa-Gachchha*, 238 to 241; — the tenth of them is placed in *Vikrama-Saṁvat* 1154, . . . 241; — the eleventh, in V.-S. 1252, . . . 241; — the twelfth, in V.-S. 1371, . . . 241; — the sixteenth, in V.-S. 1498, . . . 242; — said the seventeenth in V.-S. 1595 242

- Kakkudāchārya, a Jain pontiff in the Upakāśa-
śaohchha 239
- kal-ditta* in Vikrama dates 27, 38, 40, 183, 353
- Kalachuri dynasty; mention of an early king
named Buddha, conquered by Maṅgalāśa,
with the use of the dynastic name in the
form of Kalatatri 16, 19, 20
- Kalachuri era; the dates in the grants of
the *Maṅgādās* of Uchchakalpa are to be
referred to it 227, 238
- Kalashbaḍi, ancient name of the modern
Kanamāḍi; the chief town of a three-
hundred or two-hundred district 270, 275
- Kālāṅjar inscriptions; examination of the
cates; of Maṇavarmadēva, 23; — of
Paramardidēva, 37, 354; — others... 81, 174, 178
- kalatātri*, a Sanskritised form of *kalachuri*
or *kalachuri* 16, 20
- Kaḷaḷaḷi*, a Tamil poem 340
- Kalhana; extracts from his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*,
continued 261
- Kaḷi-Vishṇuvardhana V. (East. Chalukya) ... 435
- Kālidās Tribhūti, as a poetical critic 104
- Kālidāsa, the poet; his *Ritusamhāra* must
have been composed before A. D. 472 285
- Kāliṅga country, 14, 19; — mention of seven
divisions of it, 836; — a Tamil poem, de-
scribing the conquest of it in the time of
Kulōttuṅga-Ohōḍadēva I. 829
- Kāliṅgattu Parani*, a Tamil poem by Jayan-
koṇḍa; extracts edited, 329; — it was writ-
ten not later than A. D. 1113 338
- Kalmuoks on the Volga, proofs of settle-
ments of the 158
- Kāluvāka or Kāruvāka family 123
- Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Western Ohōḷa-
kya 831
- Kamahān, a tribe of Soḷoṭṭan highlanders,
152; — their claim to Mahri Arab descent... 192
- Kamōh; see Katimushā 263, 265
- Kampili, an ancient place in the Bellary Dis-
trict 331, 339, 340
- Kanamāḍi, a village in the Belgaum District;
mentioned by the ancient name of Kalash-
baḍi 270
- Kanurese ballads, No. 5; the Daughter-in-law
of Ohannavva of Kittūr 413
- Kanṇaswa, a village in the Kōtah State; men-
tioned under the ancient name of Kanvā-
śrama, 55, 61, 63; — the inscription of Śiva-
gaja, of Mālava-Saṁvat 795 expired, edited 55
- Kāñchi, 330, 331, 333, 337, 339; — a king of
Kāñchi was defeated by Vikramāditya I.,
15; — Kulōttuṅga-Ohōḍadēva I. had his
court at Kāñchi 339
- Kāncāra, an officer of the *Maṅgādās* Pogilli
143, 145
- Kannadige, apparently the ancient name of
Bābānagar 270, 275
- Kanni, Cape Comorin 337
- Kapvāśrama, 'the hermitage of Kanva,' an-
cient name of Kanṇaswa 55, 61, 62
- Kapilā, the, and the Rōvā; mention of their
confluence 31
- Kapisiśrāma, an ancient village 168
- Kara = Beni Kara = Gharab, 212; — Gāra... 214
- Karahaḍa, one of the forms of the ancient
name of Karāḍ, the chief town of a four-
thousand district 270, 275
- karāṇa*, an astrological term for half a *tithi*;
names of the *karāṇas* as used in recorded
dates:—
Bāva 27
Dhātṛidaivata (= Bālava) 24
Kaulava 27
- karāpaka*, 'an agent' 63 n.
- Karikāla, a Ohōḷa king 331, 339
- Karikāla, or Karikāla-Ohōḷa, a title of Kulō-
tūṅga-Ohōḍadēva I. 837
- Karkōṭa dynasty of Kāśmīr; its initial point
was A. D. 601 262
- Karapūra, an ancient town 169
- Karahin, a tribe of Soḷoṭṭan highlanders,
192; — their claim to Portuguese descent... 192
- Kārtavīrya III. (Rājā of Saundatti and
Belgaum) 248
- Kārtavīrya IV., *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara* (Rājā
of Saundatti and Belgaum), 243, 248; —
his wife was Rohaladēvi, 248; — his Bhōj
grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 1131, edited 248
- Karunākara, of the Pallava family, a prime
minister and general of Kulōttuṅga-Ohōḷa-
dēva I.; his conquest of the Kāliṅga country,
as narrated in the *Kāliṅgattu Parani* 329 to 345
- Kāruvāka or Kāluvāka family 123
- Kāśmīr, list of the kings of, continued 263
- Katak; see Outtaek 82
- Kaṭha-Upaniṣad*, Prof. Whitney on the 281
- Katika, an ancient town in Kāśmīr 269, 264
- Katimushā *agrahāra*; the modern Kamph in
Kāśmīr 263, 265
- Kāvēri, the river, 331, 333, 339; — the high
banks along it were built by the Ohōḷa king
Karikāla 339
- Kavyaprakāśadīpikā*; see Jayanta 178
- Kendōramānya, ancient name of Kendūr 9, 20
- Kendūr, a village in the Brjāpur District;
mentioned by the ancient name of Kendōra-
mānya 9, 20
- Kenisara, Kirghis Sultan 321
- Kēraḷa country, 14, 19; — a king of it was
conquered by Vikramāditya I. 151
- kēṭa*, 'a tank;' corrupted spellings of this
word in English maps 162 n.

- Kēśab Dās, as a poetical critic 104
 Kāśin, a Jain pontiff in the Upakōśa-Gachchha 235
 Kesuvolala, one of the ancient forms of the name of Patṭadakal 9, 20
 'Kevati-Kund' inscriptions; examination of the dates 22, 175
 Khajurāho inscriptions; examination of the dates 35, 362
khampana, a variant of, or a mistake for, *kampana* 274 n.
Khaṇḍakhadya; see Brahmagupta 51 and n.
 Khēdrāpur inscription of Singhana II; examination of the date 440
 Khushwakht Bāi, Diwān, enlists Gulāb Singh 291
 Kilji-Vajavan, a Chōḷa king 339
 Kīragrāma; an inscription in the temple of Vaidyanātha; examination of the date 167
 Kīrṇārām, Diwān, author of the *Gulābādama*... 289
 Kīrtivarmadēva (Chandella); see Dēśgadh ... 36
 Kīrtidhar, first historical Rājā of Jammūn ... 289
 Kiabn Dās, as a writer on the Kṛishṇa cult ... 104
 kissing, among the Sōkōṭrans, 198; — by smelling among the Sōkōṭrans 193
 Kīrtivarman I. (Early Chālukya), 161, 304, 310, 434; — he had the *biruda* of Puruṣapārākrama, 14, 19; — list of the kings conquered by him, 14, 19; — remarks on the mention of his name in the Bādāmi inscription 11, 12 n.
 Kittār, the Daughter-in-law of Channavva of; a Kanarese ballad 413
 Kō-Bājākēśarivarman, a Chōḷa king; his accession took place in A. D. 1003 or 1004 ... 70 to 72
 Kooh-Chenkannān, a Chōḷa king 339
 Kōddāru, ancient name of Kōtar in Travancore 340
 Kōkkili (East. Chālukya) 435
 Kōṭār, a village in the Bijāpur District; an inscription of Singhana II.; examination of the date 157
 Koleru, the ancient name of probably 'Kalaroo' in the Gōdāvari District 424
 Kollabhiṅga-Vijayāditya IV. (East. Chālukya) 435
 Kolli, the river 334
 Komma, of the Vāṇasa family; his wife was Attikāmbikā 274
 Koppai, an ancient place 331, 339
 Kōraṇṭa, Kōraṇṭaka, an ancient place ... 287
 Koravalli *kompāṇa*, a division of the Kāṇḍi Three-thousand 244, 249
 Kōṭah State, an inscription from the, edited... 55
 Kṛishṇa, the river 334
 Kṛishṇa, the worship of, as represented in modern vernacular literature 104
 Kṛishṇa (Dēvagiri-Yādava); see Bēhaṭṭi, Ohikka-Bāgivaḍi, and Mūṇḍi 441, 442
 Kṛishṇa II. (Bāhaṭṭakūṭa) 248
 Kṛishṇasvami Naidu, W. S.; notice of his South-Indian Chronological Tables 326
 Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I. (East. Chālukya)... 434
 Kūḍal-Saṅgam, the junction of the Tuṅga-bhadra and the Kṛishṇa 331, 339, 340
 Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva I. (Eastern Chālukya) 425 n., 426, 427, 435; — mentioned by the names of Bājendra-Chōḷa and Kulōttunga-dēva, 435; — he had the *biruda* of Rājā-Nārāyaṇa, 435; — he succeeded to the sovereignty of Veṅgi, but afterwards obtained the Chōḷa empire, 435; — his viceroys in Veṅgi, 435; — his wife was Madhurāntakidēvi, 435; — one of his prime ministers was the Pallava Karuṇākara, who reconquered Kalinga for him, 329 to 345; — this was effected between the twentieth and twenty-sixth years of his reign, 328; — the poem describing this mentions Gangāpuri or Gaṅgaikonda-Chōḷapuram, as his capital. 339; — and Kāñchi as the city where his court was held, 333, 339; — it gives him the title of Karikāla-Chōḷa, 337; — and mentions Thiyākavalli as his queen 333
 Kulōttungadēva; see Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva I. 425 n., 435
 Kulsum, = the Red Sea; an origin of the word 190
 Kumārādēvi, wife of Chandragupta I. 225
 Kumārāgupta I. (Early Gupta), his wife was Anantadēvi ... 225
 Kumārāgupta II. (Early Gupta), 225, 227; — his Bhitari seal, edited 224
 Kumārāpāla, a person mentioned in connection with the tenth Kakka-Sōri 241
 Kumārāpāladēva (Chālukya); examination of the dates of the Māngrōl inscription, and of a M.S. of his time 25, 172
 Kāṇḍi Three-thousand, the, included the Koravalli *kompāṇa* 244, 249
 Kunri, the river 334
 Kuntala country conquered by Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva I. 337, 435
 Kuravas, a low Tamīl caste settled in Ceylon 160
 Kurumarathī, or Kurumarathya, a town of Vishṇuvardhana I. 340
 Kurumi, an ancient place 331
 Kusattalai, the river 334
kuttichāḍiye, mischievous elves in Madras ... 75
 / and s, changes between, in Kanarese-Prākṛit 317
 / and s, and / and r, changes between, in Kanarese 270
 Labaduha, a Burmese folk-hero 487
 Lalla Ji Lal, his share in reviving vernacular literature 104

- La-sast*, = *Lakshmanasastna-sastvat*.....2, 3, 4
lagna, 'the rising of a sign of the zodiac (rāśi);' names of the *lagnas* as used in recorded dates : —
 Ghaṭa (i. e. Kumbha; Aquarius) 102
 Siṃha (Leo) 32, 35
 Vāriḥ (i. e. Tūlā; Libra) 129
 Vṛśchika (Scorpio) 486
Laghuvaṅganapadma, an ancient village 348
Lakṣhmanasena, a king of Bengal; Prof. Kielhorn's examination of the dates in the era that is named after him, 1 to 7; — with the results, taking as expired all the years but one, that the year was an ordinary southern Kārttik-Ādi year, with the *śukla* scheme of the lunar fortnights; that the epoch of the era was A. D. 1118-19; and that the first day of the first current year was the 7th October, A. D. 1119..... 6
Lakṣmidēva I, or *Lakṣmidhara* (Rājā of Saundatti and Belgaum); his wife was Chāndrikādevī..... 428
Lakṣmīvarmadēva, *Mahādevendra* (Paramāra), 346 to 348, 351; — his Ujjain grant, of Vikrama-Samvat 1200, edited, 351; — examination of the date 40, 352
Lakṣatripurasundarī of Nēpāl; examination of the dates of her inscription ... 85, 169, 176, 177
Laka, the Ohhinda; see *Dēval* 364
languages, Indian; remarks on the pronunciation of them in the eleventh century, as shown by Albertini's transliteration..... 72, 78
Lakṣigēśvara, Prākṛit form of *Nandikēśvara* ... 817
Lakṣīśvara, = *Nandīśvara*, = *Nandikēśvara*... 817
Lāṭa, *Lāṭāchārya*, or *Lāṭadēva*, an astronomical writer, anterior to Varāhamihira, 52, 53, 135, 188, 141; — he wrote commentaries on the *Paulīśa* and *Rāmaka* *Siddhāntas*, 52; — he is not the author of the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 52; — but he may have had something to do with the authorship of the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 53
Lattāṭr, an ancient town of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, 165; — also *Lattāṭr* 248
lau, an abbreviation used in certain dates, 80, 178, 358; — also *lauṭi*°, 24; — and *lauṭika*°, 24; — and, *lauṭika*, without the sign of abbreviation 25, 183
Lepcha language, Prof. Avery on the, 280; — its affinity to Burmese 230
laga-worship in Kāśmīr..... 263, 267
Lon-banner 330
literature, vernacular, of Hindustān, its scope and value..... 103, 104
Lucknow Provincial Museum; the copper seal of Kumāragupta II, edited 224
Lokasthāna, an ancient place 22
Lunar Race, the, included the Chalukyas ... 151 and n., 332, 337, 338, 425, 435
Luqmān, legends about, Prof. Toy on 232
lute-banner 330
u and *v*, the Prākṛitic change between 230
Māchāṭi inscription of the time of Fīrūz Shāh bin Bajab; examination of the date 81
Machchhaprabandha, a work attributed to the twelfth Kakka-Sūri 241
Madanapāladēva of Kanauj, grants of; examination of the dates 371
Maḍavarājya, a territory mentioned in the *Rājatarangīni*; probably the modern Miraj or Meraj 264 and n.
Madanavarman (Ohandella); examination of the dates of his Ajaygaḍh, Bāndā, and Kālāṭjar inscriptions..... 23, 167, 368
Madhumati, an ancient place in Kāṭhīawād... 170
Madhurāntakīdevī, wife of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I 485
Madra, a tribe or country 14, 19
Madras Presidency, an inscription from the, edited..... 423
Madura country, conquered by the Chōḷas 331, 339
Magaḍa; see *Mahākūṭa* 7
Magadha country..... 14, 19
magi, the connection of serpents with..... 78
Maguḍa, Prākṛit form of the name of *Makuṭa*; see *Mahākūṭa* 8
Mahādvādaśaka maguḍa, an ancient division in Mālwa 351
Mahākūṭa, a group of temples in the Bijāpur District; also called *Mākūṭa*, *Makuṭa* and *Magaḍa*; the real original name is *Makuṭa*, 7; — and it occurs in the Prākṛit form of *Maguḍa*, 8; — the pillar inscription of *Maṅgalēśa*, edited 7
Mahālakṣmidēvi, perhaps the name of the wife of *Narasimhagupta*..... 225, 227
Mahāmantrin, 'great minister,' an official title 218, 219
Mahammāda Sāhi; see *Dehli* 26
Mahamūda Pāṭasāha, — Sultan *Mahmūd* Bīgarha..... 27
Mahān Singh, father of *Rajjit* Singh, plunderer *Jammūn* 290
Mahārāja continued to be a paramount title in Southern India long after the time when it had ceased to be used as such in Northern India, 305, 307; — applied to *Bhīmadēva* II. 23
Mahārājādhirāja, a title of paramount sovereignty; question as to the etymological analysis of the word, 305 n.; — the true application of the title; it is the only one

- which corresponds to the European 'king' or 'emperor,' but it does not necessarily denote an emperor of the whole of India, 308; — the manner in which it probably reached Southern India, 305 n.; — its adoption by the Chalukyas 306, 307
- Mahimāda Pātasāha**, = Sultān Mahmud Bigarha 32
- Mahmūd Bigarha**, Sultān; examination of the dates of an inscription of his time at Aqlāj, 27; — and of a MS. of his time ... 32
- Mahmūd of Ghazni**, opposed by Autārdēv of Jammūn 289, 290
- Mahōba** inscriptions; examination of the dates; of Paramardidēva, 36; — another... 179
- Mahra Arabs** of Hadhramaut, described 211, 212
- Mahuva**, an inscription at; examination of the date 88
- Maistr**, inscriptions from, edited 142, 146
- Maitrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā**, Prof. Whitney on the... 232
- Makūṣa**, Mākūṣa; see Mahākūṣa 7
- Makūṣavaranaṭha**, a name of Śiva, at Mahākūṣa 8, 20
- Malaprabhastri** composed his commentary on Mānatungastri's *Siddhājayaṇīśakaritra* in A. D. 1204 182
- Mālapura**, an ancient town 176
- Mālava**, the Paramāra rulers of; notes on them, with three of their grants edited, 345 to 353
- Mālava era**, the; definite proof that it is the Vikrama era, 316; — a date in it 56, 61
- Māldēv** of Jammūn, defeats Tīmūr 290
- Malik Muḥammad** as a historical and philosophic writer 104
- Mallai**, a name of Māmallāipuram 337, 340
- Malikārjuna**, Yuvardja, younger brother of Kārtavīrya IV. 243, 248
- Māpabhadra**, a *Yakṣa* mentioned in connection with the first *Yakṣahadēva*-Śrī 238
- Mānavadharmasāstra**; objections to Dr. Burnell's view that its date lies between A. D. 100 and 500, . . . 229; — the *Saṁhitā* cannot be proved to have been in existence much before A. D. 500 232
- Mānavya gōtra** included the Chalukyas ... 13, 151, 310, 434
- Maṇḍala**, the kings of; see Rāmnagar 369
- Mangi-Yuvardja** (East. Chalukya) 435
- Maṅgalapura**, an ancient town in Surāṣṭrā... 355
- Maṅgalīvara**; see Maṅgalēsa 15
- Maṅgalēsa** (Early Chalukya), 15, 19; — he had the *birudas* of Uru-Rajavikrānta, 15, 19; — and of simply Rajavikrānta, 15; — and the epithet of *śrīprabhīśaśābhādras*, 15, 19; — he seems to have been a half brother of Kirtivarman I., 15; — remarks on the forms of his name, 15; — the date of his accession in A. D. 597 or 598, . . . 10 and errata; — remarks on the mention of his name in the Bādāmi cave inscription, 11, 12 n.; — he conquered a Kalachuri king, named Buddha, 16, 19; — certain coins, supposed to be connected with his time, are of very much later date, 80; — his Mahākūṣa pillar inscription, edited 7
- Maṅgalyapura**, an ancient town 33
- Maṅgrōl** inscriptions; examination of the dates; of the time of Kumārāpāla, 172; — of the time of Nasrat Shāh 355
- Maṇipulvāi**, the river 364
- Maṇiyūtra-Appayanaṇḍu**, ancient name of probably Maṇḍūr or Maṇūr in the Nixām's Dominions 270, 274
- Maṇḍaru**, the river 364
- Maṇḍai**, an ancient place on the banks of the Ganges 381, 339
- Manse**, = Vogul, 159; — Ostiak 159
- Manṣērā**, Piyadasi's inscription at, M. Senart's account of 43
- Maṇḍūr**, a village in the Mudhā State; mentioned by the name of Deyvada-Maṇḍūr, 161, 165; — an inscription of the time of Jayasinha III., dated Śaka-Samvat 962, edited 161
- Manu**; see *Mānavadharmasāstra* 229, 232
- Maṇūr**, or Maṇḍūr, a village in the Nixām's Dominions; mentioned by the ancient name of Maṇiyūtra-Appayanaṇḍu 270
- Marco Polo**, his account of St. Thomas' death 198
- Marṭakōṭa**, an ancient place ... 239, 241
- Marpha**, the Fort of; an inscription; examination of the date 356
- marriage customs** of the Parāṣa 374, 377
- Marqsthal**, an ancient place 176
- Mathanadēva**, a king; see Rājōrgaḍh 22
- matṭar**, a land-measure 274 n.
- Maurya race**, a prince of the, named Dhavala, about A. D. 738 56, 60
- maxims**, folktales based on, 126; — folktales turning on, 275; — the four maxims, a variant folk tale 126 ff.
- Māyamōḍaka**; an ancient village 350
- Mayilai**, ancient name of Maḷāpur, a suburb of Madras 337, 340
- Mēdamārya**, a general of Vira-Chōḍadēva ... 436
- Mēdinipur**, = Midnapur 242
- Mēghavāhana**, a king of Kāśmīr; his wife was Amitaprabhā 263, 267
- Meraj**, in Kāśmīr; see Maḍavarājya ... 264 and n.
- metamorphosis** in folktales; serpent into prince 316
- Mhārī**, an Arabic dialect, described 211, 212

- māta* and *māta sāvā*, explained 290 n.
Mār Diddā attacks Jammūn 293, 294
Mār Mōṣā rules Jammūn, 291; — his assassi-
 nation 292
Midnapur mentioned as *Mēdinipura* 242
Mīr Bāi, as a writer on the *Kṛishṇa* cult ... 104
Miraj or *Meraṣ*, in *Kāśmīr*; see *Maḍavarājya*
 264 and n.
Miraj, in the Southern *Marāṭhā* country; ex-
 amination of the date in an inscription of
Saṁ Saṁvat 1065 .. 817
misar, the sight of a, as an omen 181
Mlecchhas; the term used to denote the
Muhammadans 216, 217
māliśis, female devils who possess men, in
Madras 103
Molynseux, the globe-maker 411, 412
Mōmaladēvi, probably the mother of *Yaśovar-*
madēva 348
Mōm, a tribe of *Sokotrān* Highlanders, 192; —
 their claim to *Abyssinian* descent 192
monkey, the word, as an omen 181
moon-worship in *Sokotrā*, 195; — in ancient
Ohāḍas 196
months, Hindu lunar (see also *intercalary*,
 and *intercalated*); names of them as used
 in recorded dates: —
Aśāḍha (June-July) ... 29, 36, 37, 39, 40,
 155, 179, 180, 186, 357, 358, 359, 369, 441
Āsvayuja (Sept.-Oct.) 28
Āsvayuja (Sept.-Oct.) 187
Āvina (Sept.-Oct.) ... 30, 32, 33, 34, 172,
 176, 177, 358
Bhādra (Aug.-Sept.) ... 29, 30, 175, 176, 181, 185
Bhādrapada (Aug.-Sept.) ... 29, 31, 33, 157,
 173, 174, 181, 183, 317, 357, 361, 366
Bhādravā (Aug.-Sept.) ... 28 (P), 175, 184, 366
Chaitra (March-April) ... 3, 29, 30, 31, 36,
 39, 41, 46, 174, 176, 182, 185, 355, 361,
 362, 366, 372, 440, 442
Jyēṣṭha (May-June) 441
Jyēṣṭha (May-June) 28, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37,
 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 187, 354, 363, 369, 373
Kārttika (Oct.-Nov.) ... 5, 23, 25, 27, 28,
 40, 166, 167, 169, 170, 247, 253, 309, 353,
 354, 356, 365, 367, 369, 374, 440
Kādhava (March-April) 34, 38
Kādhva (March-April) 34, 39
Māgha (Jan.-Feb.) 22, 25, 27, 166, 168,
 170, 361, 365, 368, 371, 373, 374, 442
Māha (Jan.-Feb.) 355
Mārga (Nov.-Dec.) 24, 166, 167, 169, 170,
 171, 172, 249, 364, 368, 372
Mārgasira (Nov.-Dec.) 28, 164, 171
Mārgasira (Nov.-Dec.) 24, 102, 168, 172
Pauṣa (Dec.-Jan.) ... 3, 4, 22, 25, 26, 163,
 169, 172, 354, 361, 363, 371
Phāgava (Feb.-March) 168
Phāgava (Feb.-March) 25, 167, 168, 170
Phālgva (Feb.-March) 26
Phālgava (Feb.-March) ... 24, 26, 41, 167,
 169, 171, 367, 368, 373
Śrāvana, (July-Aug.) ... 30, 31, 33, 34, 39,
 40, 156, 174, 178, 179, 181, 186, 353, 356
Suchi (June-July) 35
Vaiśākha (April-May) ... 2, 4, 20, 23, 31, 32,
 35, 36, 38, 40, 175, 176, 179, 180, 181,
 183, 185, 218, 273, 355, 356, 360, 362,
 364, 373
months, Hindu solar; *Bhādrapada* indicated
 by the sun being in *Sirha* (Leo), 129, 426;
 — and *Pauṣa*, by the sun being in *Dhanu*
 (*Sagittarius*) 102
months, Tamil solar; *Ayappasī* (= *Aippasī*:
Kārttika) 70
Mṛityujit, a *Ohḍa* king 339
Mudhōl State, an inscription from the, edited 161
Muḍivemu, an ancient *agrahāra* 434
Muhabihāḍa, a village in the *Karṇāṭaka*
 country 374
Muhammad Bakhtyār; his conquest of Bengal,
 about A. D. 1193-99, seems to have taken
 place in the eightieth year of the *Lakṣh-*
mapāsena era 7
Mukari, an ancient place 381
Mūla-Saṁgha, a division among the *Jains* ... 274
Mūlarāja (*Chālukya*); see *Kaṭi* 166
Munindrāpura, an ancient town 39
Mufja of *Dhārā*; *Amitagati* composed his
Śubhāśhitaratnasamādāha in his reign 361
Munōḷi inscriptions of *Singhava* II. and
Kṛishṇa; examination of the dates ... 440, 441
Mūra-savirāḍa-Ārya, the title of a *Lingāyat*
 priest at *Huḍḍi* 244
musadara, its effect on the finance of the
Khalifas 322, 323
music, Hindu, M. Grosset's contribution to
 the study of, account of 72
musical instruments; the *trivāḍa* of the *Raṭṭas* 165
Mūhaka country; apparently part of the
Malabar Coast 14, 19
 * and *l*, changes between, in *Kanarese*
Prākṛit 317
 * and *l*, a change between, in *Kanarese* 270
Naddi inscription of *Āḥanadēva*; examina-
 tion of the date 30
Nāgarakhanda Seventy, the, an ancient dis-
 trict near *Belagāḍve* 144
Nāgas; they are counted as gods among the
Buddhists, 74; — they are perhaps men-
 tioned as the *Ājukas*, 14, 19; — mention of
 them in connection with the *Ohḍas* 381, 339

- nail-headed characters, a variety of, from Gayā 77
- nakṣatra*, 'a lunar mansion'; festivals in honour of the Tishya *nakṣatra*, 98, 100, 102; — names of the *nakṣatras*, as used in recorded dates: —
- Anurādhā 170, 358, 366
- Dhanishṭhā 25, 27
- Gurubha (= Pushya) 38
- Hasta 28
- Jyēṣṭhā 369
- Maitra (= Anurādhā) 102
- Mūla 373
- Punarvasu 85
- Pūrva-Ashāḍhā 441
- Pushya 27, 31, 84, 89, 176, 177
- Rōvati 28
- Rōhini 32, 35, 180
- Śravana 182, 436
- Śrāvi 32
- Tishya 169
- Uttarā-Bhādrapadā 27, 28
- Uttarā-Bhādrapadikā 29
- Uttarā-Bhādrīkā 129
- Viśākhā 38
- Vishvadevata (= Śravana) 24
- nail-paring in the *Avasta* 230
- Nalapura, a fortress of Virasimhadēva 167
- Nalodayaśāstra*; see Rāmārahi 84
- names of places in England in the 15th century, map of, noticed 412
- Nandigrāma, an ancient village. 20; — identified with Nandikēśvara, 9; — but this is wrong 317
- Nandikēśvara, a village near Bādāmī; it is different from Nandigrāma, 317; — its name occurs in the Prākṛit forms of Laṅgikēśara and Laṅgikēśvara 317
- Nandikēśvara, an ancient place in Kāśmīr 268, 268
- Nandodaya*, a Buddhist work by Buddhaghōṣa 117
- Nanyaurā grants; examination of the dates, of Dēvavarmadēva, 364; — of Dhangadēva 23
- Naraka, a king of Prāgjyōtiṣa 263
- Narapati composed his *Narapatiyacharyā* in A. D. 1175 30
- Narasimhadēva (Kalachuri); see Alha-ghāṭ... 29
- Narasimhagupta (Early Gupta), 225, 226, 227; — his wife's name appears to be Mahalakṣmīdēvi 225, 227
- Naravarman (Paramāra) 346, 347, 350, 351
- Narēndranigardja, = Vijayāditya II. (East Chalukya) 435
- Nasrat Shāh of Delhi; see Māngrol 355
- Nat-worship in Burma 438
- Nāvallī, an ancient place near Balaṅkheve 145
- Narapaduprakaraṇa*, a work attributed to the ninth Dēvagupta-Sūri 240
- Navilai, an ancient place 335
- Nāyarkhaṇḍa, Prākṛit form of the name of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa District 144, 145
- Nēpāl; a note on the conquest of it by Harahavardhana of Kanauj, 40; — the inscription of Lalitadīpurasundarī; examination of the dates 35
- Nirālgi, a village in the Dhārwaḍ District; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Nirilli 144, 145
- Nirilli, perhaps the ancient name of Nirālgi 144, 145
- North-West Provinces; the copper seal of Kumāragupta II., edited, 224; — an inscription of Gōvindachandra, partially edited 249
- numerical words; exceptional use of *vēda* to denote 'three,' 25, 26; — and of *śagara* and *śyāra* to denote 'seven' 25, 26
- Nyāyāsiddhāntamārtandī*, note on a MS. of the. 229, 230
- ogress, nature and character of, in Burmese folktales 438
- omens in the *Avasta*, 230; — in Bihār, 180, 181; — in Madras, 254; — in the North-West Provinces, 254; — in Oudh 325
- Ōhko reckoning of Orissa, a system of regnal years commencing with Bhādrapada *śukla* 11 or 12 255
- opprobrious names in Madras 255
- ordeals in Sōkōtra 195
- Orissa, the Ōhko reckoning of 255
- Ōsanagari, a place in Mārwar; the old form of the name was Upakēśanagari 233, 234
- Osmānī language, a new grammar of the ... 159, 160
- Ōswāla, the lay adherents of the Upakēśa *gachchha*; they take their name from Ōsanagari 233
- Ostiak, = Manse, 159; — Vogul, 159; — the heathen customs of the 159
- owl, the word, as an omen 186
- Pādalīpta, a town in Surāṣṭra 22
- Paṭṭāpallai*, a Tamil poem in praise of Kārikālā 331, 340
- Padma-Charita*, the, of Vimāla, was written five hundred and thirty-two years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra 379
- padra* as the termination of a village-name, in Laghuvāṅganapadra 348
- Paṭai, a feudatory ruler of Sōyaviyā in the Kōkayāddha country 235 n.
- Pāṭṭāma-Siddhānta* 46, 183, 141, 142

- Faithan grant of Rāmachandra; examination of the date 442
- Pālam Bāoli; an inscription of the time of Giyā-ud-dīn Balban; examination of the date 186
- Pālār, the river 382, 383, 384
- palibhāḥa, 'bond, fetter' 93
- palikṣāṇa, an arrangement of flags 484
- Pallavas, 425, 434; — conquered by Vikramāditya I., 151; — and by Vinayāditya, 157; — later history of the family... 329 to 340
- Pampā, the river 334
- Pañchadāṇḍītapachchattrabandha; see Rāmachandra 26, 27
- pañchamāhātābda mentioned among the insignia of the Eastern Chalukyas 484
- Pañchapramāṇa, a work attributed to the seventh Kakka-Sūri 240
- Pandāras, a Tamil mendicant caste in Ceylon 160
- Pañchasiddhāntikā, an astronomical work by Varāhamihira, based on five Jyōtiṣha Siddhāntas, 45 to 54, 439; — its epoch is Tuesday, 22nd March, A. D. 505, . . 46, 50, 51; — and the *śatpākas* in it are for the preceding Sunday, 50; — passages in it relating to the original *Rāmaka-Siddhānta* 136, 138, 141
- Paṇḍita-Ohāḍa, apparently a title of Rājārāja I. (Eastern Chalukya) 387
- Pāṇḍya country; reference to five divisions of it 385
- Pāṇḍya kings; mentioned in connection with Kīrtivarman I., 14, 19; — and Vikramāditya I. 151
- Pañjāb, an inscription from the, edited 215
- Paṇḍiyapanas Jātaka 411
- Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kāśīnakaṣi, a notice of Bendall's MS. of 280
- Paramabhaṭṭāraka, a title of paramount sovereignty; its adoption by the Chalukyas 306, 307
- paramabhaṭṭārak-ty-ādi-rājāvalī 180
- Paramāra rulers of Mālava; notes on them, with three of their grants edited 345 to 353
- Paramardidēva (Ohandella); see Baṭṭēwar, Kālāṇjar, and Mahōbā 30, 36, 37, 354
- Paramāśvara, a title of paramount sovereignty; applied to Harahavardhana of Kannauj, 41, 806; — its adoption by the Chalukyas 305, 307
- paramount sovereigns, i. e. sovereigns supreme in their own dominions, but not necessarily reigning over the whole of India; the development of their titles in Southern India 305 to 309
- Pariahs of Jaffna, a Tamil caste in Ceylon .. 160
- patihāḍya, a fiscal term, requiring explanation 249 and n.
- Parvā, nuptial songs of the 374 ff.
- Parvachandra, perhaps composed his *Vṛt-tika* on Virabhadrasādhu's *Chaturśaraṇa-praktiraka* in A. D. 1539 373
- pātaka (see also bhātaka) as the termination of a village-name, in Dēvalapātaka 348
- Paṭṭadakal, a village in the Bijāpur District; mentioned by the ancient name of Kesuvola 9, 20
- Paṭṭavālī, the, or List of Jain Pontiffs, of the Upakēśa-Gachchha 238 to 242
- Paulisa-Siddhānta, 46, 52 and n., 123, 134, 141, 142, 316; — its rule, as given in the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, for calculating the mean place of the sun, 141; — there seem to be three works of this name 52 n.
- paundarīka-sacrifice 19
- Pennai, the river 334
- Pērtja Sāhi Sultān, = Fīrjī Shāh bin Bajab... 31
- Phulwariya; inscription of Pratāpachavala; examination of the date 179
- pillars, inscribed 7, 122, 125, 215
- Piplīnagar grant of Arjunavarmadēva; examination of the date 24
- pidras, male devils who possess women, in Madras 103
- pitāmaha, in *sūtradhara-pitāmaha*, 'a very Brahman among Sūtradharas' 249
- Pīthapuri, apparently one of the forms of the ancient name of Pīṭṭapuram 424, 426
- Pīṭṭapuram in the Gōddāvari District; apparently mentioned by the name of Pīthapuri, 424; — notes of some inscriptions here 427
- Pitt, Thomas, of the Pitt diamond, Yulo's account of, noticed 131, 132
- Piyadasi, a name or title of Aśoka 125
- plough-banner 330
- poetry, historical value of modern vernacular 104
- Pogari-Gachchha, the, a division of the Māla-Saṁgha 274
- Pogilli, *Mahārāja* (Sōndraka), a laudatory of Vinayāditya 113, 145
- Ponnukari, the river 334
- Ponnarāḍa agrahara, ancient name of Honwād... 269, 273, 374
- Ponni, the Kāvēri river 337
- Porunai, the Tāmbiaperai river 337
- Poseidonius, the first globe-maker 411
- possession, demoniacal, in Madras 103
- Pottalākere, a capital of Jayasimha III.; it is the modern Dandāṇṭyakkannakere ... 161, 162, 163
- Pradyumna, an early astronomical writer, 52, 135, 138
- Prāgyjyōtiṣha, two kings of, referred to in the *Rājataranginī* 263, 267

- Prasāda*, a commentary on the *Prakriyākau-mudī*; its date..... 170
- Prān Nāth, as a revivalist writer 104
- Pratñōttara-Bāṇamāla*, a Jain work, attributed sometimes to Vimala, and sometimes to a king Amoghavarsha..... 378, 379
- Pratāpabhavala, *Mahāndyaka* (Jāpilya); see Phulwariya and Sahasrām..... 179, 184
- Pratāpāditya I., a king of Kāśmīr; a relative of a king Vikramāditya..... 261 to 264
- pratisiddhāya*, an ancient tax..... 165
- pravara*, 'an invocation of ancestors at the performance of certain rites; names of *pravaras*, as mentioned in records:—
- Bhāradvāja-Āngirasa-Bārhaspatya 351
- Garga-Āngirasa-Viśvāmītra-Jamadagni-Vārhaspati 252
- Viśvāmītra-(&c) (?) 310
- pravartamāna*; see current and expired years
- proof of identity in folktales — a silver ring, 154; — a gold ring, 154; — a sword, 154; — hair, 155; — a mode of folding betel-leaves 278
- proverbs of Turkistān 321
- Ptolemy, as a globe-maker, 411; — comparison of some of his astronomical elements with those of the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta* 284
- puberty, fees on the attainment of..... 146
- Pubesa, a proper name 8
- Pulikēśin I. (Early Chālukya), 151, 434; — remarks about the meaning of the name, 14 n.; — he had the *biruda* of Satyāśraya and Rājavikrama, 14, 18, 19, 310; — and the epithet of *śrīprithivīśālabha*, 14; — his wife was Durlabhadēvi..... 14, 19
- Pulikēśin II. (West. Chālukya), 11, 12 and n., 13; — he had the *biruda* of Satyāśraya, 151, 434; — he is perhaps denoted in the Goa grant by the epithet of *śrīprithivīśālabha*, 12 n.; — the grant of Viśhṇuvardhana I. is dated in his eighth year 304
- Paulisa-Siddhānta*; see also *Paulisa-Siddhānta* 316
- punch-coins, instances of, in the eleventh century A. D. 79, 80
- Punyachandrodāya-Pardāna*; see *īśvarakṛishna* 27
- Punyaśāgara composed his *Jambudīpaprājñaptivṛitti* in A. D. 1589 39
- Puragupta (Early Gupta), a son, recently brought to notice, of Kumāragupta I., 225, 226, 227; — his wife was Vatsadēvi 225 and n., 226
- Puranic genealogies; of the Chōlas, 330, 339; — of the Eastern Chālukyas 433
- Puru-Rājavikrama, a *biruda* of Kīrtivarman I. 14, 19
- Pyus, an extinct tribe of Burma..... 437
- Qalmaq, see Kalmucks 158
- quivering of the left eyelid as an omen 130
- r and l, changes between, in Kanarese 270
- r, a Drāvidian letter, represented in Nāgarī inscriptions by rr 248
- Rāhu mentioned as causing an eclipse of the moon, 23; — and of the sun 371
- rainy season, the; the connection of serpent-worship with it 75
- Rāi Taluk of Dehli..... 289
- rain, making, in Soṅopra, 195; — charms in Madras 103
- Raiwān grant of Gōvindachandradēva; examination of the date 372
- Rāja-Bhīma II. (East. Chālukya) 435
- Rāja-Nārāyaṇa, a *biruda* of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I. 435
- Rāja-Paramāśvara, a title of paramount sovereignty..... 307 and n., 436
- rāja-śrāvita*, 'a royal proclamation' ... 145 and n.
- Rājādhirāja, a title of paramount sovereignty, used by some of the Eastern Chālukyas ... 307
- Rājakesari, the name of two early Chōla kings 331, 339
- Rājakesarivarman; see Kō-Rājakesarivarman 70
- Rājakesarivarman (Chōla); he had the title of Jayankonḍa-Chōla 329
- Rājamarigadāba*; an astronomical work attributed to king Bhōja; its epoch is Śaka-Samvat 964, expired 45
- Rājārāja, or Vira-Rājendra (Chōla); he had the title of Gangaikonda-Chōla..... 332, 337, 339
- Rājārāja I. (East. Chālukya), 424 n., 427; — the date of his coronation in A. D. 1022, ... 130; — apparently he had the *biruda* of Paṇḍita-Chōla, 337; — his wife was Ammaṅgadēvi, 435; — his coins 79 to 28
- Rājārāja II. (East. Chālukya), a viceroy of Vengi 425, 435
- Rājārājadēva; see Kō-Rājakesarivarman 70
- Rājāsrayana *bhōga*, a subdivision in the *Mahādvādatāka māṇḍala* 351
- Rājāsīrha, a ruler of Vikramanagara in A. D. 1598 39
- Rājāsraya, a *biruda* of Vinayāditya 143, 145
- Rājatarāṅginī*, extracts from the, continued 261
- Rājendra-Chōla, a Chōla king..... 435
- Rājendra-Chōla, otherwise called Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I. (East. Chālukya) 435
- Rājendradēva (Chōla) 435
- Rājōrgaḍh, a place near Alwar; examination of the date of the inscription of Mathanadēva 22
- Rājputāna, an inscription from, edited 55
- Rājyapura, a town of Mathanadēva ... 22

- Rāmachandra composed his *Pañchadāṇḍa-paṇḍitaṭṭrabandha* in A. D. 1434.....26, 27
 Rāmachandra (Dēvagiri-Yādava); see Pañhan 442
Rāmacharitra; see Dēvavijayagari 176
 Rāmanand, the value of the works of 104
 Rāmapunyavallabha, *Mahāśāstrivirahita*, an officer of Vinayāditya 182
 Rāmarahi composed his *Nalodayatīka* in A. D. 1607 34
 Rāmānagar inscription of the kings of Maṇḍala; examination of the date.... 369
 Rāmānagar falls to Gulāb Singh 294
 Rāmōh; see Rāmushā 263, 265
 Ramri, the island of, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
 Rāmushā *agrahāra*; the modern Rāmōh in Kāśmīr 263, 265
 Ranaparākrama, the *biruda* of a Chalukya prince mentioned in a Lakshmeshwar inscription 14
 Ranarāga (Early Chalukya) 14, 18
 Ranavikrama, a *biruda* of Pulikēśin I. 14, 19, 810
 Ranavikrānta, a *biruda* of Maṇḍalāśa 19
 Ranbīr Singh of Jammūn; his first appearance in public, 287; — his marriage ... 302
 Ranjit Singh's campaign in Kāśmīr 292
raśi, 'a sign of the zodiac'; reference to the moon being in Kumābha (Aquarius), 27 (No. 22); — and in Mīna (Pisces) ... 27 (No. 23)
 Rāsin, an inscription at; examination of the date 355
ratī or *ratihā*, in Kurumarathī or Kurumārathī, and Bhīmarathī or Bhīmarathī 304 and n.
ratī, its weight in Akbar's time discussed ... 220
 Ratnachūḍa, a *Vidyadhara* mentioned in connection with Svayamprabha-Sūri 235
 Ratnamālā, a former name of Sri-Lakshmi-Mahāsthāna 235
 Ratnaprabha-Sūri, the sixth Jain pontiff in the Upakōśa-Gachcha, 236 to 238; — he was translated to heaven in the year 84 after Mahāvīra, 238; — the same name was borne by five subsequent pontiffs... 233, 239
 Ratna-Nārāyaṇa, a *biruda* of Ereyammarasa 165
 Ratnas of Saundatti and Belgaum ... 161, 165, 242 to 249
 Rattasamudra, the name of an ancient tank at Maṇḍūr 165 and errata
 Rayanamālā; Prākṛit form of the name of Ratnamālā 235
 Raypur inscription of Brahmadēva; examination of the date 26
 regnal years; instances of the use of them, 20, 70, 162, 187, 311, 436; — difficulties about the reckoning of the regnal years of Vinayāditya, 148; — and of Vijayāditya, 183; — the Onko reckoning of Orissa 255
 Rān, a village in the Pathpur District; a grant of Gōvīndachandradēva, of Vikrama-Samvat 1188, partially edited 249
 Rāvā, the, and the Kapilā; mention of their confluence 31
 Rāvah grant of Salakhapavarmadēva, of the time of Vijayadēva; examination of the date 171
 rhythm in the *Ṛig-Vēda*, 287; — in pre-classical Hindu poetry 287
Ṛig-Vēda; notice of Prof. Oldenberg's text, 286, 288; — traces of rhythm in it, 287; — its textual superiority over the other *Vēdas*, 288; — the Vāshkala recension, 288; — textual variations, 288; — the Śākala recension, 288; — arrangement of the *Samhitā*, 288; — a hymn to the Dawn from it 326
Ritusañhara; see Kālidāsa 285
Rōmaka-Siddhānta, 46, 52, 53, 141, 142; — there are two separate works of this name, 133 to 142; — the original one, represented in the *Pañchāsiddhāntikā*, must be much older than A. D. 505, . . 141; — and probably its latest possible date is A. D. 150, . . 142; — it is based on the theories and Tables of Hipparchus, 142; — Table of the elements of this Siddhānta, 139; — the other is the work of Śrīshēṇa, whose period is between A. D. 578 and 628, . . 138; — comparison of some of the elements of the original work with those of Ptolemy 284
 Royal Asiatic Society, copper-plates in the, edited 345
 Sabuktigin of Ghazni opposed by Bhōjdēv of Jammūn 289
 Sachchikāddēvi, a goddess mentioned in the *Pañḍavalt* of the Upakōśa-Gachcha ... 237, 238, 239, 240
 Sādik, the Kirghiz Sultān 321
śagara, and in Prākṛit *śagara*, used exceptionally to denote 'seven' 25, 26
 Sahasrām inscription of Pratāpabhavala; examination of the date 184
 sailing-directions round England in the 15th century 412
 Śahi Salama, Sultān; an unidentified prince; date, A. D. 1607 34
 Saiva inscriptions 9, 55
śaka used in the sense of 'a year' ... 24, 25, 28, 33, 169, 172, 177
śaka used in the sense of 'a year,' 25, 35; — and in the sense of 'belonging to the Śakas' 2, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 41, 431
 Śaka era; instances of the connection of the name of Śālivāhana with it, ... 32, 176

- Saka-nrip-dāta*, a mistaken explanation, adopted by Brahmagupta, - Utpala, and Albérnti, of the origin of the Saka era..... 261
- Sākambhart, i. e. Sāmbhar in Rājputāna 216 to 219
- Sākātapura 26
- śākhā*, 'a Vēdic school;' mention of the Āvalayana *śākhā* 351
- Saktivarman (East. Ohalukya), 435; — he had the *biruda* of Ohalukya-Chandra, 81; — his coins..... 79 to 82
- Sālai, an ancient place 335
- Salakhanavarmadēva, *Mahārāṇata*; see Bōwah 171
- Sālivāhana; instances of the connection of his name with the Saka era 82, 176
- Sālvoge, an ancient village in the Eḍevolal *vishaya* 147, 180 n., 152
- Salivuge, a later form of the name of Sālvoge 147
- Sallakhanapāla, *Bhājaputra*, a minister of Visaladēva 216, 219
- sam*, an abbreviation; used in composition with *La* (= Lakshmanasēna), 3, 4; — with *Sinhā*, 180; — with *Valabhi*, 180; — and with *Vikrama*, 180, 181; — used without any appellative in composition, to denote years of the Lakshmanasēna era, 2; — and of the Vikrama era... 22, 30, 81, 168, 174, 252, 371
- Samāpā, an ancient place mentioned in the Jangada edict..... 95, 101
- Samartha stormed by Gulāb Singh..... 294, 295
- samastabhavanadraya*, 'asylum of the universe,' an epithet of Jayasimha III. 165
- samvats* used in dates, after *samvat*, instead of *varsh* 28, 35, 175
- Sandhimat or Sandhimati, also called Aryarāja, a minister of Jayendra, and subsequently king of Kāśmīr..... 263, 266, 267
- Sandhiyara, an ancient Śaiva temple in Kāśmīr 263, 267
- sankrānti*, 'the passage of the sun into a sign of the zodiac' (see also *dakṣiṇdyana* and *uttarādyana*); names of the *sankrāntis* as mentioned in recorded dates: —
Dakṣiṇāyana (summer solstice) 150, 174
Māsa (Aries)..... 39, 176
Udāyana (winter solstice) 361
Uttarāyana (winter solstice)... 25, 27, 363, 371
- Samudragupta (Early Gupta); his wife was Dattadāri 225
- samvat*, an abbreviation; used in composition with *Lakshmanasēna*, 4; — with *Muhammada*, to denote years of the Hijra era, 180; — with *Sinhā*, 24, 172; — and with *Vikrama*, 24 to 40, 166 to 187, 354 to 374; — used without any appellative in composition, in connection with a Saptarshi date, 169; — and to denote years of the Vikrama era... 22 to 40, 166 to 187, 218, 252, 349, 354 to 374
- Sānāra of Madras, caste emancipation, a case of 231
- sañchakāra*, = *satyanikāra*, 'an agreement'... 241
- Sanghāra, pirates of Kachh, a possible origin for Zingari 191
- Sankuka, a prince, of the Brāhmap caste; his wife was Dēgint 56, 60, 61
- Sanskrit grammar; negative clauses in the *Rig-Vēda*, 230; — the sibilants, 231; — orthography of the *Vēdas* 288
- Sanskrit, multifarious presents in, 229; — proposed elimination of the *tan*-class of verbs in 229
- Sanskrit roots, Prof. Whitney on 229
- Sanskrit proverbs 232
- Sanskrit works, piracy of, in Bombay 230
- Sanskrit words; remarks on the transliteration of them by Albérnti 72, 73
- saptakṣātra*, among the Jaina, 'seven spheres of action' 241 n.
- Saptarshi era, the, spoken of as the Saptarshi-mata, 169; — and the *Sāstra-samvatsara* 176
- Sāraṅgadēva (Vāghēla); the *Kāvya-prakāśa-dīpikā* of Jayanta was composed in his reign 178
- Sāraṅgapura, an ancient town..... 181
- sarpabali*, a sacrifice in snake-worship ... 73 to 75
- sarvābhyantarāsiddhi*, a fiscal term denoting full and complete rights of enjoyment 271
- Sarvānta, an ancient village 61
- Sātārā grant of Vishnuvardhana I., edited ... 303
- Sakruhaya mountain, the 240, 241, 242
- Satyāśraya, a *biruda* of Pulikēśin I., 14, 18, 810; — of Pulikēśin II., 151, 434; — and of Vinayāditya 152
- Saubhāgyabhidakara*; see *Bhāskaraṇāya* 34
- Saukhyāpadapattana, an ancient town 83
- Saura-Siddhānta*, i. e. the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 46, 133, 141, 142
- Sūrya-Pañchāṅga* for Saka-Samvat 1811, noticed 256
- śdyara*; see *śdyara*..... 25, 26
- Scindia's Dominions, inscriptions from, edited 345
- seals of grants; emblems on them, 224, 243, 249, 303, 423; — legends on them... 249, 303, 423
- seasons: —
Grishma (the hot season) 83
Sarad (the autumn)..... 27, 84
Śitira (the dewy season) 27
Varshāp (the rains) 39
- Sechutera = *Sokoṭra*..... 198
- Sēna-Gapa, the, a division of the *Māla-Samgha* 274

Sena II. (Rajja of Saundatti and Belgam) 248
 Sēndraka family..... 143, 145
 serpent in folktales, 283, 315; — marriage
 with human girl in folktales 315
 serpents; the part played by them in Hindu
 epic literature, 74; — worship of them
 closely connected with the rainy season ... 75
shaṣṭhika, a word apparently used, for the
 sake of the metre, for *shaṣṭhi* in the sense
 of the sign Mithuna (Gemini) 359, 360
 Shāhābū'd-dīn Ghūrī builds Siālkōt; 290
 Shāhābū-Garhī; notes of M. Senart's remarks
 on the twelfth edict of Aśoka at this
 place 43, 44
 shadows, omens from 252
shakṣhatupa, a penance among the Jains ... 239 n.
 Shāllā, a place in Kāśmīr 263, 267
 shows, the position of, as an omen 130
 Siālkōt built by Shāhābū'd-dīn Ghūrī 290
 Siam, Eastern Chalukya coins from 79
 Siberia, bear-worship in 159
 sibilants, the old Indian 231
 Siddhasūri, the name of seventeen or eighteen
 Jain pontiffs in the Upakēśa-Gachohla, 238
 to 242; — the fourteenth or fifteenth of
 them is placed in Vikrama-Samvat 1830,
 . . 241; — the next, in V.-S. 1475, . . 242;
 — the next, in V.-S. 1535, . . 242; — and
 the last, in V.-S. 1655 242
shikadart, a copper coin 219, 220
 Śilāditya, son of Vikramāditya of Ujjain,
 may be Śilāditya of Mālava, about A. D.
 530..... 262
 Śilaratnasūri composed his commentary on
 Māturuṅga's *Māghadāśa* in A. D. 1436 366
 Simha, an astronomical writer 52, 135, 138
 Simhādāśaśāhāna, an ancient place 83
siṅgāra, 'an elephant' 165 n., 248 n.
 Singana-Garuḍa, another name of Eṣeyam-
 marasa 161, 165
siṅga as a termination of a proper name, in
 Jayasingha..... 13, 18
 Singhana II. (Dēvagiri-Yādava); see Khadrā-
 par, Kōlār, and Mumūḥi 157, 440
Siṅgila-śāhārya, among the Jains, denotes an
śāhārya who permits laxity of observances. 234
 Sivagana, a prince, of the Brāhmaṇ caste, 56,
 61; — his Kanawā inscription, edited 55
Siyaḍōṇi, an inscription from; examination
 of the date 181
 Siyaḍ Bēt in Kāṭhīāwād, examination of the
 date of an inscription at 170
Sivasiṃha, a king; remarks on the date of a
 grant from Bihār, which purports to be of
 his time, but is possibly spurious..... 1, 2, 5, 7
 Skandagupta (Early Gupta) is omitted in the
 genealogy given in the Bhitari seal 227

slang, numerals, amongst the Tamils, 160; —
 used by mendicants in Ceylon, notice of the 160
 sleep, omens for..... 325
 smelling for kissing, among the Sokoṭrans ... 198
 snake-worship, see serpent-worship..... 73 to 75
Sadtriparichchid; see Udayasāgara 22
 sneezing, customs regarding 229
 Sōdara, an ancient spring in Kāśmīr 268
 Sōk, the old capital of Sokoṭra 190
 Soko, = Sōk 190
 Sokoṭra, an origin for the name through.
 Sukoṭra, 189, 190; — notice of its history,
 190; — population of, 193; — people of the
 plains a mixed race, 192; — people com-
 pared with Bani Kāras, 212, 214; — physi-
 cal appearance of the inhabitants, 189; —
 highland tribes, their appearance, 192; —
 their dress, 192; — their customs, 193; —
 are cave dwellers, 194; — an account of the
 aborigines, 189 ff.; — aborigines probably the
 highland inhabitants, 191; — colonization
 by Alexander the Great, 190; — coloniza-
 tion by the Ptolemies, 193; — the language
 not yet identified authoritatively, 189; —
 wanting in Greek words, 191; — possibly
 connected with Aramaic, 197; — belongs to
 the Ethiopic branch of Northern Semitic
 family, 199; — Christianity, 190; — its an-
 cient character, 189; — Christianity of the
 people discussed, 190; — burial customs
 of the highland tribes, 194; — Sokoṭrans,
 identity with the Gāras, = Bani Kāra
 Beduins, 215; — descent from the Gerrai,
 = ancient Chaldeans, = Cushite Beduins,
 215; — their political institutions, 194; —
 their food, 194; — their mode of eating
 meat, 194; — their occupations, 193; —
 their business capacity, 194; — their con-
 servatism, 197; — possible Chaldean origin
 of their religious custom, 196; — probably
 received religion through the Harrāni
 Sabaeans 197
 Solar Race included the Chōlas 330, 332, 339
 Sōma, the Moon, mentioned as the founder
 of a race 438
 Sōmavathā, the Lunar Race, included the
 Chalukyas ... 161 and n., 332, 337, 338, 425, 435
 Sōmāśvara I. (Western Chālukya); mention
 of his wife Kōtālādēvi, 269, 273, 274; —
 two other wives of his, 271; — his Honwāḍ
 inscription of Śaka-Samvat 976; edited ... 268
 son, duty leviable in the case of a man
 dying without a 145
 son, neglected, in folktales..... 153 ff.
 Sonnarāḍa, a hamlet of Bhōjīja..... 244, 249
 sovereigns, paramount; i. e. sovereigns;
 supreme in their own dominions, but not

- necessarily reigning over the whole of India; the development of their titles in Southern India.....305 to 309
- soul, capturing the external 325
- spirit-worship in Burma 438
- spirits, evil, in the *Avesta*..... 230
- śrīdha*, or *airdha*, a word used in dates, requiring explanation.....163, 164 and n., 165
- śrīdita*, 'a proclamation,' in *nakara-śrīvita* and *rāja-śrīvita* 145 n.
- Sri-Kumāra, another name of Utpala-Kumāra 235
- Sri-Lakṣmi-Mahāsthāna, a name of Bhīmā in the *Paṭṭavālī* of the Upakēśa-Gachchha, 233 n., 235; — former traditional names of the place 235
- Srīmāl; see Bhīmāl 238 n.
- Srīnilaya *bhūja*, an ancient territorial division in the Western Chalukya kingdom.....304, 310
- śrīprithivīvallabha*, 'favourite of fortune and of the earth,' an epithet of Pulikēśin I, 14, 18; — and of Jayasīma III, 165; — and of Somaśvara I, 273; — in the Goa grant it is perhaps used to denote Pulikēśin II. 12 n.
- śrīprithivīvallabhādya*, 'chief or lord of favourites of fortune and of the earth,' an epithet of Maṅgalēśa 15, 19
- Srīpuṇja, a king of Bhīmāl 235
- Srīshēṣa, an astronomical writer, author of the later *Bhūma-Siddhānta*, 52, 53, 133, 134, 135, 138, 141; — his date lies between A. D. 578 and 628 138
- Srīvatsadēvi, possibly the name, instead of Vatsadēvi, of the wife of Puragupta...235 n., 236
- Srīvācharitra*; see Guruchandragani..... 86
- Srīyambhāṭaka, an ancient village 9, 29
- stag-banner..... 330
- Stageirus, the metropolis of the Greek colonists of Soḷoṭra 190
- stars, Iranian names for the, Prof. Weber on the, 72; — Albāṛnī's names for the 72
- St. Thomas in Soḷoṭra 193
- śu*, an abbreviation of *śukla* or *śuddha*, 'the bright fortnight,' it is usually followed by *di*, = *divasa*, 'a (civil) day,' a case in which *śu* is used without *di*, 373; — instances in which *śudi* is used as one word, meaning 'the bright fortnight,' 3, 4, 26, 28, 29, 32, 38, 34, 40, 353, 372; — an instance of the use of *śudya*, 40; — instances of the use of *śu ti*, where *ti* is an abbreviation of *tithi*, 'a lunar day' 36, 217, 218
- Subhadatta, a Jain pontiff in the Upakēśa-Gachchha 235
- Subhāṣitāratnasamudhā*; see Amitagati..... 361
- Subhāṣavarman (Paramāra) 346
- Succaba, a corruption of the Greek name for Soḷoṭra..... 190
- Suddha-Sāri (?), a Jain pontiff in the Upakēśa-Gachchha 241
- Sāk; see Sōk..... 190
- Sūka-Saptati*, the; notice of Dr. Schmidt's edition 410
- Sukhādhāra, through Dvīpa Sukhādhāra, = (P) Diuskadra, = (P) Dioscorides 189
- Sukhōdēki*; see Bhīmasēna 34
- Sukūṭri aloe, an ancient export from Soḷoṭra 190
- Sultān Muḥammad Khān of Kabul befriended by Gulāb Singh 276
- śundata*; a doubtful word 238 n.
- Sūr Dās as a writer on the Kṛishna cult 104
- Surāsapt, an ancient locality 351
- Surāshtra, the Kāphīwād country, 22; — also Surāshtrā..... 355
- Surasundara, Yavarāja of Utpala-Kumāra ... 235
- Surāśūrtā, an early Chōla king 331, 339
- Sāri, among the Jains, denotes an *āchārya* who has risen to the head of his *gachchha* or *śākhā* 234
- Sāri Emperors of Delhi; copper coinage 219, 220
- Sāris, pirates from Sūr on the Arab Coast, 191; — possible Indian origin from Kaśh through a settlement on Soḷoṭra 191
- Sārya, the sun, mentioned by Brahmagupta as the author of the *Sārya-Siddhānta* 134
- sārya-parvan* used to denote an eclipse of the sun..... 440
- Sārya-Siddhānta*; there are two separate works of this name; account of the original one, as deduced from the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 45 to 54; — it is older than Lāṭa and Varāhamihira, and was not written by either of them; it must be of much earlier date than A. D. 500, .. 52, 53; — Table of the elements of the original and of the present *Sārya-Siddhānta*, 49; — the present *Sārya-Siddhānta* is to be placed not later than A. D. 500, and Lāṭa may have had something to do with the authorship of it... 53
- Sāryavahā, the Solar Race, included the Chōlas 330, 332, 339
- Suvarnaprasādikā, an ancient locality 351
- Svayambhāṭa-Sāri, a Jain pontiff in the Upakēśa-Gachchha..... 235
- Tāḍapa (East. Chalukya) 435
- Taddavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi 269
- Taddewāḍi, a village in the Bijapur District; the various forms of its ancient name 269
- Tahangadh, an inscription at; examination of the date..... 373
- Tajik dialect, a dictionary of the, noticed ... 322

- Takṣaśīlā mentioned in the Dhauḷi edict, by the name of Takṣaśīlā 85, 96
- Taḍḍavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi 269
- Tamḷ historical texts; the *Kaṭiṅgattu Pa-rarī*; extracts edited 329
- Tamḷ transliteration of Sanskrit words 231, 232
- Tapa-Gaohchha, a division among the Jains... 283
- Tardavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi 269
- Tardhavāḍi, one of the ancient forms of the name of Taddewāḍi; the chief town of a one-thousand district 269, 274
- tang = tank 220
- tank a jeweller's weight discussed 220
- tank = tank 220
- tank, weights used in the mints of Akbar ... 220
- Taxila; see Takṣaśīlā 85, 96
- Tārehi, an inscription at; examination of the date 173
- Thāpaka (Māhara); see Hāthanaḷ 359
- Thittarikā, or Thikkarikā, an ancient village... 348
- Thirākavalli, wife of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍaḍēva I. 333, 339
- Timḷr, defeated by Māḷdēv of Jammūnā 290
- Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District; examination of the date of an inscription at the Bilvanāthāḍēvara temple 70
- Tisṭya *nakṣatra*; festivals in honour of it 96, 100, 102
- tith-, 'a lunar day'; special names of *tithis*; *aśvaya-tiṭṭyā*, = Vaiśākha śukla 3, . . 36; — *naga-tithi*, = Chaitra śukla 5, . . 36; — *Viṣṇu-tithi*, = Jyēṣṭha śukla 11, . . 369; — the repetition of a *tithi*, denoted by *dvitīya-chaturthi*, 356; — mention of two *tithis*, one after the other, 33; — an instance of a correction in the *tithi* of a date, 817; — instances of *tithis* used as current, being joined with the weekdays on which they begin 42, 361 to 363, 426
- Titvāla; see Tivāla 123, 124
- titles of paramount sovereignty; the development of them in Southern India . 305 to 309
- Tivāla, or Titvāla; apparently the name of a queen of Aśoka 123, 124
- Togḍaimān, a title of Karuṇākara-Pallava 333, 334, 336, 337
- Topaxo, a name for Sokotra 180
- Tōramāna, a king of Kāśmīr; he appears to be the historical Tōramāna, the father of Mihirakula 262
- Tomamara *viśaya*, an ancient division in the Western Chalukya kingdom 150 n., 152
- Tōṇali, an ancient place mentioned in the Dhauḷi edicts 95, 101
- Treilōkyamalla, a *śivada* of Sūmāḍēva I. 273, 274
- transliteration, Albertini's, of Indian words, described, 72, 73; — value of Persian and Arabic, in testing the pronunciation of Indian words, 73; — into Russian characters of foreign languages, 157; — of Sanskrit words into Tamil 231, 232
- tribhōga, a fiscal term, explained 271
- Tribhuvanapāḍaḍēva (Ohalukya); see Kaḍi ... 372
- tribhuvāḍakṣa, a motto on the seals of Eastern Chalukya grants 423
- Trilōchana-Pallava, a traditional early Pallava king 425, 434
- Trilōchanapāḍaḍēva; examination of the date of his grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1084 174
- Trincomalee, its capture by the Dutch from the Portuguese 410
- Tripitaka; commentaries on it were written, or translated, by Buddhaghōṣa 118
- trivāla, a musical instrument 165
- Tulsi Dās, the value of his works, 104; — his influence as a poet 104
- Tuṅgāḍēvara, a Śaiva temple in Kāśmīr ... 263, 264
- Tuṅjina I., a king of Kāśmīr; his wife was Vākpuṣpā 263, 264
- tupha, = *tumka*, not *stūpa* 86
- tutelary genius, the serpent as a 74
- Tyāgt-Āchārya, among the Jains, denotes an *Āchārya* who does not permit laxity of observances 234
- Uohchakalpa, the *Mahārājas* of; the dates in their grants are to be referred to the Kalachuri era 227, 228
- uchchhīra, 'a loan' 235 n.
- Udayāditya (Paramāra) 346, 347, 350
- Udayana of Ayōdhya, mentioned as an ancestor of the Ohalukyas 425, 434
- Udayasīgara composed his *Saṁtripaṭṭhāḍikā* in A. D. 1246 22
- Udayasīrṭhadēva; a MS. of his time; examination of the date 175
- Udayavarmadēva, *Mahākumāra* (Paramāra) 846, 347
- Udaypur inscriptions; examination of the dates; of the time of Ajayapāḍaḍēva, 362; — others 28, 36, 163, 355
- uddha, 'deserted' 239
- Uddhāra, among the Jains, denotes one who at vast expense rebuilds all the old temples 241 n.
- Udharana, a minister of Utpala-Kumāra 235
- Uhaḍa, a minister of Utpala-Kumāra 235, 236
- Ujjain mentioned in the Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa edicts, by the name of Ujāni 85, 96
- Ujjain grants, edited; of Yaśovarmadēva, of Vikrama-Samvat 1192, . . 348; — of

- Jayavarmadēva, 349, — and of Lakshmi-varmadēva, of V.-S. 1200, . . . 351; — examination of the date 40, 352
- Umā inscription of Bhairavēdra; examination of the date 82
- 'Undega,' a village in Maistūr; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Anḍugi . . . 144, 145
- unfortunate face, the 131
- unfortunate names 181
- Upādhyāya, among the Jains, denotes one who has the right of reading, but not of explaining, the Sacred Text 234
- Upakṣa-Gachohha, a division among the Jains; the lay adherents of it are called Ōswāla, 233; — its history and pontifical succession 233 to 242
- Upakṣanaguri, Upakṣapaṭṭana, Upakṣapurā; old forms of the name of Ōsanaguri 234, 237 to 239
- Urdu Language, rise of the 104
- Urjayanta-tīrtha; an ancient name of Gīrnār . . 29
- Urman Beg of Tashikand 157
- Uru-Rāpavikrānta, a *biruda* of Maṅgalāśa . . 15, 19
- Uthakai, an ancient place 331, 339
- Uthavapaka, an ancient village 351
- Uthiya, = Ōhāra 331, 333
- Utpala, the astronomical writer; the dates of his completion of his commentaries on the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* and the *Bṛhaj-Jātaka* . . . 41
- Utpala-Kumāra, a king of Bhīmāla 235
- uttarāyana, 'the whole period during which the sun is moving from south to north' 27, 33, 38
- v and va, the Prākṛitic change between 230
- va, an abbreviation of *vadya* (or, if it stands for *ba*, of *bahula*), 'the dark fortnight'; it is usually followed by *di*, = *divasa*, 'a (civil) day'; instances in which *vadi* is used as one word, meaning 'the dark fortnight,' 2, 167, 170, 171, 175, 176, 185, 186, 353, 366; — instances of the use of *va ti*, where *ti* is an abbreviation of *tiki*, 'a lunar day' 169, 217
- va°, an abbreviation of *varshā* 176
- Vaachchhaudēva, *Rāja* 28
- Vadāśa, an ancient village 351
- Vaijayanti, ancient name of Banavāsi, 147, 152; — mentioned as conquered by Kīrtivarman I. 14, 19
- Vaishnava inscription, a 424
- vajrapāya-sacrifice 19
- Vajrasēna, a teacher mentioned in connection with the third Yakṣadēva-Sūri 239
- Vākpatirāja of Dhārā; examination of the date of his grant 23
- Vākpushpā, wife of Tuṅjina I. 263, 264, 266
- vallabhēndra, 'lord of favourites,' an epithet of Jayasinha I. 13
- Valjiggāme, one of the ancient names of Balagāhve 144, 145
- Valuti, = Pāṇḍya 331, 336
- Vānasa or Vārāsa family 274
- Vandai, an ancient Pallava town; it is the modern Vanḍalūr in the Chingleput District 334, 336, 337, 340
- Vaṅga country 14, 19
- Varāhamihira; see *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 45 to 54
- Vardhamānapura, a town of Jayavarmadēva 350
- varhara, 'a goat' 237 n.
- varsha used in dates, after *satvat* (see also *śamaya*, and *va°*), 25 to 31/33, 36, 38 to 40, 166 to 172, 175 to 178, 180, 181, 183 to 187, 355, 356, 358, 360, 365, 366, 368, 369, 372, 374; — it has been taken to mean 'in the civil year;' but this meaning has not yet been established 167
- varṣamāna; — see current and expired years
- Varuṇa, a commentator on the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, about A. D. 1040 54 and n.
- Vasishṭha-Siddhānta, 46, 133, 134, 135, 141, 142; — the later work of this name was written by Viśvachandra 138
- Vaṣakṣhapa Thirty-six, the; an ancient group of villages 350
- Vasadēvi, or possibly Śrīvatasdēvi, wife of Puragupta 225 and n., 226
- Vaṭṭra, a town mentioned in connection with Kīrtivarman I. 14, 15, 19
- Vayalūr, the river 334
- vāda used exceptionally to denote 'three' . . 25, 26
- Vedevullī, perhaps the ancient name of Yedehallī 144, 145
- Vengṭ, the land of, 435; — it included either sixteen or eighteen thousand villages . . . 427 and n.
- Vaṇugrāma, one of the forms of the ancient name of Belgaum 243, 244, 248
- Verāval inscription of the time of Arjuna-dēva; examination of the date 180
- Vigraha, another name of Viśaladēva, 219; — also Vighararāja 216, 218
- Vijāpura, an ancient town 183
- Vijaya, a king of Kāśmīr 263, 266
- Vijaya-Sākhā, a division of the Tapa-Gachohha, 233; — the pontifical succession in it 234
- Vijayachandradēva of Kanauj (?); see Jaunpur 182
- Vijayadēva of Ōhādi; see Rāwah 171
- Vijayādhirāja; see Byānā 181
- Vijayāditya (Western Chalukya); the period of his accession, 188; — difficulties in the reckoning of his regnal years 188

Vijayāditya, brother of Rājāditya I. (East. Chalukya), a viceroy of Vengi 425, 435
 Vijayāditya I, II, III, IV, and V. (East. Chalukya) 435
 Vijayanandin, an early astronomical writer 135, 138
 Vijayapāladēva, a king 22
 Vijayapāṇḍyadēva, *Mahāmāṇḍalīvara*; see Dāvāṅgere 156
 Vijayēśvara, an ancient temple at Bījibhāra in Kāśmīr 263, 266
 Vikrama era, mentioned as the Mālava era, 56, 61; — definite proof that the Mālava era is the Vikrama era, 316; — an instance in which the Vikrama era is apparently treated as the still current reign of Vikramāditya, by the use of the expression *Vikramāditya-dīya*, 31; — an instance in which it is apparently reckoned from the death of Vikrama, 361; — instances in which, otherwise than by the expression *Vikrama-Samvat*, the name of the king, from whom the era derived its appellation, is connected with it; by the use of the names Vikrama, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 177, 182, 183, 353, 354, 361, 365, 369, 373; — Vikramāditya, 25, 31, 32, 36, 166, 169, 173, 176, 180, 186, 219, 366, 368, 369, 372; — Vikramārka, 26, 30, 38, 366, 373; — and Vikramasēna, 168; — Prof. Kielhorn's examination of questions connected with this era; Introductory Remarks, 20; — 1, Regular Dates; A, Dates in Bright Fortnights; 1, in the months Kārttika to Phālguna; (a) in current years, 22; — (b) in expired years, 22; — 2, in the months Chaitra to Āśvina; (a) in northern current years, 28; — (b) in northern expired (or southern current) years, 28; — (c) in southern expired years, 35; — (d) a date which may come under any of the preceding three heads, 40; — B, Dates in Dark Fortnights; 1, in the months Kārttika to Phālguna; (a) in current years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 166; — (B.) amānta dates (none), 166; — (b) in expired years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 166; — (B.) amānta dates, 170; — (c) dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of current years, or amānta dates of expired years, 171; — 2, in the months Chaitra to Āśvina; (a) in northern current years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 172; — (B.) amānta dates (none), 173; — (b) in northern expired (or southern current) years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 173; — (B.) amānta dates, 177; — (c) in southern expired years; (A.) pūrṇimānta dates, 178;

— (B.) amānta dates, 181; — (d) dates which may be either amānta dates of northern current years, or pūrṇimānta dates of southern expired years, 184; — (e) a date which may be either an amānta date of a northern current year, or a pūrṇimānta date of a northern expired or southern current year, 185; — (f) dates which may be either pūrṇimānta dates of northern expired years, or amānta dates of southern expired years, 185; — 2, Irregular Dates; (a) dates which, though irregular by the Tables, are shown to be regular when calculated by one or other of the Sidhāntas, 354; — (b) dates of which the reading is, or may appear to be, doubtful, 357; — (c) dates which work out satisfactorily, only when the day of the date is taken to have been joined with the tithi commencing on it, 361; — (d) a date with a wrong week-day, 363; — (e) (f) (g) (h) dates which work out properly only for years near to the given years, 364, 367, 368; — (i) dates which contain other errors, 369; — Appendix; Additional Regular Dates 373
 Vikrama-Chōḍa (East. Chalukya) 427
 Vikramāditya, a king mentioned in connection with Pratāpāditya I; Kalhana says he is not "the enemy of the Śakas (*Śak-dri*)" 261 to 264
 Vikramāditya I. (West. Chalukya) 151
 Vikramāditya II. (East. Chalukya) 435
 Vikramanagara, an ancient town 39
 Vikramapura, = Bikrampur 242
 Vikramārka, a variant of the name of the king after whom the Vikrama era was named 26, 30, 38, 366, 373
 Vikramasēna, a name used for the king after whom the Vikrama era was named 168
 Vikramasinhā (?); see Dubkund 361
 Vilīṅgam, an ancient place 335
 villages, a note on the number of, in territorial divisions 434
 Vimala, the name of the author of the *Padma-Charita*, and sometimes of the *Prasūttara-Rājanamāli*; the two are distinct and separate persons 378, 379
 Vimalāditya (East. Chalukya) 435
 Vinayāditya (West. Chalukya), 145, 151; — he had the *virūdas* of Rājāśraya, 143, 145; — and Satyāśraya, 151; — the period of his accession, in A. D. 670, . . . 148; — a difficulty about the reckoning of his regnal years, 148; — a Balagāmve inscription of his time, edited, 142; — his Sorab grant of Śaka-Samvat 614, edited 146
 Vindhya-varman (Paramāra) 346

- Vira-Ballāla (Hoyasā); see Gadag 155
- Vira-Chōḍa-deva (East. Chalukya), a viceroy of Veṅgi, 424, 425, 435, 436; — he also had the name of Vishṇuvardhana, 436; — the date of his appointment, in A. D. 1078, . . . 426; — his city was Jananāthana-gari, 424, 436; — the Chellūr grant, of his twenty-first year, edited 423
- Vira-Nārāyaṇa, a Chōḍa king 839
- Vira-Rājendra; see Rājartja (Chōḍa) 839
- Viranagari, a former name of Sri-Lakshmi-Mukhāsthāna 285
- Virasimhadēva; examination of the date of his grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1177 167
- Viravarmadēva (Chandella); examination of the dates of his Ajaygadh inscriptions 25, 373
- Virgin Mary, as a Hindu goddess, the, 286; — her "sisters," 286; — an Indian tale of the 285, 286
- Virutarja, an enemy of Kulottunga-Chōḍa-deva I. 332, 337
- Viśala, Viśaladeva, king of Śākambhari, 216 to 219; — he also had the name of Vighraharja, 216, 218, 219; — he defeated the Māchchhas or barbarians, i. e. the Muhammadans, 216, 217; — his inscriptions on the Delhi Siwālik pillar, edited, 215; — examination of the date 86
- Viśaladeva (Chalukya); examination of the dates of a Dabhoi inscription of his time, 28; — of his Kaṭi grant, 183; — and of a MS. of his time 170
- Vishamasiddhi, a *biruda* of Vishṇuvardhana I. 304, 310
- Vishva-titki, a name of Jyēṣṭha śukla 11 ... 869
- Vishnuachandra, an early astronomical writer, author of the later *Vāsisṭha-Siddhānta* ... 82, 184, 185, 138
- Vishṇudharmottara, a Kāśmīrian work from which Albérūti derived the greater part of his quotations about Hindu cosmogony, astronomy, &c.; comparison of the original text with his renderings of it, 381 to 410; — its composition cannot be placed later than about A. D. 500, . . . 410; — in the eleventh century there existed also a second, and shorter, work, bearing the same name 407
- Vishṇuvardha, the lineage of Vishṇu; it included the Chalukyas, 425; — and the Prāgyōtiśha kings 267
- Vishṇuvardhana, a name of Vira-Chōḍa-deva 424, 436
- Vishṇuvardhana, I. (Eastern Chalukya), 310, 484; — the Prākṛit form of his name was Bīṭṭarasa, 303; — he had the *biruda* of Vishamasiddhi, 304, 310; — his *Sāṭār* grant, edited 303
- Vishṇuvardhana II., III., IV. and V. (East. Chalukya) 435
- Viśuddhimagga, a Buddhist work, sometimes attributed to Buddhaghōṣa 118
- Viśvartpa, writer of the Bēn grant of Gōvinda-chandradēva 252
- Viśvavīṭṭapaka, among the Jains, denotes one in whose body and soul all the marks of an *āchārya* are found 240 n.
- Viśvavararajadhānti, = Kāṭi 28
- Vogul = Manse, 159; — Ostiak 159
- Vṛiddha-Gaṇḍa, 'a senior-Gaṇḍa' 239 n.
- Vṛiddhanagara, an ancient town 173
- Vṛthimukha, an ancient village 9, 20
- vyāṭṭpata, a term used in connection with eclipses; a possible explanation of it 440
- Wahhābis destroy Christianity in Soḷoṭra ... 199
- waife, river, in folktales 437, 438
- Wanthalt, an inscription at; examination of the date 26
- water-palace in folktales 815
- Weber's Sacred Literature of the Jains; translated by Dr. Smyth; continuation ... 62
- Wellsted, the chief authority on the Soḷo-trans 191
- witches, in Kāśmīr 268, 267
- women, tricks of, in folktales 127, 128
- Yakshadēva-Sāri, the name of six Jain pontiffs in the Upakṣā-Gachohha, 238, 239; — the third of them is placed in the year 585 after Mahāvīra 239
- Yasōvarmadēva, *Mahārāja* (Paramāra), 346 to 351; — his Ujjain grant of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1192, edited 348
- Yasōdev of Jammūn founds Jasrōḍa 290
- yathā, Burmese form of *ṛishi* 438
- Yavana, a name mentioned by Brahmagupta as that of an astronomical writer 184
- Yavanapura, an ancient city mentioned by Iśa and Varāhamihira 46, 52
- Yayāti, an epic king, mentioned as the founder of a race 483
- year, the Hindu solar; its length according to the original *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 47, 40; — the present *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 49; — and the original *Romaka-Siddhānta* 189
- Yeḍphalli, a village in Maistūr; perhaps mentioned by the ancient name of Veḍe-valli 144, 145

ERRATA IN VOL. XIX.

- p. 4, line 35, for Sukrē read Sukrē.
p. 10, line 9 from the bottom, for A. D. 497 or 498, read A. D. 597 or 598.
p. 13, line 13, for ordinary, read ordinarily.
p. 38, line 28, for tārāka, read tāraka.
p. 48, line 29, for revolution, read revolutions.
p. 50, note 15, for st, read 1st.
p. 53, line 25, for chapter xvii., read chapter xvi.
p. 71, note 8, for pisha, read Vrisha.
p. 79, line 2, and throughout the paper, and in the Plate, for Rājarāja II., read Rājarāja I.; and see p. 424, note 8.
p. 102 a, line 12 from the bottom, and p. 103 b, line 16, for accession, read coronation.
p. 109, note 53, the following should be added, [These eras, according to Burmese chronology, commenced, — G. E. in B. C. 691; S. E. in B. C. 548; P. E. in A. D. 79. The S. E. is the era of the Nivredna; and the P. E. is simply the Śaka era. The Burmese now reckon by a local Burmese era (B. E.), which dates from A. D. 689. See Crawford, *Iva*, App., p. 81 ff.; Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. II. Useful Tables, pp. 165, 166. — B. C. T.]
p. 129 a, line 5 from the bottom, for Rājarāja II., read Rājarāja I.; and make the same correction on p. 130 b, lines 2, 4, 22-23; see p. 424, note 8.
p. 129 a, last line, and p. 130 b, line 1, for accession, read coronation.
p. 138, line 10, for chapter xviii., read chapter viii.; and in note 8, for Ddā°, read Dā°.
p. 165, line 28, for — saying "Let us dive into the Ratta ocean, — acquired a grant," read, as has been pointed out by Mr. Bice, "acquired a grant for the purpose of widening (or deepening) the (tank that is called) Rattasamudra;" and cancel note 26.
p. 189, lines 4, 14, 23, and 24, for Sokoṭra read Sokoṭra.
,, line 19, for Sokoṭran read Sokoṭran.
p. 190, note 8, line 3, for Sokoṭra read Sokoṭra.
p. 191, line 32, for Sokoṭra read Sokoṭra.
37, for Sokoṭran read Sokoṭran.
p. 250, line 6, for 1181, read 1188.
p. 273, note 28, in the first word of this note, for baṭiya, read baṭiya.
p. 284 a, line 29, for Pulikāśhārya, read Pulikāśhārya.
p. 304, line 7 from the bottom, for Mahākūṭa, read Mahākūṭa.
p. 351, line 32, for Mahādvāsaka, read Mahādvāsaka.
p. 382 b, line 20-21, for by gained, read be gained.
p. 385, note 12, for accordingly, read accidentally.
p. 386, at the end of the first Sanskrit verse, for १°, read १<.
p. 390, at the end of the last two Sanskrit verses, for १ and २, read २ and ८.
p. 435, note 83, line 4, for maṇḍalam, read maṇḍalam.

yōga, an astrological element; names of the
yōgas, as used in recorded dates:—

Aindra (= Indra)	182	Yōginipura, a name of Dehli	355
Harahapa	24	Yuddhamalla II. (East. Chalukya)	435
Parigraha	88	Yudhishtira I., a king of Kāśmīr	263, 267
Siddha (for Siddhi)	23	<i>yawarāja</i> , Burmese equivalent of the word ...	487
Siddhi (for Siddha)	27		
Śobhana	35		
Subha	177	Zingari, a possible origin for the name	191
Vaidhṛiti	441	Zōrāwar Singh Gahlōṛī, his unsuccessful	
Vṛiddhi	27	expedition towards Tibet	300
Vyatipāta	31, 155		